

BRILL'S STUDIES IN INTELLECTUAL HISTORY

General Editor

A.J. VANDERJAGT, University of Groningen

Editorial Board

M. COLISH, Oberlin College

J.I. ISRAEL, University College, London

J.D. NORTH, University of Groningen

H.A. OBERMAN, University of Arizona, Tucson

R.H. POPKIN, Washington University, St. Louis-UCLA

VOLUME 40





I. Portrait of Wessel Gansfort in *Effigies & vitae Professorum
Academiae Groningae & Omlandiae*, Groningen 1654.

WESSEL GANSFORT (1419–1489) AND NORTHERN HUMANISM

EDITED BY

F. AKKERMAN, G. C. HUISMAN
AND A. J. VANDERJAGT



E. J. BRILL
LEIDEN · NEW YORK · KÖLN
1993

The paper in this book meets the guidelines for permanence and durability of the Committee on Production Guidelines for Book Longevity of the Council on Library Resources.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Wessel Gansfort (1419–1489) and northern humanism / edited by F. Akkerman, G.C. Huysman, and A.J. Vanderjagt.

p. cm. — (Brill's studies in intellectual history, ISSN 0920-8607 ; v. 40)

Selection of papers presented at a conference convened at Groningen in the summer of 1989.

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 9004098577

1. Gansfort, Wessel, 1419–1489—Congresses. 2. Devotio moderna—Influence—Congresses. 3. Humanism—Congresses. I. Akkerman, Fokke. II. Huysman, Gerda C. III. Vanderjagt, Arie Johan. IV. Series.

B785.G254W47 1993

189⁹.4—dc20

93-12963

CIP

Die Deutsche Bibliothek - CIP-Einheitsaufnahme

Wessel Gansfort (1419–1489) and Northern humanism / ed. by F. Akkerman. — Leiden ; New York ; Köln : Brill, 1993

(Brill's studies in intellectual history ; Vol. 40)

ISBN 90-04-09857-7

NE: Akkerman, F. [Hrsg.]; GT

ISSN 0920-8607

ISBN 90 04 09857 7

© Copyright 1993 by E.J. Brill, Leiden, The Netherlands

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, translated, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, without prior written permission of the publisher.

Authorization to photocopy items for internal or personal use is granted by E.J. Brill provided that the appropriate fees are paid directly to Copyright Clearance Center, 27 Congress Street, Salem MA 01970, USA. Fees are subject to change.

PRINTED IN THE NETHERLANDS

CONTENTS

Plates	vii
Preface	ix
Contributors	xiii

PART ONE

WESSEL GANSFORT AND HIS FAME

1. Wessel Gansfort's rise to celebrity C. AUGUSTIJN	3
2. A commemorative mass for Wessel Gansfort F. BAKKER	23
3. Gansfort between Albertism and Nominalism H.A.G. BRAAKHUIS	30
4. Wessel Gansforts Stellungnahme zum <i>vita activa</i> — <i>vita contemplativa</i> -Problem: <i>De stabilitate meditationum et modo figendi meditationes</i> , Buch 1 (mit kritischer Textausgabe von <i>Scala meditationis</i> , Buch 1, capp. 1–7) K.A.E. ENENKEL	44
5. <i>Albertistae, thomistae</i> und <i>nominales</i> : die philosophisch- historischen Hintergründe der Intellektlehre des Wessel Gansfort (†1489) M.J.F.M. HOENEN	71
6. Wessel Gansfort: <i>Magister contradictionis</i> H.A. OBERMAN	97
7. Wessel Gansfort and Cornelis Hoen's <i>Epistola christiana</i> : 'The ring as a pledge of my love' B.J. SPRUYT	122
8. Among the good teachers: Melanchthon on Wessel Gansfort D. VISSER	142

PART TWO

THE DEVOTIO MODERNA AND ITS INFLUENCE

9. Die Frage einer nördlichen Variante der Devotio Moderna. Zur Interferenz zwischen den spätmittelalterlichen Reformbewegungen
R.Th.M. VAN DIJK 157
10. Die ungarischen Pauliner und die Devotio Moderna
G. SARBAK 170
11. Gozewijn Comhaer — Carthusian and modern devout
G.A. PIEBENGA 180

PART THREE

NORTHERN HUMANISM

12. Albert Rizäus Hardenberg und Johannes Molanus in Bremen. Zwei Humanisten im konfessionellen Zeitalter
Th. ELSMANN 195
13. Hero Boyen: East-Frisian farmer and politician, ca. 1550—ca. 1620
J. ENSINK 210
14. *Recte dixit quondam sapiens ille Solon*: Rhetorische Übungsstücke von Schülern von Ubbo Emmius
J.A.R. KEMPER 245
15. *Raptim et ebrie satis*. Neo-Latin letters from the Van Ewsum-archives in Groningen
A.H. VAN DER LAAN and Y. KUIK 267
16. Agricola's dialectic and the tradition of rhetoric
P. MACK 273
17. Regnerus Praedinius (1510–1559), seine Schule und sein Einfluss
F. POSTMA 291
18. Friderici Mauri carmina. An edition with commentary
P. SCHOONBEEG. With an introduction by C.G. SANTING 325
- Bibliography 387
- Index of Personal Names 415

PLATES

- I. Portrait of Wessel Gansfort in *Effigies & vitae Professorum Academiae Groningae & Omlandiae*, Groningen 1654. Photograph: Grafisch Centrum, Rijksuniversiteit Groningen. (Frontispiece.)
- II. Gozewijn Comhaer's Europe. 181
- III. Johannes Reuchlin, *De verbo mirifico*, Tübingen: Thomas Anshelmus, 1514. 201
- IV. Signet of Hero Boyen. Drawing: J. Ensink, Groningen. 218
- V. Portrait of Ubbo Emmius in *Effigies & vitae Professorum Academiae Groningae & Omlandiae*, Groningen 1654. Photograph: Grafisch Centrum, Rijksuniversiteit Groningen. 220
- VI. A letter supposedly written by Eggerik Egges Phebens for Ubbo Emmius. Groningen, University Library, MS 571, f.37r-v. Photograph: Grafisch Centrum, Rijksuniversiteit Groningen. 248
- VII. Essay by Henricus Henrici for Ubbo Emmius. Groningen, University Library, MS 207, f.89v. Photograph: Grafisch Centrum, Rijksuniversiteit Groningen. 250
- VIII. Essay by Focco Memmen for Ubbo Emmius. Groningen, University Library, MS 207, f.78v. Photograph: Grafisch Centrum, Rijksuniversiteit Groningen. 252
- IX. Essay by Henricus Herbers for Ubbo Emmius. Groningen, University Library, MS 207, f.76v. Photograph: Grafisch Centrum, Rijksuniversiteit Groningen. 260
- X. Portrait of Rudolph Agricola. Oil painting. Groningen, Groninger Museum. Photograph: John Stoel, Groningen. 274

- XI. Portrait of Regnerus Praedinius in *Effigies & vitae Professorum Academiae Groningae & Omlandiae*, Groningen 1654. Photograph: Grafisch Centrum, Rijksuniversiteit Groningen. 290

PREFACE

'In the year of the Lord 1489, the venerable Master Wessel Hermanni died, a distinguished Doctor of sacred theology, who was very learned in Latin, Greek and Hebrew and who, as it were, had a complete grasp of the whole of philosophy.' (*Anno Domini 1489 obiit venerabilis M. Wesselus Hermanni, egregius Doctor sacrae theologiae et in Latina et Graeca et Hebraea linguis multum eruditus et in tota philosophia quasi universalis.*) The necrologist of the church registry of the convent of the nuns of the Order of Tertiaries at Groningen, who noted down these words, could not have foreseen the vicissitudes of the fortune of Wessel Gansfort's reputation in the next centuries. In the sixteenth century, Gansfort's theology and spirituality was soon being interpreted in the context of the Lutheran Reformation, first by Martin Luther himself and later by his ardent supporter Matthias Flacius Illyricus. In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century Gansfort was regarded as the prime representative of a typically German current of true Biblical scholarship and mysticism leading back to Tauler and the *Theologia Deutsch*, which had been gratefully taken up by Luther in his attempt to reform the Church. Other scholars of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries saw in Gansfort an example of a Netherlandish practical theology and spirituality that they also found in the Brethren of the Common Life, in Thomas a Kempis, Erasmus and Hubert Duifhuis, and, in the case of Hofstede de Groot and his colleagues, in their own 'ethical theology'. The three important authorities on Wessel Gansfort of the first quarter of our century were J. Lindeboom, *Het bijbels humanisme in Nederland. Erasmus en de vroege reformatie* (Leiden 1912), E.W. Miller and J.W. Scudder in their *Wessel Gansfort. Life and Writings. Principal Works* (New York-London 1912, 2 vols.), and M. van Rhijn, *Wessel Gansfort* (The Hague 1917). Their approaches are different, but they each emphasize the importance of Gansfort's work in relation to church history and theology, whether that of humanism, the Reformation or of the reformation of catholic theology.

Down through the centuries Wessel Gansfort has been discussed primarily as 'the distinguished Doctor of sacred theology' of our obit mentioned above. Obviously several contributions to the present volume had to be about Gansfort's theology, but for the

first time considerable attention has also been given to his philosophical doctrines. Besides, papers are published here which deal with the world of the Modern Devotion, whose piety was so akin to his own. Almost half of the papers printed below discuss and analyse the intellectual world of (proto-)humanism in which Master Wessel had close personal relationships and on which he lavished much of his attention and sympathy. In this way we hope to do the second part of the obit some justice, however, without implying by the title of this volume — *Wessel Gansfort (1419–1489) and Northern Humanism* — that Gansfort himself was a humanist.

The genesis in a very real way of this collection of papers was the conference on Rodolphus Agricola at the University of Groningen in 1985 (published as *Rodolphus Agricola Phrisius (1444–1485)*, eds. F. Akkerman and A.J. Vanderjagt, Leiden (Brill) 1988). It was clear then that there was considerable interest in northern humanism generally and in Wessel Gansfort in particular. Soon afterward it was decided to commemorate the death of Wessel Gansfort; to this end a conference was convened at Groningen in the late summer of 1989. This volume presents a selection of the papers read on that occasion; added to these have been several others which present aspects of northern humanism that have previously escaped the notice of scholars.

The articles in this book show that interest in and love for classical scholarship and erudition in the northern continental Europe of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries was far from being an isolated affair. The learned men whose work is discussed here were very much part of the intellectual community of the rest of Europe and in their own particular ways they contributed to the growth of learning in early modern Europe. In publishing this volume on Wessel Gansfort and northern humanism the editors hope to stimulate interest in the intellectual history of the northern Netherlands and the adjoining parts of Germany between 1469, when, in the oldest letters preserved of Rudolph Agricola and Rudolph von Langen, first mention is made of a group of early humanist scholars who met at the Adwert monastery near Groningen, and 1625, when the humanist Ubbo Emmius died, who was the first rector of the University of Groningen.

As in the Agricola volume, the papers printed here form a heterogeneous collection. They derive from many different areas of scholarly endeavour and also present their topics in a variety of styles and languages. The editors saw fit to interfere as little as possible in the texts which they received: no attempt was made to bring into accord all ideas, facts and spellings of proper names

as they occur in the individual papers. Nevertheless, all contributions were scrutinized carefully, all quotations or translations from the sources — Latin or otherwise — were checked. Footnotes were edited thoroughly: references were harmonized and shortened. For the complete titles of the works cited the reader is referred to the Bibliography. The editors thank the contributing scholars for responding promptly to their queries and suggestions.

The editors are grateful to Dr Th. Elsmann, Professor H. Hofmann and Professor S.L. Radt for correcting the German respectively of the articles by Dr M.J.F.M. Hoenen, Dr J.A.R. Kemper and Dr G. Sarbak. This volume is to a large extent based on the conference devoted to Wessel Gansfort and northern humanism in 1989; the organizers of that conference, who are also the editors of this volume, thank the University of Groningen for hosting it, for its partial financial subvention of that gathering and of this publication. We are much indebted to the good offices of the University Library of Groningen, which provided many facilities that greatly aided the editing of this book.

We thank E.J. Brill of Leiden and especially their in-house publisher Mrs Elisabeth Erdman-Visser for publishing this collection of articles as volume 40 of the series *Brill's Studies in Intellectual History*.

CONTRIBUTORS

- Dr F. AKKERMAN, Klassiek Instituut, University of Groningen, Oude Boteringestraat 23, 9712 GC Groningen, The Netherlands
- Professor C. AUGUSTIJN, Sophialaan 47, 1075 BM Amsterdam, The Netherlands
- Dr F.J. BAKKER, Instituut voor Geschiedenis, University of Groningen, Oude Kijk in 't Jatstraat 26, 9712 EZ Groningen, The Netherlands
- Professor H.A.G. BRAAKHUIS, Faculteit der Wijsbegeerte, Catholic University, Thomas van Aquinostraat 3, 6525 GD Nijmegen, The Netherlands
- Dr Th. ELSMANN, Heinstrasse 25, 2800 Bremen 1, Germany
- Dr K.A.E. ENENKEL, University of Leiden, Griekse en Latijnse Talen en Culturen, Postbus 9515, 2300 RA Leiden, The Netherlands
- Professor J. ENSINK, De Savornin Lohmanlaan 41, 9722 HC Groningen, The Netherlands
- Dr M.J.F.M. HOENEN, Faculteit der Wijsbegeerte, Catholic University, Thomas van Aquinostraat 3, 6525 GD Nijmegen, The Netherlands
- Ms G.C. HUISMAN, Universiteitsbibliotheek, University of Groningen, Broerstraat 4, 9712 CP Groningen, The Netherlands
- Mr J.A.R. KEMPER, Klassiek Instituut, University of Groningen, Oude Boteringestraat 23, 9712 GC Groningen, The Netherlands
- Ms Y. KUIK, Klassiek Instituut, University of Groningen, Oude Boteringestraat 23, 9712 GC Groningen, The Netherlands
- Dr P. MACK, Department of English and Comparative Literary Studies, University of Warwick, Coventry CV4 7AL, England
- Professor H.A. OBERMAN, Department of History, Social Sciences Building, Room 120, University of Arizona, Tucson, Arizona 85721, USA
- Dr G.A. PIEBENGA, Vakgroep Scandinavische Talen, University of Groningen, Oude Kijk in 't Jatstraat 26, 9712 EZ Groningen, The Netherlands
- Dr F. POSTMA, Instituut voor Geschiedenis, University of Groningen, Oude Kijk in 't Jatstraat 26, 9712 EZ Groningen, The Netherlands

- Dr C.G. SANTING, Instituut voor Geschiedenis, University of Groningen, Oude Kijk in 't Jatstraat 26, 9712 EZ Groningen, The Netherlands
- Dr G. SARBAK, Csinszka u. 27, 1165 Budapest, Hungary
- Mr P. SCHOONBEEG, Klassiek Instituut, University of Groningen, Oude Boteringestraat 23, 9712 GC Groningen, The Netherlands
- Mr B.J. SPRUYT, University of Leiden, Faculteit der Godgeleerdheid, Postbus 9515, Leiden, The Netherlands.
- Dr A.J. VANDERJAGT, Faculteit der Wijsbegeerte, University of Groningen, A-weg 30, 9718 CW Groningen, The Netherlands
- Mr A.H. VAN DER LAAN, Klassiek Instituut, University of Groningen, Oude Boteringestraat 23, 9712 GC Groningen, The Netherlands
- Dr R.Th.M. VAN DIJK, Titus Brandsma Instituut, Erasmusplein 1, 6525 HT Nijmegen, The Netherlands
- Professor D. VISSER, Department of History, Ursinus College, Collegeville, Pennsylvania 19426, USA

PART ONE

WESSEL GANSFORT AND HIS FAME

C. AUGUSTIJN

WESSEL GANSFORT'S RISE TO CELEBRITY

If I begin this paper by asking the question: why celebrate the memory of Wessel Gansfort?, the best answer is perhaps a counter-question: why not? Already in his lifetime Wessel was known as the *lux mundi*, and nowadays his name is to be found in every handbook of medieval and Reformation church history. Nevertheless, the question which I intend to discuss in this essay is closely connected with this 'why'. In 1489 Wessel's name was well-known, but I add: only in Groningen and among the Devouts of Windesheim. Wessel was greatly esteemed for his learning and piety. Dutch theologians knew about his self-willed approach to some theological questions, especially in ecclesiology; they knew also that there had been an attempt to denounce him as a heretic and that his bishop had protected him. This is enough at the end of the fifteenth century to achieve local celebrity, but not much more than that. On the eve of the Reformation, this situation had not changed. In comparison with well-known churchmen and theologians of the fifteenth century such as John Hus, Gabriel Biel, the famous Renaissance popes, Wessel's name had almost been forgotten; none of his writings had been published and there were few manuscripts left. At that time there was nothing to predict a large-scale fame. How and why, then, did Wessel become a celebrity? In other words: how did Wessel become a famous man, and which aspects of his personality and ideas contributed to the development of this reputation? For the first question I will restrict myself to the years 1520–1523, which is the crucial period for the survival of Wessel. For the second question, that of the creation of Wessel's image, the same period and also the nineteenth and twentieth centuries are vital.

It is relatively easy to determine the way in which Wessel developed from a local celebrity into a widely known theologian. To give my conclusion first: had not a small and obscure printer at Zwolle published Wessel's work in the course of two or three years, between 1520 and 1522, it is highly doubtful whether Wessel's fame would ever have reached future generations. This firm called itself the 'Officina Corveriana'. It was active between 1520 and 1523, and in these few years no less than 43

publications are known to have gone through its press. The actual number of publications was certainly larger, for the number of copies printed was restricted, so that very few copies of each publication are left today. We may safely assume that not a single copy has survived of several of them. Dr Kronenberg has written a number of studies on this publishing firm, so that we are well informed about its production.¹ The printer himself is much less known. His name was Simon Corver. He belonged to an Amsterdam family, was born in that city and matriculated in Louvain in 1498, so that he may have been born ca. 1485. He took holy orders and lived in Amsterdam until at least 1518. Later it was stated that he must have left town because 'he had been the first to disseminate the sect of Luther' there, but heresy at so early a date looks suspicious.² Anyhow, his first known book printed at Zwolle bears the date of September 1519.³ From then on there is a continuous flow of smaller and larger books until March 1523. In these years Corver was still connected with Amsterdam through a relative, an Amsterdam bookseller. In 1523 he probably went to Hamburg with all his possessions, for in that town sixteen reformation books, among which eleven Luther printings, were published with the typographical material which he previously had used in Zwolle.⁴ Until 1536 nothing more is known of him. In that year he is apprehended in Waterland, north of Amsterdam, is sent to The Hague and imprisoned there for two and a half months.⁵ The outcome of a trial is not known.

Neither is known why Corver chose this trade. One thing, however, is very clear. He was greatly helped by Gerard Listrius, schoolmaster — and a very able one — at Zwolle. Listrius was born at Rhenen in Utrecht; he studied in Louvain, was for some years a proofreader for Froben in Basle and from 1516 to 1522

¹ See for the Officina Corveriana and for Corver Kronenberg, 'Iets over een onbekend Novum Testamentum'; Kronenberg, *Verboden boeken en opstandige drukkers*, 67–74; Kronenberg, 'Simon Corver in de gevangenis', 313–317; Haga, 'Nieuws over Simon Corver', 209–211; *Contemporaries of Erasmus I*, s.v. Simon Corver.

² Kronenberg, 'Simon Corver in de gevangenis', 315. In his 'Ad clerum Amsterdamum Elegia' Corver does not mention the religion and says of the citizens of Amsterdam: 'Qui me vobiscum cupientem ducere vitam / invidia caeci non potuere pati' and of himself, that he was 'trusus in exilium'; see Kronenberg, 'Iets over een onbekend Novum Testamentum', 255.

³ NK 2897.

⁴ See for this so-called 'Presse der Ketzer' Benzing, *Die Buchdrucker des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts*, 179–180.

⁵ See Kronenberg, 'Simon Corver in de gevangenis'; Haga, 'Nieuws over Simon Corver'.

rector of the school at Zwolle. His position became difficult as a result of the attacks upon him by the Dominicans of Zwolle, and in 1522 he seems to have accepted a similar appointment in Amersfoort.⁶ No trace of him is to be found after 1522.⁷ Listrius was an accomplished humanist and a fervent adherent of the new learning, a well-known man in the circles of the Dutch and the Basle humanists, especially so because he wrote a commentary on Erasmus's *Encomium Moriae*; this commentary accompanied the work in almost every edition after 1515.⁸

The whole program of the Officina Corveriana clearly indicates Listrius's active involvement. The enterprise began with editions of Erasmus, Listrius himself, Cicero, Plautus and Juvenal, all books which were used in the Latin schools of the period. But soon the list shows titles which in the first instance cannot have been meant for Listrius's pupils. In the total production of 43 pieces, of which one is in Dutch, there are seven books by Listrius, eight by Erasmus, four by Luther, Erasmus's translation of the New Testament, the 'Disputatio Groningensis',⁹ the highly explosive *Lamentationes Petri*,¹⁰ two works by Johan Pupper van Goch and five by Wessel. This enumeration conceals the fact that many volumes contained several works by different authors. There is, for example, more by Luther than one would think at first sight,¹¹ and Melanchthon¹² and Hutten¹³ are present as well. It is evident from the foregoing that both publishers worked towards a clearly defined goal. They established, as Dr Kronenberg pointed out, 'one of the most active production-centres of heretical books in our country.'¹⁴ We should keep in mind that the early Reformation movement in the Netherlands had no distinctive Lutheran character. It was rather a broad anti-hierarchical, anti-institutional, pro-liberty movement, in which both Luther and Erasmus played important roles.¹⁵ The firm was perhaps more

⁶ For Listrius see Rogge, 'Gerardus Listrius'; *Contemporaries of Erasmus* I, s.v. Gerardus Listrius.

⁷ There are some traces of his wife/widow at Zwolle in 1526 and 1529; cf. Elte, 'Godsdienstige Conflicten in Zwolle in het tijdvak van 1530-1580', 8; Elte, 'Bescheiden betreffende de hervorming in Zwolle', 54.

⁸ See Erasmus, *Opera omnia* (ASD) IV 3, 34.

⁹ See Wolfs, *Das Groninger Religionsgespräch*.

¹⁰ See Clemen, 'Die Lamentationes Petri'.

¹¹ An example is found in the edition of Pupper van Goch's *Fragmenta*, to which a large Luther fragment was added; see Luther, *Werke* X 2, 327-328.

¹² NK 157; cf. Kronenberg, *Verboden boeken*, 68-69.

¹³ NK 2985; cf. Kronenberg, *Verboden boeken*, 62.

¹⁴ Kronenberg, *Verboden boeken*, 68.

¹⁵ See for this definition Augustijn, 'Godsdienst in de zestiende eeuw', 34-35.

inclined towards Erasmus than to Luther, but it would not be wise to press this point.

One thing is very certain: the whole enterprise shows the clear features of the Bible humanists. The 'schoolbook department' has not only the usual classical authors, but also books written by Listrius, which teach the new rhetorical methods.¹⁶ In the 'cultural department' there is an emphasis on 'hot' items. Not only the contents are important. I would emphasize as well the form and the style of those treatises, for which the publishers in first instance were responsible. These included poems,¹⁷ a broad satirical colloquy¹⁸ and even a so-called letter to Ortwin Gratius,¹⁹ i.e. an imitation of the *Litterae obscurorum virorum*. Corver is not sufficiently known to enable us to determine his contribution to all of this. Perhaps the rather difficult task of collecting and selecting for publication texts which had already been published elsewhere, and, even more difficult, the selection of original manuscripts offered by authors, was in part left to Listrius. However this may be, the firm did well, as the quantity and quality of its production shows. One of the keys to the success of the Officina Corveriana was the inner coherence of its program.

There are two notable exceptions to this unity: the two Pupper van Goch editions²⁰ and the five Wessel editions. Both authors wrote in the fifteenth century. They belonged neither to the classical authors nor to the trendy, progressive modern writers. This applies in particular to Wessel. Van Goch was first of all a critical theologian. His theology was therefore very much a reaction to the ideas of his age, but even at the time of Corver's printing his theology was in a sense modern. By far and away the greater part of Wessel's oeuvre, however, was of a devotional nature, written with the goal of assisting in meditation and pious reflection and self-reflection. This character made it timeless but not very attractive to the Officina Corveriana. Nonetheless, in five volumes we have Wessel's 'Opera omnia' in our hands.²¹ Does

¹⁶ See e.g. NK 1376, 3407, 3408, 3409.

¹⁷ See NK 746, 3405.

¹⁸ The *Lamentationes Petri*; see NK 2985.

¹⁹ See NK 4154 (3998).

²⁰ See NK 1012, 3109; *Bibliotheca Reformatoria Neerlandica* VI, 267–344.

²¹ NK 2200, 2201, 2202, 2203, 2204, 2205. The first scholar who paid deliberate attention to the bibliography of Wessel was Doedes; see Doedes, 'Merkwaardigheden uit den oude-boeken-schat', Doedes, 'Historisch-Literarisch zur Biographie Johann Wessels'. A good bibliography was delivered by Clemen in Luther, *Werke* X 2, 312–316. Van Rhijn, *Wessel Gansfort*, LVII–LXVII, adds nothing to the data given by Clemen. *Wessel Gansfort en het Noordelijk Humanisme*, 13–23, provides a short-title catalogue of all known editions.

this term fit? Indeed, I am using it here to illustrate that it is *not* appropriate for these publications. Three of them form a unity and it is plausible that they were the first to be published. One volume contains Wessel's works on the incarnation and the Lord's passion, a second his tract on prayer and a third the treatise on the Eucharist and Mass.²² None indicate the publisher or the date and place of publication. They have a similar lay-out, a similar title page, and generally a similar format. They have neither publisher's blurb nor forewords or introductions; they exist only as texts provided with elaborate indices. The title pages are as simple and unpretentious as possible: *De causis incarnationis . . . Magistri Wesseli Groningensis; Tractatus D(omini) Wesseli Groningensis de oratione; Wesselus. De sacramento eucharistiae*. Obviously there was no need to introduce or to announce either author or works. We may assume he was well-known to the target group of these publications. In other words, the readers were to be found in the circles of the Modern Devouts and their followers. We may safely assume that the necessary manuscripts were provided either by the Brethren of Groningen or by those of Mount St Agnes. We have ample evidence that Listrius knew the leading personalities in these houses, Goswin van Halen and Gerard van Clooster, quite well.²³

The fourth volume differs considerably. The title page reads: *Farrago Wesseli. M(agistri) Wesseli Groningensis lux mundi olim vulgo dicti, rarae et reconditae doctrinae notulae aliquot*.²⁴ Publisher, year and date are not indicated. The title page is characteristic for the way in which Wessel is announced, or rather advertised. His notes are of a rare, profound knowledge, the author is known to be a genius. Following the index there is a poem by Antonius Liber, in which Wessel is praised as *princeps litterarum*, the Galen of our age, the new Vergil and Cicero. More revealing, however, than this half-century old poem is a new epigram addressed to the reader:

Your attention, pious reader! Here you shall see new teachings, as strong in learning as in piety. Indeed, Doctor Wessel, once most renowned, the great glory of Frisia, wrote them. But long they remained in the dark, as various false doctrines had sprung up,

²² NK 2200, 2203, 2204; *Wessel Gansfort en het Noordelijk Humanisme*, nos. 21, 18, 22. The title page of *De causis incarnationis* *ibid.*, 14, that of *De sacramento eucharistiae* in Scudder and Miller, *Wessel Gansfort* I, opposite 187.

²³ See Rogge, 'Gerardus Listrius', 213–214; Van Rhijn, *Studiën over Wessel Gansfort en zijn tijd*, 150–151.

²⁴ NK 2202; *Wessel Gansfort en het Noordelijk Humanisme*, no. 23. The title page *ibid.*, 15.

through the pestilent hostility of the sophists. Father Wessel, now is the time to read your writings, since now learning ranks with piety.²⁵

This is of course the publisher's blurb which one might expect in recommendation of a hitherto unknown author. And indeed, the Wessel of this slant was quite unknown. Some people will have remembered that Wessel had had some difficulties with the inquisition. These texts reveal that he had dealt with burning questions and had not quite wrongly been given the title of *Magister contradictionis*.²⁶ To put it more precisely: of the six texts offered, the last four deal with one central issue, the authority and jurisdiction of the church, popes and prelates over their subjects in this life and hereafter, in Purgatory. This was one of the most hotly debated subjects in circles of Bible humanists, and some years later also in those of Luther, Zwingli, and others. For our present purpose it would lead too far to discuss the precise position of Wessel or to indicate his sources. It suffices to say that he was certainly not unique in his ideas and that in many respects he developed Jean Gerson's strain of thought.²⁷ On the other hand the charge of singularity, against which he had to defend himself time and again, was not baseless. Exactly for this reason his ideas were worth publishing even forty years later.

The booklet was called *Farrago*, a mishmash, and, in spite of its central issue, not unjustly so. The publisher does not waste any words in identifying the sources of his material. The only indication of its origin is given in the poem quoted: it was hidden up to now because of the sophists — a term applied to all those, who were opposed to the new learning, especially to the scholastics. There is an old tradition, related by Hardenberg in his *Vita Wesseli Groningensis*, that Wessel's writings were found partly in the papers of Jacobus Hoek after the death of the latter, partly at Mount St Agnes, and that they were taken by Hinne Rode to Luther.²⁸ This implies, as we will see, that these writings are the tracts included in the *Farrago*. It should be kept in mind, however, that the second piece of the *Farrago* consists almost entirely of small, uncorrelated excerpts from books already edited in full by the Officina Corveriana.²⁹ Is this perhaps a 'new' piece constructed by the editor?

²⁵ Gansfort, *Opera*, 710; Van Rhijn, *Wessel Gansfort*, LXII.

²⁶ See Van Rhijn, *Wessel Gansfort*, XXXVII.

²⁷ See Van Rhijn, *Wessel Gansfort*, 235–236. This aspect certainly deserves a separate treatment.

²⁸ See Gansfort, *Opera*, **7r.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 733–748.

The fifth and last volume³⁰ has on its title page a table of contents: six letters, four from Wessel, one to him and one on him, and Anthony de Castro's attack on Wessel's position on indulgences in one of the latter's published letters to Hoek. The volume has two parts, each with its own quire signatures, so that they must have been put together at a rather late stage of printing. The first part gives the letters. They increase and deepen our knowledge of Wessel's doctrine on the sacrament of penance and on indulgences. The second part gives De Castro's piece. It is an attack on Wessel's ideas, a frontal attack of the usual kind, not particularly interesting and even less surprising.

The volume does give us two major surprises. The first is a letter of Luther, directed to 'the christian reader',³¹ a foreword recommending this 'Frisian from Groningen, a man of remarkable ability and of rare and great spirit'. Luther goes so far as to declare:

If I had read his works earlier, my enemies might think that Luther had absorbed everything from Wessel, his spirit is so in accord with mine.

A better recommendation was certainly inconceivable, and Corver and Listrius must have read the letter with delight. The second surprise is found in the margins of the book. There are marginal notes accompanying Hoek's letter to Wessel on the indulgences and the tract by De Castro.³² This means that the two pieces directed against Wessel are provided with biting and often sarcastic remarks. They must have been written by a humanist scholar. Everything points in this direction: choice of words (e.g. 'theologaster',³³ 'magister noster',³⁴), the interest in the conflict between Jerome and Augustine on the struggle between Paul and Peter in Galatia,³⁵ the ideal of the early Church as the golden age of Christendom,³⁶ etc. What is most striking is that both of Wessel's opponents are seen not as historical figures but as contemporaries, and their theological opinions are considered

³⁰ NK 2201; *Wessel Gansfort en het Noordelijk Humanisme*, no. 28. The title page is given in Scudder and Miller, *Wessel Gansfort* I, opposite 167. The tract of Antonius de Castro was edited by Van Rhijn, *Impugnatorium M. Antonii de Castro O.P.*

³¹ Edited in Luther, *Werke* X 2, 311–317; the text also in Gansfort, *Opera*, 854.

³² See for Hoek's letter Gansfort, *Opera*, 871–876 and for the *Impugnatorium* the edition mentioned in note 30.

³³ Van Rhijn, *Impugnatorium*, 27.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 35, 68.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 26–27.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 74–75.

scandalous deceit. The supposed dedication of De Castro's treatise to a certain Pater P.H. is a fine example of humanist mockery. It attacks — ironically, of course — those people who dare despise the doctors of the Church and accuse them of seducing Christians and attacking errors by condemning heretics and bringing them to the stake.³⁷

In summary, it may be stated that these two volumes, *Farrago* and the *Letters*, published both at Zwolle in 1522, established Wessel's reputation then and for ages to come. Or is this rushing to conclusions? Probably it is: their publication by a small printer in a small town in a remote corner of Europe did not guarantee a general dissemination of the ideas contained therein. This is more than a general and gratuitous remark. In the same year, the same printer published two works by Johan Pupper van Goch mentioned previously. He was a contemporary of Wessel and his opinions were admittedly no less sensational than Wessel's. One of these volumes had a foreword by Luther.³⁸ The two cases are analogous, but the differences in outcome were substantial. Wessel's work found its way very quickly; Pupper van Goch was virtually unknown until the scholars of the second half of the eighteenth century discovered him.³⁹ Which factors determined this widely differing result? The answer is simple. It all depended — as it does today in similar cases — upon the contacts the printer had with his colleagues abroad and on the interest he aroused in them for a particular publication. In the case of Pupper van Goch for some unknown reason this proved to be a failure. But in the case of Wessel the printer was able to interest colleagues at Wittenberg and Basel in publishing his writings.

How did he succeed and in which ways? There is an old and much discussed story, told by Wessel's biographer Hardenberg some forty years later, that the well-known Utrecht humanist Hinne Rode took Wessel's writings, together with Cornelis Hoen's *Letter concerning the Eucharist*, first to Wittenberg, from there to Basel to Oecolampadius, and finally to Zwingli at Zurich.⁴⁰ The story in this form cannot be relied on and we have no means of

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 21. Strangely enough Van Rhijn did not realize the ironical nature of this foreword, so that he speaks of a sharp contrast between the intentions of its author and those of the author of the annotations; see 15–18.

³⁸ Edited in Luther, *Werke* X 2, 327–330. The only difference is, that Luther's name was not mentioned.

³⁹ Although Matthias Flacius mentioned him in the *Catalogus testium veritatis*, C.W.F. Walch was the first to acknowledge his merits in his *Monimenta mediæ ævi* (1760). See Ullmann, *Reformatoren vor der Reformation* I, esp. 163–166.

⁴⁰ See Gansfort, *Opera*, **7rv.

ascertaining a possible historical germ of truth.⁴¹ We have the following facts. In 1522 an edition of the *Farrago* was published at Wittenberg, with a title slightly different from that of the Corver-edition. The usual assumption that the two editions are based on two manuscripts, both deriving from one original, is neither unfounded nor proven.⁴² Be this as it may, the Wittenberg edition has the same content but lacks the poems of the Zwolle edition. A letter from John Arnold of Markt-Bergel, proofreader in the printer's office of Michael Lotter the Younger, to Andreas Althamer is given as a foreword. The book was published before April 1522.⁴³ We do not know how or by whom the manuscript or a copy of the Zwolle *Farrago* was brought to Wittenberg. In any case, the Wittenberg impression secured a much wider circulation than the one made at Zwolle.

Evidently Luther, who in these months lived on the Wartburg, was not involved in its publication, although Listrius was not a complete stranger to Luther.⁴⁴ After his return to Wittenberg he must, however, have read the book, for his letter on Wessel, which would soon be published in the Zwolle edition of Wessel's letters, is dated 30 July [1522] and in one passage it clearly refers to Arnold's foreword.⁴⁵ Luther's letter provides a second fact but it leads us straight to a question: which events caused Luther to write this letter? It is clearly meant as a foreword, and therefore it is a reasonable guess that someone, coming from Zwolle, told

⁴¹ Clemen tried to establish the journeys of Rode by comparing all available data; see Clemen, 'Hinne Rode in Wittenberg, Basel, Zürich'. Later, he criticised his own article characterizing it as a first-fruit, at which he could now perform the work of Penelope: see Luther, *Werke* X 2, 315 note 3.

⁴² See for this edition, in which neither the publisher nor the year of publication is indicated, Luthers *Werke* X 2, 312, 314–315, no. 2; Van Rhijn, *Wessel Gansfort*, LX–LXI, no. 1; *Wessel Gansfort en het Noordelijk Humanisme*, no. 24. The younger Melchior Lotter was the printer; see for him Benzing, *Die Buchdrucker des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts*, 498. Clemen assumes that the two editions are based on different manuscripts; see Luther, *Werke* X 2, 315. Van Rhijn, who in bibliographical matters completely depends on Clemen, simply repeats this. In my opinion this is no foregone conclusion. Clemen has rightly pointed out that there is a similarity in tone between the foreword of the Wittenberg edition, a letter by Arnold Bergel to Andreas Althamer, and the epigram of the Zwolle edition; see Clemen, 'Hinne Rode in Wittenberg, Basel, Zürich', 367–368 and cf. for the foreword Gansfort *Opera*, 851–852. This could be explained by assuming that Arnold Bergel had the Zwolle edition on his table. The 'nuper excusam' (not: 'nunc excusam') seems to point in this direction.

⁴³ Althamer's answer is dated April 1522; see Clemen, 'Hinne Rode in Wittenberg, Basel, Zürich', 639.

⁴⁴ One letter of Listrius to Luther has come down to us; see Luther, *Werke. Briefwechsel* II, no. 316.

⁴⁵ Luther: 'quem et ipsum apparet esse vere Theodidactum'; see Luther, *Werke* X 2, 317.11; Bergel: 'sunt enim θεοδιδάκτοι'; see Gansfort, *Opera*, 852.

Luther of the plans to publish one more volume of Wessel's works and asked for his contribution. There is even a possibility that this unknown messenger also presented him with a copy of Pupper van Goch's *Dialogus*, which had already been published at Zwolle, and asked Luther for a preface to Pupper's *Fragmenta*, which were to be published in the near future together with comprehensive parts of Luther's *Confutatio* of the Louvain theologian Latomus.⁴⁶

We now focus our attention on Basel, where Adam Petri published Wessel's *Farrago* in September 1522.⁴⁷ Without doubt, his source was the Wittenberg edition.⁴⁸ A seventh part, however, was added, entitled 'Some learned letters of the same author, on similar matters'. This part is a reprint of the Zwolle edition of Wessel's *Letters*. Moreover, Luther's letter was borrowed from this last edition but De Castro's tract against Wessel was left out. Thus, Adam Petri must have received copies of the Wittenberg *Farrago* edition and of the Zwolle *Letter* edition. Possibly he received the first volume directly from Wittenberg, the other one from Zwolle. It is more likely, however, that he received both volumes from Zwolle.⁴⁹ Be this as it may, both printers must have worked very quickly. Within at the most two months, Luther's foreword, dated 30 July, had been brought from Wittenberg to Zwolle, the Officina Corveriana had printed the *Letters* volume or at least completed its printing, both books had been dispatched to Basel, and Adam Petri had printed his quarto volume of 264 pages. One of the firm's proofreaders, the later Anabaptist Ulrich Hugwald, who thought highly of Wessel — in a private letter he had called him 'a light in the darkness'⁵⁰ — was responsible for including Wessel's works in the publisher's catalogue. He added an enthusiastic epilogue recommending Wessel's writings.⁵¹

It is not surprising that Wessel's works were published in Basel. As has been mentioned, Listrius lived at Basel and had worked there as a proofreader for Froben. Moreover, he belonged to the 'sodalitas basiliensis', the Basel humanist society. At least one

⁴⁶ See Luther, *Werke* X 2, 327–328.

⁴⁷ Luther, *Werke* X 2, 313, no. 3; Van Rhijn, *Wessel Gansfort*, LXIV–LXVI, no. 4; *Wessel Gansfort en het Noordelijk Humanisme*, no. 25; Claus and Pegg, *Ergänzungen zur Bibliographie der zeitgenössischen Lutherdrucke*, no. 1266a.

⁴⁸ The title pages show a striking similarity.

⁴⁹ However, one should keep in mind that Adam Petri was in close contact with Wittenberg; see Luther, *Werke* LX, 447 note 67.

⁵⁰ In a letter to Joachim Vadian, quoted in Luther, *Werke* X 2, 314.

⁵¹ The epilogue is only in Gansfort, *Opera*, **6rv, taken however from the 1523 edition.

other product of the Officina Corveriana was taken up by Petri soon after its publication, the *Disputatio Groningensis*.⁵² The question who actually brought the books to Basel, is even more intricate than in the case of Wittenberg. Is there then after all an element of truth in Hardenberg's story about the travels of Hinne Rode? In January 1523 Oecolampadius writes in a letter that he had met Rode and he adds: 'If Rode wants, Cratander will print Wessel',⁵³ a mysterious remark, precisely in the same month that Petri published a second and essentially unchanged edition of the *Farrago*.⁵⁴ It is scarcely conceivable that Oecolampadius was ill-informed or that he confused things; after all, he was a proofreader for Cratander and lived in his house.⁵⁵ Clearly he thought that Rode in a sense had Wessel's works at his free disposal. This implies that Rode had lived in Basel since September — almost half a year — and this does not sound very likely. In any case, Petri was the right man to publish Wessel. In those years he was one of Luther's most active printers: from 1517 to 1526 no less than 86 Luther impressions by him are known — he had also printed Melanchthon, Bugenhagen and several others.⁵⁶

The two Petri-editions were of crucial importance to Wessel's fame; they were decisive for Wessel's historical fate. This is evident from the large number of extant copies, compared with the few of the Wittenberg edition and the next to none of both Zwolle editions. Without Petri's edition there would not have been any Wessel study at all.

Attention must now be given to a second question: which Wessel became a celebrity after 1522? Part of an answer has already been suggested in the foregoing. This Wessel is not the devout Wessel, whose position on all dogmatic loci has been examined meticulously by modern scholars such as Ullmann and Van Rhijn, for this can be done only by taking the devotional writings into consideration as well.⁵⁷ We are here concerned with the Wessel of the *Farrago* and the *Letters*. But how can we read and study

⁵² See Wolfs, *Das Groninger 'Religionsgespräch'*, 1–2, 183.

⁵³ See Staehelin, *Briefe und Akten zum Leben Oekolampads* I, 204, no. 142.

⁵⁴ Luther, *Werke* X 2, 313, no. 4; Van Rhijn, *Wessel Gansfort*, LXVI–LXVII, no. 5; *Wessel Gansfort en het Noordelijk Humanisme*, no. 26 (the title page *ibid.*, 17); Claus and Pegg, *Ergänzungen zur Bibliographie der zeitgenössischen Lutherdrucke*, no. 1266b.

⁵⁵ See Staehelin, *Das theologische Lebenswerk Johannes Oekolampads*, 169, 173.

⁵⁶ See Luthers *Werke* LX, 447 note 67.

⁵⁷ See Ullmann, *Reformatoren vor der Reformation* II, 421–642; Van Rhijn, *Wessel Gansfort*, 156–247.

these with the eyes and the mind of a sixteenth-century reader? This is a major problem; fortunately, however, we have the helping hand of Luther's two forewords: his letters on Wessel and on Pupper van Goch. Moreover, we possess the letter of Adam Petri — or rather of Ulrich Hugwald — added to the Basel editions.⁵⁸

As we saw above, Luther declares that Wessel's spirit is in complete accord with his own. He also enumerates the topics involved: 'these monsters of indulgences and ecclesiastical laws and so-called theology'. This much is clear. Foremost on Luther's mind in 1522 was not the doctrine of sin and grace, but, after the papal bulls and the Diet of Worms, he was now involved in a desperate struggle against the Church of his time. He therefore mentions its three characteristic features: 1) the *Corpus iuris canonici*, that is the whole structure of the church, marked by power and coercion; 2) the indulgences, that is a church which imposes itself on man with usurped divine — and therefore ungodly — authority; and 3) Aristotelian theology, in which human wisdom prevails over God's word. It is beyond argument that these three elements are of decisive importance in Wessel's theology. A revealing passage in *The Sacrament of Penance* brings them forward vigorously as a unity:

God has not bound men together in fellowship with the bond of faith in order that one may necessarily believe that what the other asserts is true. But he has bound them together in love in order that one may be obligated to love the other, even though a sinner. One is not bound to believe a person even when he is speaking the truth . . . Since, therefore, we are not bound to believe any man, we are not bound to believe the pope . . . If one is not bound to believe canons that have been officially published and authoritatively ratified, because they are outside of the Sacred Canon, one is not bound to believe any pope. But one should love, revere and obey him, only in so far as he fulfills his office rightly.⁵⁹

There is scarcely a passage in Wessel's work that is so significant for the aspects in Wessel which Luther embraces and which at the same time marks so clearly the differences between these two men.

Luther remarks that Wessel's style lacks his own harshness; Wessel treats his subjects with moderation but he has an unpolished style. His strong point is 'iudicium', judgment, discernment. This means that Luther admires Wessel's keen intelligence.

Most interesting is the overall picture in which Luther gives

⁵⁸ See for these three letters notes 31, 38, 51 above.

⁵⁹ Gansfort, *Opera*, 780–781, here quoted from Scudder and Miller, *Wessel Gansfort*, 203–204.

Wessel his place. Luther compares his own age and fate to that of Elijah. Just as the prophet thought that only he had been left to fight God's battles, so Luther felt that he was quite alone in his struggles with the church. But on reading Wessel's works he realized that the Lord had saved a 'remnant in Israel'.⁶⁰ We here have the beginning of the conception which thirty years later was to be elaborated by Matthias Flacius Illyricus in his *Catalogus testium veritatis*.⁶¹ In the darkness of a history of corruption and apostasy there are by God's grace some luminous stars, some prophets, who bear witness to the truth of God. Therefore the great point in common between Wessel and Luther is their divine calling. They are true prophets, called by God; and they both receive their message, their doctrine, as St Paul did, not from men.⁶² They are θεοδιδάκτοι.⁶³ Not surprisingly not only Elijah and Paul are mentioned, but there are also allusions to the calling of Samuel, and to Isaiah.⁶⁴ This conception is decisive for the image of Wessel as a whole. It is fully Luther-centred, or, in Luther's opinion, God-centred. Wessel has no independent significance, he has no individual place in history and nothing is characteristic of his person or age. In the apocalyptic struggle between God and satan, in which men play their role, the roles are always identical and by consequence the men are too. Truth is absolute and constant, and so is falsehood.

Luther's foreword to the Pupper van Goch-edition treats the discovery and the publication of Tauler, the *Theologia deutsch*,⁶⁵ Wessel and Pupper together. They are for Luther a unity, characterized as enemies of impiety and treasures of Germany. The wordplay with the Latin 'germanus' (German *and* genuine) is obvious. The picture which this foreword provides is definitely different from that given in the foreword to Wessel's *Letters*. Its structure is clear. This 'German theology' is aimed against both scholastic theology and humanist theology. In fact, scholastic

⁶⁰ 1 Kings 19, 1-18; 18, 4.

⁶¹ It is interesting to see that Matthias Flacius begins his foreword to the reader with an elaborate reference to this Bible passage; see Scheible, *Die Anfänge der reformatorischen Geschichtsschreibung*, 50-51.

⁶² A reference to Gal. 1, 12.

⁶³ The word is only found 1 Thess. 4, 9 (cf. Joh. 6, 45) and nowhere in the Septuagint. The assumption of the editor of Luther's letter that Luther's reference to Isaiah is due to a mistake, is not necessary. Luther most probably had Isa. 54, 13 or 59, 21 in mind.

⁶⁴ 'cum sermo domini esset preciosus nec abundaret visio', cf. 1 Sam. 3, 1; 'apud ereas istas frontes et cervices ferreas impietatis', cf. Isa. 48, 4; 'esse domino reliquias suas salvas', cf. Rom. 9, 27, a reference to Isa. 10, 22.

⁶⁵ In 1516 Luther came to know both Tauler and the *Theologia deutsch*.

theology is only mentioned as a non-humanist one; to quote Luther: 'If in scholastic theology nothing was lacking except eloquence and genius . . .', and at the end of the piece: 'If we are not able to acquire an erudite and eloquent piety, we will certainly prefer a rude and childish piety to impiety, be it either eloquent or childish.' This foreword mentions three methods in theology: scholasticism in the tradition of Albert the Great, Thomas Aquinas, Duns Scotus, William of Occam; 'theologia sincerior' in the German tradition mentioned above; and humanist theology. In the last case no tradition is named. The almost literal quotations from Erasmus leave little doubt as to Luther's aims.⁶⁶

All this gives an interesting insight into Luther's ideas in 1522. His struggle with the Church, which had begun in 1518 and was at its height in 1521, still had priority; but already his disagreements with Erasmus were developing. In the foreword to Wessel it is not as prevailing as it is in that to Pupper, but at the very end a hint is dropped. Luther declares:

If Vergil found gold in the dunheaps of Ennius, the theologian will find in our Wessel, what he may adorn with the riches of his eloquence.⁶⁷

The statement is not quite clear at first sight,⁶⁸ but it becomes so the moment it is considered as irony. Luther in fact says: This new type of humanist theologians will find real substance in Wessel. His style may be unpolished, but it can perfectly well be embellished, if this were the task of a theologian!

This brings us to the Wessel edition of Basel and the epilogue, the letter by Ulrich Hugwald. Some years later he was to become an Anabaptist, but it is unclear what his stand was in 1522. The same question may be put as above regarding Luther: what exactly did Hugwald read in Wessel, what was in his opinion the centre of Wessel's theology? He definitely thinks highly of Wessel:

. . . what . . . have you ever seen, except the books of the Bible, as they are called, that sets forth the whole cause of Christ and the Scriptures with clearer proofs . . .

⁶⁶ Especially from *Antibarbari* and *Enchiridion*; see Erasmus, *Opera Omnia* (ASD) I 1, 1–138, esp. 93–105, and Erasmus, *Opera Omnia* (LB) V, 1–66, esp. 25F, 66B.

⁶⁷ Luther alludes to the anecdote which is told a.o. by Cassiodorus, *Institutiones* I, 1, 8: 'Vergilius dum Ennium legeret, a quodam quid ageret inquisitus, respondit: "aurum in stercore quaero".'

⁶⁸ It is interesting to see that the editors of the Basel Wessel edition were puzzled by this sentence and changed the original 'ornet' into 'addet' (first Basel edition) or 'addat' (second Basel edition). This changes the meaning completely and certainly is no improvement. Cf. Luther, *Werke* X 2, 317.29 app. crit.

This certainly will do: 'totum Christi et Scripturae negotium'. Wessel fights against the impostors, the enemies of God; he shakes human traditions. The decisive antithesis is Christ and the Word of God over against man-made doctrines and inventions. Hugwald, of course, is right; it is possible to find passages in Wessel which enable a reader to draw such conclusions. One example can be given. At the end of *The Sacrament of Penance* Wessel states:

... if the prelates set aside the commands of God and enjoin their own man-made commands, however much they may have become the successors of the Apostles, what they do and command is of no avail. Nay more, if the Apostles themselves should do this, and such on the authority of the Apostle, they would not have to be obeyed. . . . Hence arises that dense forest of decrees and decretals which by their very minuteness abolish the study of the sacred Scriptures, hinder our knowledge of them, and compel us to abandon them, thus causing guilt to arise because of the neglect of so great a command of God.⁶⁹

This emphasis on the vigorous rejection of human traditions in Church and theology is elaborated by Hugwald in a fervent appeal to two different groups of theologians and Church leaders. First he addresses 'those who become puffed up with their wisdom and learning and then proceed to mould the life of Christians by their philosophical reasoning'. To Hugwald they are like the swallows and mice, which are domestic and seem tame, but actually cannot be tamed.⁷⁰ These people are held in high esteem for the riches of their learning and sanctity; but Hugwald assures us there is an absolute antithesis between the true knowledge of Christ and this learning. In this way Hugwald depicts scholastic theology as the basis of human traditions and inventions. Does this imply that Hugwald is an adherent of Zwingli? There are indeed striking points in common between these comments and Zwingli's *Archeteles* of August 1522, in which he abandons his obedience to the bishop of Constance. Its substance is a prolonged and effective complaint against the heavy burdens of human inventions, statutes and regulations in the church.⁷¹ Even

⁶⁹ Gansfort, *Opera*, 809, quoted from Scudder and Miller, *Wessel Gansfort*, 244.

⁷⁰ Gansfort, *Opera*, **6v. 'Quare hunc legere optarim primum illos sapientia et eruditione turgidos, qui rationibus suis philosophicis vitam Christianam formare pergunt; illos, inquam, quibus in Theologia hodie in toto pene orbe nihil non tribuitur. Quos ego similes soleo dicere hirundinibus et muribus, qui, cum domestici sint et videantur cicures, cicurari tamen non possunt.' Cf. Plutarch, *Moralia* 728A. Hugwald's source probably is Erasmus, *Adag.* 2; see Erasmus, *Opera Omnia* (LB) 2, 22D. However, Plutarch and Erasmus both mention the fly (μύια, musca), not the mouse (μῦς, mus).

⁷¹ See Augustijn, 'Zwingli als Humanist'.

though it seems that Hugwald belonged to the party of Zwingli, there is sufficient reason to think this over carefully. He also addresses a second kind of theologian, which at first sight is not so easily identified.

But further, I would wish him to be read by those who, destitute of love and puffed up with knowledge, offend the little ones in Christ indiscriminately in those things in which it is not fitting at all, thereby greatly harming the Church of Christ. They are like trees in a garden which hinder others by their too luxuriant branches; to these Christ said: 'It is better to have thy hand cut off and enter into life maimed, to have thy foot cut off and enter lame, or to have thine eye plucked out and enter with one eye, than to be cast whole into hell fire' [recommending them thus to dissimulate much].

The exegesis, supposedly given in the last words,⁷² may give rise to some amazement. Hugwald's meaning, however, is clear: some people rush to extremes. The clue for identification is supplied in the first sentence with its reference to 1 Cor. 8, 1. Destitute of love and puffed up with knowledge are those people, who offend the weak by eating sacrificial meat, so that by their knowledge a brother in Christ is lost. This is an allusion to the events of April 1522, when in Basel and Zurich the fasting regulations were purposely broken by Zwingli's adherents. Zwingli's efforts in the decisive year 1522 aimed at carrying through a break with bishop and hierarchy.⁷³ In the same days in which Erasmus read the *Archeteles* in horror and with distaste,⁷⁴ Hugwald pointed to Wessel as to a theologian who taught a middle course, in 'earnestness and moderation' both, as he states in his epilogue. To put it in five words: Wessel has become an Erasmian.

Pondering the foregoing it seems clear to me that one conclusion at any rate is inevitable: apparently the 'which' is less clear or rather more ambiguous than the 'how'. Luther's view on Wessel is quite different from Hugwald's. Is such a conclusion too harmless? The point is that their respective views are not only different, but contradictory. Hugwald depicts Wessel as a Bible humanist like Erasmus, and Luther considers him to be the representative of German theology over against humanist

⁷² The last six words are added in the second Basel edition. Perhaps Hugwald had learned that the reader wondered about the quotation he had given and therefore added the explanation, declaring in margin that it was quite original: 'Locus hactenus a nullo quod sciam intellectus.'

⁷³ See Gäbler, *Huldrych Zwingli*, 51–58.

⁷⁴ See Augustijn, 'Erasmus und die Reformation in der Schweiz', 34–36.

theology. Neither Luther nor Hugwald is an historian; neither is interested in Wessel's place in the history of dogma: each makes use of Wessel to support his own ideals and ideas.

However, there is some difference in the way they make use of Wessel. Much more than Hugwald, Luther thinks strongly in terms of a self-constructed image of historical developments. This image nowhere fits in with historical reality. Luther's 'German theology' never existed: the four authors he presents form no unity. As for the relationship between Wessel and Luther: there are similarities, but there is no likeness. Statements are sometimes identical, but the framework, the whole way of thinking, is widely divergent. The Catholic polemicist Johann Fabri, the future bishop of Vienna, was certainly right when he pointed this out in a treatise in which he paralleled Wessel and Luther.⁷⁵

It is interesting to find that Luther's view was taken over not only by Melancthon and others in the sixteenth century, but also in the modern research of the last two centuries. Scholarly Wessel research begins with Carl Ullmann's *Reformatoren vor der Reformation* (1841–1842).⁷⁶ His concept of 'forerunners of the reformation' is a variant of the concept of 'witnesses of truth'. The only difference is that Ullmann, a typical exponent of the nineteenth century, is in constant pursuit of historical continuity. In the case of Wessel this forces him to make the best of a supposed climate of Reformation in Groningen, a construction which had already been invented by the theologians of the so-called 'Groningen School' at the beginning of the century.⁷⁷ This Wessel image prevails to this day. It is characterized by the need to indicate to what extent Wessel agreed with Luther and in which respects there was a marked difference. These questions are dealt with in almost any handbook of church history.⁷⁸

⁷⁵ See Ullmann, *Reformatoren vor der Reformation* II, 655 note 3.

⁷⁶ See Ullmann, *Reformatoren vor der Reformation* II. It was preceded by his *Johann Wessel, ein Vorgänger Luthers. Zur Charakteristik der christlichen Kirche und Theologie in ihrem Übergang aus dem Mittelalter in die Reformationszeit*, Hamburg 1834. The characterization 'Vorläufer', 'forerunner' — Ullmann points out that for brevity's sake speaking of 'Reformatoren' he means 'Vorläufer': see Ullmann, *Reformatoren vor der Reformation* II, V — has become current in historical works to this day; see e.g. Benrath, *Wegbereiter der Reformation*, XIV–XXIX, who rightly says (XX–XXI): 'Diese Überwertung fand ihren klassischen Ausdruck in den "Reformatoren vor der Reformation" des Neanderschülers Carl Ullmann'; Oberman, *Forerunners of the Reformation*, 3–49, discusses the expression.

⁷⁷ See Van Rhijn, *Wessel Gansfort*, 9–15.

⁷⁸ See e.g. Seeberg, *Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte* III, 760–762; Bakhuizen van den Brink and Dankbaar, *Handboek der kerkgeschiedenis* II, 207 and III, 18.

We have seen that Hugwald introduces Wessel as a proto-Erasmus on two counts, namely in his explanation of Christ and Scripture and in his opposition to the enemies of God, as they reveal themselves in human traditions and inventions. However, he invokes this image very subtly, rather suggesting than claiming. Wessel, he says, is an example of both Christian severity and modesty. In this way Hugwald implicitly underlines Wessel's relevance for his own time. He puts his Wessel on the scene as opposing the rashness of a Zwingli as well as the lack of seriousness of the old Church, so that the reader of his epilogue is immediately reminded of the questions of the day. Compared with Luther's method, Hugwald's is much less outspoken. Luther impresses on the reader his own presence, Hugwald on the other hand keeps himself in the dark.

Like Luther, Hugwald too had his followers. Noteworthy certainly is Hardenberg. In his *Vita* he depicts Wessel as a tutor of the young, and Aduard as a kind of Academy: distinguished and learned men gathered around Wessel, Wessel read Hebrew aloud, he expounded the Psalter to the younger brethren, he answered their questions, he complained that the meaning of the Vulgate was often obscure, and so forth.⁷⁹

Did modern research take up Hugwald's view of Wessel as a proto-Erasmus? The influence of this view was much more restricted than the idea that Wessel was a forerunner of Luther. Actually we find it nowhere so unmistakably as in Lindeboom's study on Biblical humanism, in which Erasmus — which is to say, the liberal Erasmus of about 1900 — is indeed both summit and standard.⁸⁰ Lindeboom, however, stood alone in his opinion. Even his pupil Maarten van Rhijn, who in the final pages of his dissertation agrees explicitly with Lindeboom in rejecting the forerunner concept, in fact implicitly applies it in his review and appraisal of Wessel's doctrines.⁸¹ Modern research has sometimes taken up Lindeboom's view in mitigated form.⁸²

In conclusion, it must be realised that the construction of a Wessel-image depends to a great extent on the available sources. Luther and Hugwald, however, used exactly the same material.

⁷⁹ See Gansfort, *Opera*, ***1rv; Van Rhijn, *Wessel Gansfort*, 132–133.

⁸⁰ Lindeboom, *Het Bijbelsch Humanisme in Nederland*, 52.

⁸¹ Van Rhijn, *Wessel Gansfort*, 245–247.

⁸² See e.g. De Bruin in Bakhuizen van den Brink and Dankbaar, *op. cit.*, 270–271; Iserloh, in: Jedin (ed.), *Handbuch der Kirchengeschichte* III 2, 713; Benrath, in: *Handbuch der Dogmen- und Theologiegeschichte* III, 18–19, in part I bearing the title: 'Die Lehre des Humanismus und des Antitrinitarismus'.

Both saw in Wessel a highly critical theologian, interested primarily in the doctrine of the Church and the sacraments.⁸³ That nevertheless their respective Wessel-images are contradictory is due to the fact that their vantage points are different. *De causa incarnationis*, *De magnitudine passionis* and *De modo orandi* reveal Gansfort as a meditative theologian, a man of typical late-medieval piety, strongly influenced by the Modern Devotion. As in any age, the combination meditative-critical is not rare in the fifteenth century. The real difficulty is where to look for the *humanist* Wessel. Where is he present in his own works? My answer would be: nowhere. Only the portrait by Hardenberg and Hegius's letter to Wessel provide us with a Wessel interested in classical authors, in the Fathers of the Church, in manuscripts of the Bible and in independent exegetical work.⁸⁴ It is evident that Hardenberg's biography is no first-hand evidence. This leaves only one source: Hegius's letter to Wessel.

It is possible that those people who after Wessel's death destroyed part of his legacy,⁸⁵ selected exactly his humanistic works, works of which even the titles are unknown. This would seem to be highly improbable. One conclusion only is possible: the picture of Wessel as a humanist or a Bible humanist is unhistorical, as unhistorical as Luther's portrait of Wessel as a protolutheran.

⁸³ See for this aspect Ogilvie, 'Wessel Gansfort's Theology of Church Government'.

⁸⁴ See Gansfort, *Opera*, ***4b-5a.

⁸⁵ We owe this piece of information again to Hardenberg; see Gansfort, *Opera*, **7a.

Zwolle — Officina Corveriana*Wessel Gansfort:*

1. De causa incarnationis
2. De oratione
3. De sacramento eucharistiae
4. Farrago (= 6 texts)

[1521/1522]

5. Epistolae + Impugnatorium
Antonii de Castro [1522]

-foreword: letter Luther-

Wittenberg — Lotter

Farrago (= 6 texts)

[April 1522]

Wittenberg — Lutherletter on Wessel Gansfort
30 July [1522]

letter on Pupper van Goch [1522]

Basel — Adam Petri*Farrago*, 1st. ed. Sept.
1522

(= 6 texts ←
+ Epistolae
+ letter Luther
+ epilogue Hugwald)

Farrago, 2nd ed.
Jan. 1523*Pupper van Goch:*

1. Dialogus
 2. Fragmenta [1522]
- -foreword: letter Luther-

Printing history of Wessel Gansfort's texts

F.J. BAKKER

A COMMEMORATIVE MASS FOR WESSEL GANSFORT

It is known that Wessel Gansfort had strong ties with the city of Groningen.¹ He was born and bred there, and received his education through the mediation of the Groningen mayoral family Jarges. At the end of his life he returned to the city. After having lived for some time in the Cistercian monastery of Aduard, close to the city, he was admitted to the Olde Convent, a sister convent of the Order of Tertiaries, through the mediation of the bishop of Utrecht, David of Burgundy.² Some authors believe that the ties of that convent with the Friars Minor in Groningen must have been strong, because it is part of one of the Franciscan orders. The reverse is true. Only seldom is there a direct influence of the Franciscans. Much more important are the ties with the Brethren of the Common Life in the city itself. The Olde Convent lends them a hand in founding their chapter in the hope that they will supply them with good confessors. The priest who acts as such in the Olde Convent in Wessel's time, Theodericus van Gogh, is also known as the provisor of the Fraterhuis.³

In the Olde Convent, Wessel Gansfort spends his last years studying theology. As Rudolph Agricola, then secretary of the city of Groningen, writes to Adolph Occo in a letter of 11 October 1482, he no longer practices medicine. In another letter, written on 9 November 1484 from Heidelberg to Johannes Reuchlin,

¹ For further details on Wessel Gansfort's sojourn in Groningen, see Van Rhijn, *Wessel Gansfort*.

² There is a recurrent misconception that the Olde Convent is a Poor Clare convent. Van Rhijn made a mistake here: *Wessel Gansfort*, 136–137. See also his later work: *Studiën over Wessel Gansfort*, 144. Van Heel has straightened the matter out: *De Tertiariissen van het Utrechtsche kapittel*. He again emphasizes this in 'Het Olde Convent of het St. Agnesklooster te Groningen'; see also my *Bedelorden en begijnen in de stad Groningen tot 1594*, esp. 158ff. Unfortunately, the same mistake was made once again in the catalogue of the Wessel Gansfort exhibition organized by the University Library on the occasion of the conference: *Wessel Gansfort en het Noordelijk Humanisme*, 13.

³ See for the relations between Tertiaries, Franciscans, and Brethren of the Common Life: Bakker, *Bedelorden en begijnen*, 164ff.

Agricola also reports that he was very close to 'Basilius'.⁴ Goswinus van Halen implicitly confirms this.

These data on Wessel Gansfort's sojourn in Groningen have been extracted from letters and narrative sources. To date, references in other kinds of sources, such as charters, have not been found. But there are two charters in the Rijksarchief at Groningen which I should like to discuss in this context. Originally they formed a transfix, to which a third charter very probably also belonged. However, the latter has been lost. The two charters are severely damaged in the same way.⁵

The date of issue of the oldest preserved text is partially legible as 1461. The combination of mayors leads to the conclusion that it must have been issued before 22 February, the day on which a new administration was installed in Groningen.⁶ On the grounds of the rest of the text, it can be assumed that 'des wondesdages inden vasten' signifies the day; that is Ash Wednesday which in 1461 fell on 18 February. The reconstructed text with the conjectures is as follows (text in capitals is readable):

1. WY borgermestere ende Raed IN GRONINGEN BETUGEN
MYT DESSEN OPENEN BREVE DAT voer ons is gekOMEN
ALBERT
2. S..... ende bekande voer EM ENDE SINE ERFFGENAMEN
DAT HIE HEVET VERKOFFT UPGEDragen ende over-
gegEVEN JUNGE
3. JOHan Sch... ende sinen eRFFGENAMEN ANDERHALVEN
GULDEN JAERLIKER ENDE ERFFLIKEr renten vyff onSER
STAD JAGHERS
4. voer datum dessen breves geMUNTET OFFTE PAYMENT DAT
DAER GUET VOER IS VOER elken gulden gerekent
JAERLIX TE
5. BOren alze stadt recht is in ende uut den HUUSE MYTEN
HOFSTEDEN ENDE SINEN TOBEHOREN DAER he nu YNE
WOENT
6. GELegen an de norderzyde IN MANNICHVOLDE STRATE
UP DEN OERT DAER DEN geestlicken mageden WONIN-
GEN NAEST

⁴ *Rodolphus Agricola Phrisius 1444–1485*, 321–326: Epp. 26 and 41.

⁵ *Inventaris van archieven van kloosters in de provincie Groningen*: the transfix is listed under INV. 400, R 422 and 722.

⁶ See for the lists of mayors of Groningen: Ubbo Emmius, *De agro Frisiae inter Amasum et Lavicam fluvios* (1646). In places, this list needs to be revised.

7. BYLiggen an de zyde vry ENDE QUYT VOER ENE SUMME GELDES DE ALBERT vorscr. bekende dat EM VULL ENDE
 8. ALL betaelt is. Hiir is togesproken DAT ALBERT VORSCREVEN OFFTE SINE ERFFGENAMEN DESSE vorscr. anderhalven gulden rente mogen AFF VRY ENDE
 9. quyt kopen tot allen tyden wanneer em des genogET MYT vyffendeTWYNTICH GULDEN VORSCREVEN PAYMENTS sunder argeliST DAT ORKONDE
 10. wy myt onsen stad zegel Ghegeven INDEN JAER ONSS HEREN DUSENT VIERHUNDERT EENENDETSEStich des woNDESDAGES INDEN
 11. vasten doe Henrick Baroldes, OTTO TER HANZOW, Gosen van Dulck ENDE JOHAN RENGERS SCAFFERSOEN BORGERmestere weren ONSER STAD.
- Dorso: 1. JUNGE JOHAN SCH ...
 2. ITEM DESE KAMERS DAER AL Dese BREVEN VAN SPREEKEN HOEREn ons NU SELVEN TOE.

Seal has been lost.

The name of the buyer cannot be established from this nor other sources.

The more important of the two texts relating to Wessel Gansfort is the most recent of the documents of the transfix, which until now has escaped Gansfort scholars. This is not entirely inexplicable. In the first place, the parchment, and thus the text written on it, is severely damaged and most of the date has been lost. This circumstance sometimes caused the charter to be listed under the heading 'undated'. Thus it was easily overlooked. Moreover, its content has not been adequately described in Feith's *Register* of 1853,⁷ nor in a preliminary inventory of the archives of the Olde Convent compiled in the sixties,⁸ nor in the *Inventaris van archieven van kloosters in de provincie Groningen* of 1989.⁹

The reconstruction of this more recent text is more difficult than that of the older charter. It consists of the unique grounds for a legal action, and this explains why comparable sources from the Groningen context are lacking. But as we shall see, its intention

⁷ Feith, *Register van het archief van Groningen*. The description under 1461.1 is: 'Verzegeling, bijna geheel vergaan, maar belangrijk om het goed bewaarde daaraan hangende zegel der abdij van Aduard.'

⁸ Botke, INV. 55, R. 103.

⁹ R. 722: (1485–1500): 'Wolterus, abt van Aduard, oorkondt dat hij heeft verkocht en overgedragen aan de ministerse en de gemene zusters van het Olde Convent een jaarlijkse rente, groot anderhalven gulden bedoeld in de hierbij getransfigeerde akte.'

is clear. As far as I know, this charter contains the only reference to Wessel Gansfort in a Groningen record. This is the text, as far as it can be reconstructed:

1. WY WOLTerus abt van Aedwerth beKENNEN ENDE BETUGHEN MIT DESEN OPENEN BREVE DAT WYHEBBEN OPGE dragen ende overgegHEVEN DEN GHEMENEN
 2. SUSTEREN van het Olde Convent in GRONYNGEN TOT BEHOEVEN DES VOERSCREVEN CONVENTS ALSOE-DAENE ANDERHalve gulden rentE DAER DE BREEF
 3. AF SPREKET daer dese doer GHETOEGHEN IS MIT ALLEN RECHTE ENDE EGHENDOEME ALSE DE SELVE BREve inholveNDE IS VOER SOEDANE
 4. WALDAEden als mEYSTER WESSEL DOCTOER INDER GODHEIT SELIGHER GHEDACHTEN ONS DA MEDE WYLEN
 5. DAT SIE N ENDE NOCH EENS ANDERHALVEN AR-NEMSE GULDEN DAER WY WOLTERUS VOERSCREVEN de susters vorscr. OECK DE BREVE
 6. VAN Overgegeven hebben daer wy de SUSTEREN ALDAER DES JAERS EENS GRACIE VAN GHEVEN ENDE MEYSTER WESsel een misSE HOLDEN TOT
 7. EWIGen tyden VAN DESSEN TWEEN ANDERHALVEN GULDEN AF GHELOSET WORDE SOE SALMEN RENTHE
 8. EW In oorkonde dER WAERHEIT HEBBE WY WOLTERUS ABT VOERSCREVEN UNSE ABTS SEGHEL ANDESE breVE GHEHANGHEN
 9. INDER vasten op gudENSDACH.
- No dorsal notes.
Seal present.

Wolterus, abbot of Aduard, donates two annuities of one and a half guilders to the sisters of the Olde Convent (the Spiritual Virgins) in the city of Groningen.¹⁰ In return, the sisters are to celebrate a commemorative Mass for master Wessel, who has conferred many benefactions on the monastery at Aduard. Each year, the sisters themselves will receive a 'gracie' (benefaction). If the two annuities are sold, the proceeds of the sale are to be invested again, so that the use of the money remains the same.

As appears from the text, the date of the charter remains

¹⁰ The annuity mentioned in line 5 might have been the assumed third charter of the transfix discussed earlier.

unclear. The inventories so far date it between 1485 and 1500, because it is not specified which of the two abbots named Wolter is intended. Wolterus I was abbot from 1485 to 1494, his successor and namesake Wolterus II from 1494 to 1500. Since a commemorative Mass is instituted not long after the death of the person to be commemorated, it seems obvious to assume that Wolterus I is the abbot involved. He had been elected already during the lifetime of abbot Hendrik van Rees and was presumably a man to the taste of his predecessor.¹¹ It is very probable that he had had Wessel in his monastery and perhaps appreciated him. If this assumption is correct, then the charter can be dated between 4 October 1489, the day of Wessel's death,¹² and 30 September 1494, the day abbot Wolterus I died according to the *Kroniek van Aduard*. We can even go one step further and point to 1490, some months after the death of Wessel, as the most likely year of issue. The date of the charter can be expanded to 'Inder vasten op gudensdach'. This is even likely, as the same way of dating is used in the oldest of the two surviving charters; the interest period has expired, and so this is an appropriate moment to sell the obligation. The charter may therefore have been issued on 24 February 1490.

One may wonder why *this* annuity was given to the Sisters. In the first place, of course, because it was held by Aduard. But probably also because from 1411, the Olde Convent owned the Mannigvoldigegoed, as feudal benefice of the bishop of Utrecht, situated around the Mannigvoldigestraat.¹³ So, the abbot's gift extends the properties of the Sisters in the city and will therefore have been welcomed by them. It is even possible to assume that the Convent at some time or other sold this annuity, when in financial difficulties.

In addition, there is the question why the Aduard monastery instituted this commemorative Mass in the Tertiaries's convent. The reason for this is that Wessel was buried in this convent, which is evident from several documents.¹⁴

Finally, the question may be asked why Aduard instituted a commemorative mass for Wessel Gansfort. The first clue to the answer is given in the damaged text of the charter itself: Wessel had conferred benefactions on the monastery. These benefactions are not further specified. Should we in a general sense

¹¹ Brugmans, 'De kroniek van het klooster Aduard', 70–71.

¹² Van Rhijn, *Wessel Gansfort*, XXXVIII.

¹³ Bakker, *Bedelorden en begijnen*, X–XI, Table XXXVI.

¹⁴ Van Rhijn, *Wessel Gansfort*, XLVIff.

think of Gansfort's visits to the monastery, his preaching there, and his participation in the 'Adwert Academy', and thus his help in establishing the good name of the monastery? This seems unlikely. Neither does it seem likely that there was a sense of guilt among the monks for having laughed at Wessel during one of his sermons.¹⁵

Often 'one good turn deserves another' should be taken very literally. We can therefore assume with some justification that Gansfort bequeathed something to the monastery. We do not know what, but we can think of one or more books from his library for the library of the monastery or of the abbot himself.¹⁶ However, little is known about the library of Aduard, and what is known does not confirm this assumption.

There is another aspect which is perhaps illuminated by the text of the charter. The question whether Gansfort had the academic title of doctor, and if so, in which subject, has not been clearly answered by Van Rhijn. The catalogue of the Wessel exhibition which was held in 1989 in the University Library, concludes that there is no information on the taking of a doctoral degree in theology or medicine: Gansfort always remained Magister Wessel.¹⁷ It does happen, however, that someone who has taken his doctoral degree is still referred to as 'meyster' or 'magister'. A well-known example in Groningen is Willem Frederiks, the priest of Sint-Maarten's church. He is known to have taken his degree in both the arts and medicine,¹⁸ yet he is usually referred to as 'meyster Willem'. So, if someone is called 'meyster' (magister), this does not necessarily mean that he has not taken his doctorate.¹⁹

Wessel Gansfort's doctorate has so far not been demonstrated by any matriculation register. Still, he is referred to as 'doctor' in several charters. If we leave out the literary sources, Van Rhijn alone mentions two letters of David of Burgundy in which he is referred to as 'doctor'.²⁰ There is also the passage in the

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 136.

¹⁶ For Gansfort's library, see: Hermans, *Boeken in Stad en Lande voor 1600*, sect. 2.1.111. See the same for the library of Aduard.

¹⁷ *Wessel Gansfort en het Noordelijk Humanisme*, 5.

¹⁸ See Akkerman and Santing, 'Rudolf Agricola en de Aduarder academie', 19.

¹⁹ Compare the present Dutch practice in connection with the use of the 'meester' (= LLM) title.

²⁰ Van Rhijn, *Wessel Gansfort*, 101: letter dating from 1473. In 'Wessel Gansfort als geneeskundige', in his *Studiën over Wessel Gansfort en zijn tijd*, 103–107, a letter of appointment dating from 1479.

Memorieboek (list of commemorative Masses) of the Olde Convent, copied by Suffridus Petri, where Wessel is referred to as 'doctor sacrae theologiae'.²¹ These references are now corroborated by the text of the charter of the abbot of Aduard, which refers to Gansfort as 'meyster Wessel doctoer inder godheit'.

²¹ Van Rhijn, *Wessel Gansfort*, XLiff.

H.A.G. BRAAKHUIS

WESSEL GANSFORT BETWEEN ALBERTISM
AND NOMINALISM

With good reason Wessel Gansfort can be considered one of the better representatives of the philosophical and intellectual climate of the fifteenth century. The fifteenth century witnessed a strong and bitter divide between two different ways of thought (*viae*), the so-called 'Wegestreit' between on the one hand the *nominales*, also called *moderni*, and on the other the *reales*, also called *antiqui*, who in turn were divided into several groups: the Thomists, the Formalists (or Scotists) and the Albertists. What lies at the heart of this difference of opinion is the status of the universals, that is to say the question either whether the universals in one way or another may be found to exist as common natures in reality or even to have priority in reality — as was the opinion of the realists — or whether the universals function solely as nouns, concepts or terms in the mind, with the help of which the mind grasps and organizes external reality, which in itself exists only of singular, individual, and thus mutually independent, beings — as was the opinion of the nominalists. This point exerted its influence in many other domains of philosophy and theology. We know that people in the fifteenth century were themselves aware of this division and that it led to different views on what a science should be, on the relation between reality, knowledge and language, and that it thus led to different systems of philosophy and theology and even to, so to speak, different worldviews. This 'Wegestreit' had influence on the organization of universities, it was an issue with which princes and kings occupied themselves and on which they took positions; it could be decisive for academic careers and careers in general, and it could even, together with other points, be decisive for matters of life and death.¹ We know that Gansfort converted himself from

¹ For this 'Wegestreit' and its significance, see especially Gilbert, 'Ockham, Wyclif, and the "via moderna"', and Gabriel, "'Via antiqua' and "via moderna" and the migration of Paris students and masters to German universities' in *Antiqui und Moderni*; also Courtenay, 'Antiqui and Moderni in Late Medieval Thought', and the articles by Trinkaus, Oberman and Gilbert in the same volume of *Journal of the History of Ideas* 48 (1987).

realist into nominalist, and that in this way he combined in his own intellectual development both positions that were of primordial importance for the development of philosophy and intellectual life in his times. In this paper I will examine Gansfort's views with respect to the divide between realism and nominalism.

First it is important to take a closer look into the historical data we possess on Gansfort's intellectual development. As is known, the most pertinent information is given by Gansfort himself in his letter to Master Jacob Hoek, which dates from the end of his life. Here Gansfort states that he is willing to correct his views in order to search for the truth of faith, and as an illustration of this he tells us that he went to Paris in an attempt to convert the famous formalists Henry of Someren and Nicholas of Utrecht to his own realism. He himself, however, went over to formalism, but having noticed that it contained even more errors than realism, within a year he changed over to nominalism.² Gansfort's biographer, M. van Rhijn, has shown that these events must have taken place somewhere between 1457 and 1460.³ From this it is clear that Gansfort up to these years had considered himself and had been a realist. This is corroborated further by the fact that he had worked in the *via antiqua* at the university of Heidelberg.⁴

In connection with this information some observations have to be made. The first is that we know that during his studies at the university of Cologne Gansfort was a member of the Bursa Laurentiana.⁵ This Bursa was the home and stronghold of the Albertists or the *via Alberti* and it originated from the activities of Heymeric de Campo, one of the leading Albertists and, at any rate, the most important Albertist in Cologne. It is a serious deficiency of the older literature on Gansfort — and even of

² See Gansfort, *Opera*, 877: '... ea sola intentione et animo Parisios contende-
bam, ut famo<si>ssimos illos duos viros Magistros, *Henricum Zomerem* et *Nicolaum*
Trajecti, velut novus et singularis athleta, suis opinionibus disturbarem, et a sententia
Formalium in meam *Realium* revocarem. Haec mihi tamen, fateor, arrogantia fuit.
Sed ubi fortiorum occursum propriam deprehendi imbecillitatem, ante tres menses
meae sententiae cessi et mox omni studio scriptores conquisivi in libros *Scoti*,
Maronis et *Boneti*, quos illius viae principes acceperam. Neque illo contentus,
ante annum inceptae viae *Scoti*, cum omni diligentia, quantum potui perspecte,
graviore in ea, quam in via *Realium*, errores deprehendens, etiam corrigi paratus
mutavi sententiam, et *Nominales* adprehendi.'

³ See Van Rhijn, *Wessel Gansfort*, 78–79.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 76.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 48 (referring to the 'Vita Hardenbergi') and Bijlage A, Ic, VI (referring to 'Kurze Geschichte des Laurentianer Gymnasiums').

most of the recent literature on him — that it fails to acknowledge this Albertist background of Gansfort's university formation, let alone that it evaluates the importance of this background properly.⁶ It is the great merit of G. Meersseman that he gave the correct interpretation of the term 'Albertists' which occurs in a manifesto written by Parisian nominalists to defend themselves against a decree of King Louis XI of March 1473 by which they were banished from the university of Paris. In this defense the nominalists sum up the persecutions they have had to endure. In that connection they relate that in the first decades of the century, during the civil wars and the English occupation of Paris, the nominalist doctrine had been driven away by certain Albertists.⁷ Meersseman realized that this denomination 'Albertists' could not refer to the followers of Thomist doctrines and that apparently it referred to a separate group. By his studies of the work of John de Nova Domo and Heymeric de Campo he brought to light the central tenets of this separate school and demonstrated its doctrinal importance.⁸ Albertism appeared to be a strongly antinominalist current, which confessed dependence on Albert the Great and especially on the Neoplatonist influences in his thought and which also opposed several typically Thomist points of view. As regards the universals, the Albertists were obviously realists but they were even more realist than the Thomists or the Scotists (formalists). According to the Albertists the universals were, as eternal essences or forms, the sources from which being proceeds gradually in a kind of emanating process; these essences themselves, however, derive their being from the First Source of being. In this sense the universal essences have unifying power and communicability and they are the principles of both reality and knowledge and, thus, are one and the same *ante rem*, *in re* and *post rem*. It may be noted

⁶ As is shown in the contribution of Dr Hoenen to this volume, this deficiency has led to serious misunderstandings of important points of Gansfort's views.

⁷ The text of the manifesto was published by Ehrle, *Der Sentenzenkommentar Peters von Candia*, 322–326. The relevant passage is on 324–325: 'Nam propter guerras, quae inde (i.e. the murder of the Duke of Orleans) supervenerunt, dispersi sunt per varias regiones et provincias doctissimi viri Universitatis, in via Nominalium eruditissimi, quorum doctrinis sic floruerat dicat Universitas, ut iure optimo lumen orbis ipsa diceretur. Qua dispersione facta, supervenerunt quidam Albertistae, qui, nullo resistente, doctrinam Nominalium eiecerunt. Sed posteaquam, Anglicis expulsis, coepit haec Universitas reflorescere, viris ingeniosissimis referta est, et ab eis dicta doctrina Nominalium resumpta et resuscitata est . . .'

⁸ Cf. Meersseman, *Geschichte des Albertismus* I and II. Important for the Parisian origin of Albertism is also Kaluza, *Les querelles doctrinales à Paris*, which is extremely rich in information.

in passing that the Albertists in their emphasis on the realist character of the universals and in their rejection of the nominalist views of universals considered Thomist views on the universals as being more or less nominalist. Accordingly they resisted these.⁹ It may be noted furthermore that the Dutch were strongly represented in the Albertist movement: its founder John de Nova Domo was a Dutchman originating from Bois le Duc;¹⁰ Heymeric de Campo was also a Dutchman as were most of the leaders of the Cologne Bursa Laurentiana, many of them, as e.g. Laurentius Buning, originating from Groningen. Thus, Gansfort must have felt at home during his realist Albertist period. Bearing this Albertist past of Gansfort in mind we must realize that in Paris Gansfort changed over from almost the one extreme of the scala in views on the universals (the extreme being the supposed ultrarealism of Jerome of Prague, Wycliff and Hus) to the other extreme of nominalism.¹¹

The second observation to be made concerns another aspect of the training Gansfort had received in Cologne. It is generally held, even in recent literature,¹² that from about the year 1425 education at Cologne both in the faculty of arts and that of theology was of a thoroughly realist nature, either Thomist or Albertist. To my mind, however, this picture is not quite correct. During the entire fifteenth century there existed in Cologne, at least as far as the faculty of arts is concerned, what may be called an institutional dominance of the nominalist way of thought. This institutional dominance of nominalism is clear for example from the fact that faculty regulations required the reading of certain nominalist texts, which according to the realists contained some serious errors. That same institutional dominance is apparently responsible for the fact that nominalist views were expounded in the Cologne logical commentaries. This applies especially to the Albertist commentaries, witness the fact that immediately after his own comments the logical commentaries by Gerald of Harderwijck have inserts of nominalist theory which are often quite long but of which it is only said in passing that

⁹ This becomes especially clear in the first, logical, questions of Heymeric de Campo's *Problemata inter Albertum Magnum et Sanctum Thomam*, as I have argued elsewhere: Braakhuis, 'Heymeric van de Velde (a Campo), denker op een kruispunt van wegen'.

¹⁰ Cf. Kaluza, *Les querelles doctrinales à Paris*, 108.

¹¹ The whole scala is: ultrarealism, Albertism, Scotism or formalism, Thomism and nominalism.

¹² Cf. e.g. Meuthen, *Die alte Universität*.

they are contrary to the views of the *antiqui*.¹³ Of course this does not mean that the views endorsed by the realist commentators themselves were not of a realist nature and in the case of the Albertist commentators not of an Albertist nature. Nevertheless, I think it is important to bear in mind this institutional nominalist constraint in the teaching of the arts at Cologne, since in our case this means that Gansfort was already acquainted with the central tenets of nominalism and with the arguments that were presented to defend these during his realist, *in casu* Albertist period. Thus, when he 'converted' in Paris Gansfort did not go over to a view on the principles of reality, knowledge and language that meant a newly discovered *terra incognita* for him.

We can be confident that Gansfort's conversion in Paris was a real conversion in the sense that he really believed the nominalist view to be more in accordance with truth. We may be sure, too, that Gansfort during his entire further life considered himself a nominalist and stuck to the opinion that the nominalist view was the right one. The strongest argument for this is found in the same letter to Hoek, where Gansfort concludes the story of his conversion with the remark:

In quibus (i.e. the nominalist view), ingenue fateor, si quid fidei contrarium putarem, hodie paratus remearem vel ad Formales vel Reales.

It should be clear that the clause 'si quid fidei contrarium putarem' implies: *quod non*. However, the same quotation unambiguously evidences to the fact that Gansfort considered the *viae* to be what they should be according to the well-known speeches of Stephan Hoest, master at the university of Heidelberg: as not only the way(s) in which the principles of reality, knowledge and language should be viewed, but also the way(s) that would conduct to the proper truth which is ultimately to be found in faith.¹⁴

Nevertheless, as we know, Gansfort considered the first role

¹³ For this 'institutional dominance' of the nominalist way at the university of Cologne, cf. Braakhuis, 'School Philosophy and Philosophical Schools'.

¹⁴ For these speeches by Stephan Hoest and the proper meaning of the *viae* they advocate: Oberman, *Werden und Wertung der Reformation*, 43–46. In view of the accordance between Hoest and Gansfort on the proper significance of the *viae*, namely that they should lead to the right faith, it is quite right that Professor Oberman after having dealt with Hoest discusses Gansfort's views (see *ibid.*, 47–50). I cannot agree, however, with his view that for both the *via moderna* is the only proper way of doing *philosophy* (p. 50: 'Aber gerade als Nominalisten halten sie dafür, dass es sich hierbei nur um den richtigen Weg in der Philosophie handelt, dem im Bereich der Theologie nur insofern Raum gegeben werden sollte, als er der Kommunikation in Apologie und Unterricht zugeordnet bleibt'; to my mind the last point has to do only with a careful use of a *nominalist* theology.

of the *via* — that is of being the way in which the principles of reality, knowledge and language should be viewed — important enough to have written a defense for the nominalist way, the *Libellus pro nominalibus*, or, as the title is given in the foreword of the 1614 edition of Gansfort's works (***6), the *Notularum pro nominalibus adversus realium formaliumque defensores ac ex parte contra Rodolphum Agricolam Liber*. Unfortunately, however, that work is missing, and to my mind we can hardly imagine how great a loss this means for our knowledge of fifteenth-century philosophy and theology.¹⁵ This means that in order to get a picture of what Gansfort regarded as the importance and the value of nominalism, or of what nominalism meant to him, we will have to inspect his extant works and look for nominalist tenets or aspects in them.

Primarily there are the places where *reales* or *nominales* are mentioned explicitly. Unluckily, these places do not abound in his works.¹⁶ Nonetheless, there is one place where Gansfort gives a clear indication of what attracted him in the nominalist way. In the letter to Hoek already mentioned, Gansfort deals with Hoek's view on the plenipotentiary power of the Pope regarding indulgences. He notices that his adversary entangles himself in contradictions and then remarks that the nominalist school does not allow for such inconsistency and incoherence of words.¹⁷ Apparently it is the care for consistency and coherence in words, and therefore in thought, which is so much valued by Gansfort in the nominalist school. In accordance with this, Gansfort attaches importance to the role of logico-semantic procedures in doing theology, that is, as he eagerly explains, in conducting theological disputations, not in delivering sermons to the people or in meditating. In itself this need not point to a nominalist tendency, but the fact that Gansfort in this connection refers explicitly to paralogisms and to logical *instantiae*, and that he refers to a nominalist author, Pierre d'Ailly, as an example of

¹⁵ It may be noted here only in passing that apparently Gansfort considered Agricola as belonging to the realist camp. I must confess I did not know this when I argued for the realist nature of Agricola's view on universals, cf. Braakhuis, 'Agricola's View on Universals'.

¹⁶ Van Rhijn, *Wessel Gansfort*, 100, note 2 lists as such places *De purgatorio*, 850, *Epistulae*, 867, 876, 877, 890 and 920. On p. 236 he adds to these *De sacramento poenitentiae*, 790 and *Epistulae*, 907.

¹⁷ Cf. Gansfort, *Opera*, 890: 'Non video, quomodo nutantia haec verba quadrabis, ut coeant. Non decent magnopere constantem animum tuum haec verba. Nosti, schola nostra *Nominalis* talem verborum dissidentiam et discohaerentiam non admittit.'

a high standard of theology, point without doubt in a nominalist direction and to what Gansfort values in that school.¹⁸

It might be remarked, however, that this care for consistency and coherence in words and this importance attached to logico-semantic procedures seems to be of a formal nature only and that what really matters is which opinions and which views are brought forward in a consistent way and respecting logico-semantic procedures. I think it would be a serious misconception of what Gansfort meant when he claimed that logic should be introduced into theology ('opus igitur theologicis logicam inferre') — that is into theological science and not in sermons or meditations — if we should understand that he set store only by formal vigour and consistency. To my mind, we have to interpret Gansfort's claim in the same way as the use of logic and of logico-semantic procedures in theology was advocated by someone like Jean Gerson — who himself was certainly not a nominalist — and by the writers of the Parisian nominalist manifesto, with explicit reference to Gerson's opinions, namely that negligence and contempt of logic leads to total ignorance of reality and to inexplicable difficulties, because without the use of logic and of logico-semantic procedures one seeks difficulties in reality when there are only logical difficulties in language.¹⁹ So it is in order

¹⁸ Cf. the same letter to Hoek, *Opera*, 895: 'Nosti studiosam et officiosam viri illius (i.e. Jean Gerson) pietatem, quam saepe suam opinionem alijs contra sentientibus deserat. In quo tamen valde mirandum videtur tam diversum a vero et recto consilium ut in Epistola monente, *quid et qualiter studendum sit*, ubi monet illas logicas ἀκριβολογίας penes distinctiones multiplicium declinare et cetera pleraque talium scholastico exercitio necessaria. Quis enim unquam ad illum apicem Theologiae, quo *Petrus de Alliaco* conscendit, absque diffinitionibus, divisionibus, argumentationibus, distinctionibus, instantiis logicalibus perveniret? In disputationibus, dico, ubi discussionis dente opus est; non in sermonibus ad populum, neque in contemplatione ad Deum. Quomodo Petrus *Iohannem de Montesono* in Rota de errore 14. illarum conclusionum concussisset, nisi distinctione multiplicis, aut elenchi ignorantia antecedente vel consequente delusum docuisset? Opus igitur Theologicis logicam inferre. Et *Gerson* ipse, quo tandem tantus ipse Theologus, nisi per accuratissimam illam sui magistri Petri logicam evasit?' As is known, nominalism was blamed precisely, for the sophisms and other sophistical doctrines; see e.g. the well-known letter of Pope Clemens VI of 20 May 1346 (*Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis* II, 588–589).

¹⁹ Cf. Kaluza, *Les querelles doctrinales à Paris*, 36–37 and 66, notes 2–3, who cites a.o. the following texts: Jean Gerson, *Collectorium super Magnificat* (= *Oeuvres Complètes* VIII, 182): 'D. Quid agis de logica quam studiosi nostri temporis vilem habent, terministam irridentes eo quod omnia referat ad terminos. Nos, inquit, rem inquirimus, ad rem imus; quid ad nos de terminis? M. Gravissime respondet talibus olim praeceptor noster inclytus. Sic fuit et est in plurimis qui se gratis involvunt cura errorum inextricabilibus modis quos sola scit et potest logica resolvere definiendo, dividendo, terminorum denique connotationes cum modis significandi vivaciter exponendo, necnon sophismatum paralogizationes phan-

to have a proper view on reality itself — or better still: the realities themselves — that nominalists attached so much importance to coherence of words and to logico-semantic procedures.²⁰ The same holds true for Gansfort when we see him rejecting the plenipotentiary power of the Pope among others with regard to indulgences on the ground that the assumption of such a power would lead to contradictions.

Having stated this, it yet remains important for a true picture of what nominalism meant to Gansfort to see if it is possible to collect from his works views or opinions that are nominalist with respect to contents. In doing so, we have, however, to proceed very cautiously. For, as is generally acknowledged now, the historiography of late-medieval thought has considered quite a few points to be typically nominalist, of which we know now that they were hardly so.²¹ Thus, for example, to lay emphasis on God's absolute power has quite often been seen as a sort of hallmark of nominalism, but we know today that the distinction between God's *potentia absoluta* and *potentia ordinata* was held by other schools as well and sometimes in an even more radical form. Bearing in mind these historiographical misunderstandings, we should be very careful in ascribing to nominalism opinions other than the nominalist interpretation of the universals or points of view that might be more or less directly derived from this.²² From the Parisian nominalist manifesto we know that nominalists claimed that the unity of God was better preserved in their view than in that of the realists, who, according to the nominalists,

tasticas detegendo; *Manifesto*: Nominales dicti sunt, qui diligentiam et studium adhiberunt cognoscendi omnes proprietates terminorum . . . Quibus rebus instructi de unaquaque argumentatione facilliter cognoscunt, an bona sit, an mala. Reales autem haec omnia negligunt et contemnunt dicentes: "Nos imus ad res, de terminis non curamus". Contra quos magister Johannes de Guerssonno: "Dum vos ad res itis, terminis neglectis, in totam rei caditis ignorantiam". Haec ille in tractatu suo super Magnificat; et subiungit idem quod dicti Reales se involvunt difficultatibus inexplicabilibus, dum difficultatem quaerunt, ubi non est nisi difficultas logicalis'.

²⁰ This is precisely also the claim of Stephan Hoest, who states: 'Hec via (i.e. the nominalist way) non contentatur confusa et indistincta rerum cognicione, sed quidditates singularum rimatur et pervestigat discretissime . . .'; quoted by Oberman, *Werden und Wertung der Reformation*, 46, note 69.

²¹ For the evaluation of late medieval nominalism and its historiography see especially Courtenay, 'Nominalism and Late Medieval Religion', reprinted in id., *Covenant and Causality in Medieval Thought*.

²² Cf. the statement of Stephan Hoest: 'Hec unica de universalibus sententia viam hanc (i.e. the nominalist way) ab antiqua discriminat ceteris, in quibus dissident, inde profluentibus'; quoted by Oberman, *Werden und Wertung der Reformation*, 46, note 69.

jeopardized this unity.²³ Yet we might well ask if this concern about the unity of God really stemmed from their nominalist standpoint and if that same concern could not possibly be the outcome of other systems of thought as well.²⁴ Similarly, with respect to other views presented as nominalist, we should ask ourselves if they are really the result of the logico-semantic nominalist standpoint or if they form part of other ways of thought too. This sort of caution is especially advisable in reviewing Gansfort's opinions. There are places where Gansfort with apparent approval refers to views that without doubt can be characterized as nominalist. So, for example, in the letter to Hoek, where Gansfort, in order to explain the ever increasing process of purification and the possibility of ever growing love, refers to the doctrine of the intension of forms, which is in fact of English nominalist origin.²⁵ It should be realized also that Gansfort so doing does something that Jean Gerson had disapproved.²⁶

However, there are also places where views are presented of

²³ Cf. Ehrle, *Der Sentenzenkommentar Peters von Candia*, 322: 'Illi doctores Nominales dicti sunt, qui non multiplicant res principaliter signatas per terminos secundum multiplicationem terminorum . . . Verbi gratia, Nominales dicunt, quod Deitas et Sapientia sint una res et eadem omnino, quia omne quod est in Deo, Deus est'.

²⁴ The claim regarding the unity of God should be seen in relation to the views on the divine perfections or attributes; as is known, Duns Scotus and the Scotists thought that: 'attributa sive perfectiones distinguuntur intrinsece ex natura rei', while Ockham and his followers believed that: 'nulle perfectiones sunt in divina essentia ex natura rei ab invicem formaliter vel realiter differentes'. This difference of opinion is known especially from the commentary on the Sentences by Peter of Candia, cf. Ehrle, *Der Sentenzenkommentar Peters von Candia* and also Kaluza, *Les querelles doctrinales à Paris*, 63–65. It should be remembered, however, that the position of Thomas Aquinas regarding this point is in line with that of William of Ockham. The same might be remarked with regard to their positions regarding God's Ideas.

²⁵ Cf. Gansfort, *Opera*, 906–907: 'Semper etiam uti tunc, ita nunc, oportebit purgari per lumen surgentis aurorae et adspirantis diei . . . Facilius haec, venerabilissime Magister, intelligunt, quibus non ignota sententia *Nominalium*, de gradus ad gradum intensione, quemadmodum partis ad partem compositi in extensionem compositi. Ponunt enim compositionem gradus ad gradum in intensione; unde volunt intensius omne compositum esse, quemadmodum *Peripatetici* omne[s] componi continuum additione partis ad partem extensione. Itaque facile fit intellectu quod necessarium est traditu; oportere videlicet nos crescere in charitate non excidente, sed manente, et hic, et in futuro.'

²⁶ Cf. Jean Gerson's *De duplici logica* (= *Oeuvres Complètes* III, 62): 'Denique cur ob aliud appellantur theologi nostri temporis sophistae et verbosi, immo et phantastici, nisi quia relictis utilibus et intelligibilibus pro auditorum qualitate transferunt se ad nudam logicam vel metaphysicam aut etiam mathematicam, ubi et quando non oportet, nunc de intensione formarum, nunc de divisione continui, nunc detegentes sophismata theologicis terminis obumbrata, nunc prioritates quasdam in divinis, mensuras, durationes, instantia, signa naturae et similia in medium adducentes, quae etsi vera atque solida essent, sicut non sunt,

which the nominalist character can be doubted. One of the points in Gansfort's views often taken as an indication of his nominalism, regards the relation between the causality of the first cause and that of the secondary causes.²⁷ Gansfort stresses the role of the first cause, which, according to him, could do even without the secondary causes. And, as is known, Gansfort even states that comparatively the second causes may be considered as *occasiones*.²⁸ This view is rightly seen as the background to his views on the operative force of the sacraments and on their (non-)necessity. Indeed, it cannot be denied that some of the wordings in which Gansfort expresses his view on causality at first glance give a nominalist impression, yet it is remarkable that in both places where Gansfort presents his view explicitly,²⁹ he does so by basing himself on the views of Proclus (the *Liber de causis*), and in fact he presents no other than a Neoplatonistic view. This is wholly in line with Albertist preoccupations. The same might be said with regard to the picture the historiography presents of Gansfort's views on a direct relation between God and the individual person. It is true also that Gansfort's views on the Church are based on what seems to be a nominalist view of the church as the collection of the faithful. Yet it should be realized that rather the same results can be obtained on the base of realist views.³⁰ Furthermore, Gansfort's distinction between intuitive and abstractive cognition (and especially his statement that intuitive cognition naturally precedes abstractive cognition) can be viewed as typically nominalist. In the same passage, however, he makes an exception for what is known through faith or grace;³¹ and his opinion that every rational mind by nature has a certain notion of God seems to be more of a Neoplatonist-Albertist nature.³²

ad subrisionem tamen magis audientium vel irrisionem quam rectam fidei aedificationem saepe proficiunt'; quoted in Kaluza, *Les querelles doctrinales à Paris*, 39.

²⁷ Cf. especially Ogilvie, 'Wessel Gansfort's Theology of Church Government', 127 and 149.

²⁸ Gansfort, *Opera*, 714.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 78 and 711-714.

³⁰ In this connection it should be remembered that in the past conciliarism, too, was considered to be a hallmark of nominalism; apparently one did not realize then that respectable realists like Heymeric de Campo and Nicholas of Cusa were defenders of conciliarism, yet on purely realist grounds.

³¹ Cf. *De oratione dominica*, *Opera*, 103: 'Omnium autem nominum (= notitiarum) quaedam intuitiva, quaedam abstractiva; sive quaedam per speciem, quaedam per fidem. Et naturaliter abstractivam notitiam intuitiva praecedat, velut ex qua gignitur seu causatur; sed non in his quae per fidem aut gratiam. Et harum notitiarum utraque duplex, confusa et determinata.'

³² Cf. *ibid.*, 88: 'Sic tamen, quod quemadmodum nihil tam opacum densitate,

Decidedly the same holds true for his view on the birth of God in the human mind.³³ Undoubtedly Neoplatonist and Albertist, too, is Gansfort's opinion that only God truly is and that the other beings only are in so far as they draw near to that true being.³⁴ In addition it should be noticed that *De providentia Dei* in fact defends no nominalist position, and in this context we would certainly expect a nominalist to do so.

In this way, we cannot fail but get an impression of Gansfort's views as a kind of mixture of nominalist ideas — or ideas that are argued for with an appeal to nominalist arguments — together with Neoplatonist-Albertist views often incorporating many traditional views.

Still, it might be asked if Gansfort does not present a really nominalist view in the domain of logic and semantics — the domain which is proper to nominalism so to say. If this should be the case, we would have a real and indisputable criterion for his nominalism. It is true that in this domain there are also places to which one could refer in order to defend Gansfort as a true nominalist. For example, there is the remark that verbs metaphorically taken have the same ampliative force as verbs literally taken, and that mental verbs can refer to objects of other times than just of the present time.³⁵ This seems to be a clear reference to the nominalist doctrine that objects of mental verbs need not have an existential import. There is also a text referred to by Professor Oberman,³⁶ that a preacher does not know the effects of his teaching, since vocal words do not signify but that to what they are connected to by mutual agreement ('voces enim

nihil tam obscurum diverticulo, quo non aliquis solis radius pertingat: ita nulla est mens rationalis, cui non insit aliqualis Dei notitia.'

³³ Cf. *Scala meditationis*, *Opera*, 222: 'Et sicut speculum corporale Solis conjugio parvulum solem, ita mentes nostrae intelligibilia specula beato Dei conjugio parvum Deum, qui reformata imago est Dei, concipiunt, praegnant, pariunt, in seipsis aeternum concipientes, aeternum praegnantes, aeternum beate parientes.'

³⁴ Cf. *De oratione dominica*, *Opera*, 76–77: 'Solut enim Deus est, et reliqua omnia quod sunt, ex eo sunt. Et Deus vere est, et reliqua licet sint, non tamen vere sunt; quia tanto minus entia sunt, quanto minus accedunt ad ipsum gradum entis, quod vere est (...) sic omnis creatura Dei comparatione nihil est, aut saltem non est, quia non vere; sic nihil, quomodo prius quam conderetur.'

³⁵ Cf. *De sacramento altaris*, *Opera*, 704: 'Verba metaphorica habent eandem vim ampliativum, quam verba propria. Unde, quando dicit Paulus: *Patres nostri eandem escam manducaverunt*, transsumit manducare, spiritualiter affici. Ut quia hoc mentale est, ampliat ad alternas differentias temporum. Nam corporaliter, quod nondum erat, manducare non poterant. Igitur hodie etiam laici bibunt omnes sanguinem Domini. Nam si patres eundem potum spiritualem biberunt, multo evidentius isti nunc bibunt.'

³⁶ Cf. Oberman, *Werden und Wertung der Reformation*, 49.

nisi ex pacto non significant') and the eventual effects of the words in the mind of the hearer are not in the power of the speaker, although normally one would expect that a judgemental act follows in the hearer.³⁷ This is certainly a nominalist way of describing the process of linguistic communication. Especially the view that words signify only by convention is undoubtedly nominalist.³⁸

Nevertheless, also in this domain there are texts which point to other views for which certainly no (other) nominalist would take responsibility. One might think in particular of the view found quite often that a name of a thing is the knowledge in virtue of which the thing is known.³⁹ On the face of it, this phrase might possibly be explained in the nominalist way, since for a nominalist a name at its conceptual level (i.e. a concept) is precisely the knowledge by which a thing is known. The fact, however, that Gansfort introduces the phrase with a reference to its etymology and the consequences he attaches to it in several places,⁴⁰ make clear that no covenantal theory of language can be meant here. In the same connection, one might think also of the etymological considerations Gansfort attaches to the Hebrew names of God.⁴¹ These and other texts remind us more of the theories of Raymund Lull on the nature of words as revealing

³⁷ Cf. *Scala meditationis, Opera*, 270: 'Praedicator quantumlibet inter loquendum proprius, ordinatus, ac dilucidus, non docebit aut movebit: quia vocalia verba ejus, praeter ex pacto alligata conceptuum monimenta, nihil adferunt auditori. Voces enim nisi ex pacto non significant. Sed ut objectales categorematum et syncategorematum conceptus formales inde intus actus, sive judiciorum, sive desideriorum oriantur, non in potestate loquentis est, licet vivaci menti germanum satis et naturale sit, conceptibus apprime electis et ordinatis judicium sequi in concipiente. Declarat et ex eodem praeceptore diversorum et electorum auditorum varietas opinionum, et judiciorum, et studiorum, quae nullatenus fieret, si cum sententia et scientia et sapientia dicentis transfunderetur. Pronum etiam ex integro judicio desiderium efficax pullulare. Sed id ex interna cujusque audientis dispositione, alioquin eodem sermone omnes auditores aequaliter afficerentur.'

³⁸ It should be noted, though, that when it is said that the science and wisdom of the speaker can not be passed on to the hearer, this text also shows something of the Platonistic-Augustinian theory of the internal magister.

³⁹ Cf. *De oratione dominica, Opera*, 88: 'Dicitur autem nomen a noscendo, quemadmodum nota et notitia. Est igitur nomen simplicis rei notitia, qua quaeque res cognoscitur.' Cf. *Wessel Gansfort. De oratione dominica in een diëtse bewerking*, 52–54, with a list of these places.

⁴⁰ Cf. e.g. *Opera*, 91 where the opinions and the zeal we have are connected with the sort of name of God we have: 'quale enim nomen habemus de Deo, tales et fiunt judiciorum nostrorum de Deo nostro [sic] sententiae, talis et studiorum nostrorum diligentia'; or 102–103, where our name of God is connected with the eternal increated name of God.

⁴¹ Cf. especially *Opera*, 59ff.

the proper nature of the things, of Albertist theories to the same effect and of their theories of the *modi significandi*, which state that the properties of the words are brought forth by the natures of the things.⁴² Especially revealing is a passage in the often mentioned letter to Hoek in which Gansfort states his allegiance to the nominalist school. After having expressed his astonishment at the inattention of the doctors of his school (i.e. the nominalist one) who failed to distinguish between a purifying and a punitive fire, Gansfort argues for his own interpretation of the purifying nature of Purgatory by appealing to the meaning of the word 'purgare' itself. One would do violence to the words, he says, if one should forbid the definition of 'to purify' as 'to remove impurities', and thus, he adds, one would run counter to nature itself.⁴³

Having come to the end of our investigation of Gansfort's views with respect to nominalism, I must confess that to my mind it is open to doubt whether Gansfort after his Parisian conversion really and wholly became a Modern in the fifteenth-century sense of the word — a nominalist that is. It would be closer to the truth to interpret his position as between Albertism and nominalism, not only in the diachronical sense but in the synchronical sense as well; thus we can consider Gansfort as someone who combines, or tries to combine, two, to our minds, rather conflicting views, namely Neoplatonist-Albertism and nominalism. This does not mean that we should cast doubt on the sincerity of his Parisian conversion or his sincerity when at the end of his life he claims to be a nominalist. It might well be that what attracted him in the doctrines of the nominalists besides their care for the coherence of words was their solicitude about the

⁴² That the Albertists were convinced *modistae* is shown by Kaluza, *Les querelles doctrinales à Paris*, 91–92.

⁴³ Cf. *Opera*, 908: 'Unde valde miror communem Doctorum Scholae nostrae inadvertentiam, qui non veterum primaevae Ecclesiae auctoritate moventur, purgatorium ignem a punitorio distinguendum . . . Quod etiam Paulus innuit, quando dicit, *ignem illum probaturum*; qui si probat, utique cognoscit quale uniuscujusque opus fuerit. Punitorium vero ignem dicit illum, qui praeparatus diabolo et angelis ejus. Multum enim insolens et nova verborum licentia, ut purgare dicamus illum, qui nihil impurum aufert, nisi fortassis nova impositione sanare dicamus, qui nullam praecedentem vel impendentem aegritudinem tollit. Violentiam hoc facere nominibus est, ubi activorum habituum nomina prohibentur oppositarum privationum commemoratione vel mensione diffiniri. Non apud Latinos tantum purgatorius dicitur; sed et apud Graecos καθαριστικὸν πῦρ dicitur. Tropo utrumque dicitur, ignis videlicet, et purgatorius. Tropus autem omnis in similitudine fundatur. Similitudo autem rationabilem intelligentiam fundat; ut qui illam repellit, naturae bellum inferat.'

unity of God in Himself over against the multitude of terms with which we try to understand Him; the unity of God in fact plays a very important role in Neoplatonist-Albertism too, which so much emphasizes God as the One.

The mixture of views that Gansfort displays is less surprising if we bear in mind both his view on the role of the *via* as preparatory to the truth of faith and his distinction between theological scientific investigation and meditation. As is clear from several places but especially from his letter to Sister Geertrui Reyners, Gansfort sees these matters and activities — logic and meditating love — not as mutually conflicting but as part of a coherent continuum.⁴⁴ In the same way apparently, nominalist theories that are especially appropriate for doing theological research and Neoplatonistic-Albertist views more suitable for meditating purposes for Gansfort form part of the same exercise.

⁴⁴ Cf. e.g. *Opera* 916: 'Orando amorem impetra, et omnem Logicae, omnem intelligentiae, omnem sapientiae fructum adprehen<di>sti.'

K.A.E. ENENKEL

WESSEL GANSFORTS STELLUNGNAHME ZUM
VITA ACTIVA-VITA CONTEMPLATIVA-PROBLEM:
De stabilitate meditationum et modo figendi meditationes, Buch 1¹

Das erste Buch von Wessel Gansforts sog. *Scala meditationis*² beginnt mit der Erzählung vom Besuch Jesu bei Martha und Maria aus dem Lukasevangelium.³ In dieser Geschichte erblickte man traditionell eine Stellungnahme zum *vita activa-vita contemplativa*-Problem, zu der Frage, welchen Lebensweg der Mensch einschlagen müsse, ob er ein tätiges oder ein beschauliches Leben wählen solle.

Wessel Gansforts Behandlung der Erzählung ruft nun einige Fragen herauf: zunächst die Frage, weshalb sie gerade am Beginn eines Handbuches über Meditationstechnik steht; was ist die Aussage, die in ihr enthalten ist, und was die Funktion der Erzählung? Sodann gilt es, die Aussage Gansforts zum *vita activa-vita contemplativa*-Problem ideengeschichtlich zu klären: In welcher Beziehung steht sie zu den Aussagen der mittelalterlichen Mönchtheologie,⁴

¹ Vorliegender Aufsatz kam im Rahmen des Projektes des Verf. 'vita activa und vita contemplativa im Renaissancehumanismus' zustande, das von der Niederländischen Organisation für Wissenschaftliche Forschung unterstützt wird.

² Text in: Gansfort, *Opera*, 194ff.; Tratzbergs Ausgabe, die sich auf eine von dem Groninger Patrizier Joachim Alting geliehene Handschrift basiert (siehe *Opera*, Vorwort), weist einige Fehler auf; eine moderne, kritische Edition wäre ein Desideratum. Als Titel des Werkes gibt Post, *The Modern Devotion*, 480, 539 und 542 an: *De cohibendis cogitationibus et de modo constituendarum meditationum*; vorzuziehen wäre aber *De stabilitate meditationum et modo figendi meditationes*, weil dieser Titel so sowohl im *Incipit* der Ausgabe des Petrus Pappus a Tratzberg (*Opera*, 194: 'Venerabilis et doctissimi Wesseli Gosevort Groningensis, Doctoris eximii, de stabilitate meditationum et modo figendi meditationes Liber incipit'), als auch in einem der Ausgabe zugefügten *elenchus operum* aufscheint: 'Habemus autem praeter opera Wesseli, quae hic recensentur, . . . "De stabilitate et modo figendi meditationes"' (*ibid.*, *6r; 'meditationum' nach 'stabilitate' fehlt im *elenchus operum*); zu Gansforts *Scala* siehe Post, *The Modern Devotion*, 537ff.; Van Rhijn, *Studien over Wessel Gansfort*, 65–69.

³ Lk. 10, 38–42; die Worte aus Lk. 10, 38 formen sogar die Anfangsworte von Gansforts *De stabilitate meditationum* . . . : 'Intravit Iesus in quoddam castellum, et mulier quaedam nomine Martha suscepit illum in domum suam'.

⁴ Siehe hierfür das umfangreiche Oeuvre von Leclercq, v.a. *L'amour des lettres et le désir de Dieu* (Übers. *Wissenschaft und Gottverlangen. Zur Mönchtheologie des Mittelalters*, Düsseldorf 1963); id., 'The Monastic Tradition of Culture and Studies'; id. 'Esiste una teologia monastica?'; id., 'Apropos de la Renaissance du XII siècle: nouveaux témoignages sur la "théologie monastique"'.

den Aussagen der Devotio Moderna und den Aussagen des Humanismus? Hiervon ausgehend kann einiges Licht auf die Frage fallen, inwieweit wir in Gansfort einen Humanisten sehen dürfen⁵ und wie er sich zur Devotio Moderna⁶ verhält. Zu diesen Fragen soll vorliegende Arbeit einen Beitrag liefern.

Zuerst soll die Frage behandelt werden, weshalb Gansfort sein Meditationshandbuch gerade mit einer Behandlung des *vita activa-vita contemplativa*-Problems und im besonderen mit der Martha-Maria-Erzählung anheben lässt. Will man dies verstehen, so ist es notwendig, sich den kulturellen Kontext und die Funktion der Meditationshandbücher zu vergegenwärtigen: Denn Gansforts *Scala* befindet sich sowohl formal als auch inhaltlich in der Tradition der mittelalterlichen Leitfäden zur Meditation.⁷ Diese Schriften entstanden im mönchischen Bereich und bezogen von dort auch ihre Funktion und ihre Motivation: In ihnen wurde der Versuch unternommen, das gedanklich-seelische Leben des Mönchs zu regeln und in genau umschriebene Formen zu gießen.

Es war gerade die Devotio Moderna, die an der Schaffung von Meditationsleitfäden regen Anteil genommen hat. Ich brauche hier nur auf z.B. Florens Radewijns *De spiritualibus exercitiis*, Thomas von Kempens *Libellus spiritualis exercitii* und *Brevis admonitio spiritualis exercitii*, Dirc von Herxens *Devota exercitia* oder auf Johannes Mombaers *Rosetum exercitiorum spiritualium et sacrarum meditationum* hinzuweisen.⁸

In diesem kulturellen Kontext, dem mönchischen und dem

⁵ Post, *The Modern Devotion*, 549; Stadelmann, *Vom Geist des ausgehenden Mittelalters*, 38.

⁶ Vgl. Post, *The Modern Devotion*, 476ff. und 536ff.; für das Verhältnis zwischen Gansfort und Mombaer siehe unten.

⁷ Für die christlich-mittelalterlichen Meditationsvorschriften: Goossens, *De meditatie in de eerste tijd van de moderne devotie*, 35–54.

⁸ Für Meditationsbücher aus der frühen Periode der Devotio Moderna siehe *ibid.*; Florens Radewijns *De spiritualibus exercitiis* wurde herausgegeben von Goossens, *ibid.*, 213–254 (zu Florens Radewijns siehe Post, *The Modern Devotion*, 222–223, 317–325 und Gerretsen, *Florens Radewijns*). Noch wichtigere Leistungen auf dem Gebiet der Meditationshandbücher haben Moderne Devoten des 15. Jh. verrichtet (Thomas von Kempens, Dirc von Herxen, Johannes Mombaer), siehe Weiler, 'Over de geestelijke praktijk van de Moderne Devotie'. Thomas von Kempens *Libellus spiritualis exercitii* hrsg. in *Opera omnia* II, 329–356; die *Brevis admonitio spiritualis exercitii* desselben Autors *ibid.*, 419–432; seine Schrift *De elevatione mentis*: *ibid.*, 397–418; für Thomas von Kempens Spiritualität siehe v.a. Post, *The Modern Devotion*, 521–536. Zu Dirc von Herxen siehe *ibid.*, 378 und Knierim, *Dirc van Herxen*. Johannes Mombaers *Rosetum exercitiorum spiritualium et sacrarum meditationum* gedruckt in Zwolle, 1494 (IDL no. 3154); zum *Rosetum* siehe Debongnie, *Jean Mombaer de Bruxelles*, 17–44; Post, *The Modern Devotion*, 542–548; Van Rhijn, *Studiën over Wessel Gansfort*, 60–70.

der *Devotio Moderna*, müssen wir wie ich meine, auch Wessel Gansforts *Scala* sehen. Die *Scala* ist in der letzten Periode von Gansforts Leben, zwischen 1486 und 1489, entstanden, einer Periode, in der er sich häufig in Klöstern aufgehalten hat: bei den Bernhardinern in Adwert, bei den Regularen auf dem Agnitenberg und bei den 'spirituales virgines' in Groningen. Im besonderen hat er die Anregung zur *Scala* jedoch in einem Kloster der *Devotio Moderna*, auf dem Agnitenberg bei Zwolle,⁹ empfangen. Dort arbeitete ein junger Mönch, Johannes Mombaer, an einer *scala* (dem späteren *Rosetum*); als Gansfort 1486 auf dem Agnitenberg weilte, zeigt ihm Mombaer seine — noch unvollendete — *scala*. Wessel Gansfort war davon sehr beeindruckt und hat sich daraufhin selbst zur Abfassung einer *scala* entschlossen.¹⁰ Nach ihrer Vollendung hat er sie den Mönchen vom Agnitenberg gewidmet und ihnen ein Exemplar (das Dedikationsexemplar) zukommen lassen.¹¹

In diesem kulturellen Umfeld muss ein Erklärungsversuch anknüpfen: Um das meditative Leben in die richtigen Bahnen zu lenken, erachtete man es für wünschenswert und zweckdienlich, den Meditationsschüler zu allererst zur Lebenswahl der *vita contemplativa* zu überreden bzw., wenn er sich dazu schon entschlossen hatte, ihn darin zu stabilisieren. Die gute Meditation war in diesem Rahmen unbedingt mit der *vita contemplativa* verbunden. Diese Koppelung wurde von der *Devotio Moderna* mit ihrer Benachdrückung der Meditation und des inneren Lebens¹² noch verstärkt: Die *vita contemplativa* wurde für die *Devotio Moderna* zur *vita meditativa* und umgekehrt. Auch der Wortgebrauch zeigt dies: *vita contemplativa* und *vita meditativa* wurden zuweilen einfach als Synonyme verwendet; bei Mombaer wird dies darin ersichtlich, dass er *vita contemplativa* und *vita meditativa* als semantisch auswechselbare Einheiten nebeneinanderstellt: *vita contemplativa aut meditativa*.¹³ Das kontemplative Leben ist für die modernen Devoten ein meditatives, d.h. von

⁹ *Domus montis Sancte Agnetis Virginis*, siehe *Monasticon Windeshemense* III, 14–49.

¹⁰ Post, *The Modern Devotion*, 542–543; Debongnie, *Jean Mombaer de Bruxelles*, 20–21; *De Dietse vertaling der 'Scala sacre communionis' van Ioan. Mauburnus*.

¹¹ Gansfort, *Opera*, 194 (falsche Seitenangabe: 194 ist zweimal vorhanden; die Nummer dieser Seite müsste sein: 193): 'Wesseli Groningensis tractatus de cohibendis meditationibus et de modo constituendarum meditationum, qui "Scala meditationis" vocatur, cum subiecto exemplari fratribus in monte Agnetis prope Svollam dedicatus'; vgl. Post, *The Modern Devotion*, 542.

¹² De Bruin in *Geert Grote en de Moderne Devotie* (v.a. cap. 3, 'De meditatie bij de moderne devoten'), bsd. 112–122.

¹³ Z.B. *Rosetum*, c. CXXX, 4.

der Meditation geprägtes, Leben und die Meditation ihrerseits findet vornehmlich im Bereich der *vita contemplativa* statt.

Auf diese Weise wird es verständlich, warum Gansforts *Scala* mit einem Plädoyer für die *vita contemplativa* anfängt. Die Überredung zur *vita contemplativa* bedeutet den ersten, wichtigen Schritt zur Erlernung der Meditationstechnik. Darin liegt auch der Grund, weshalb man die Martha-Maria-Erzählung verwendete: Sie eignete sich hervorragend als Überredungsmittel zur *vita contemplativa*. Ihr konnte man unschwer einen Primat der *vita contemplativa* entnehmen, da in ihr die untätige, aber dem Wort Gottes lauschende Maria gegenüber der um das leibliche Wohl Christi besorgten Martha gelobt wurde.¹⁴ Zugleich kam dem Lobenden höchste exemplarische Autorität zu, da es Christus selbst war, der diesen Standpunkt vertrat. Die Martha-Maria-Erzählung war im Mittelalter immer wieder als Plädoyer für die monastische *vita contemplativa* verwendet worden, z.B. von Gregor dem Grossen oder dem Zisterzienser Aelred von Rievaulx.¹⁵

Der Schritt, den Gansfort unternimmt, passt also ganz in das mönchische Denken, auch in das der Devotio Moderna. Eine auffallende Parallele lässt sich im Werk gerade des Mannes, auf dessen Anregung hin Gansforts *Scala* entstanden war, im *Rosetum* des Johannes Mombaer, finden. Mombaer fängt sein Meditationshandbuch ebenfalls mit einem Lob der *vita contemplativa* an, mit einer *solitudinis laus et recommendatio*.¹⁶ Für wie geeignet er dies als Beginn hielt, zeigt der Umstand, dass er auch den zweiten Teil des *Rosetum* mit einem Lob der *vita contemplativa* anheben lässt.¹⁷ Als Voraussetzung und Wurzel allen geistigen Gutes stellt er das Leben in der Zelle dar:

fons enim et origo omnium bonorum homini spirituali est in cella sua iugiter commorari.¹⁸

Mombaer war nicht der erste Moderne Devot, der diesen Satz zum Ausgangspunkt nahm; er scheint hier vielmehr das intellektuelle Aushängeschild der Devotio Moderna, Thomas von

¹⁴ Lk. 10, 41–42: 'Martha, Martha, sollicita es et turbaris erga plurima. Porro unum est necessarium; Maria optimam partem elegit, quae non auferetur ab ea.'

¹⁵ Gregor der Grosse, *Moralia in Iob*, VI 37: 331; Aelred von Rievaulx, *De institutione inclusarum* 28: 198–199; dieser Text auch in: Aelred de Rievaulx, *La vie de recluse. La prière pastorale*; siehe weiter Ps. Bernardus, *De activa et contemplativa vita* in Migne, *PL* 184, 1277a und 1279B; Grimlaic, *Regula solitariorum*, in Migne, *PL* 103, 586C ('Quid sit proprie activa quidve contemplativa vita'); Thomas von Aquino, *Summa Theologiae*, 2.2.179.2.

¹⁶ *Rosetum*, c. IV.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, c. CXXX.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, c. IV.

Kempen, zu zitieren. Thomas' siebente Predigt hebt folgendermassen an:

fons et origo profectus spiritualis est libenter in cella residere.¹⁹

Im zweiten Anfangskapitel des *Rosetum* verwendet Mombaer auch die Martha-Maria-Erzählung.²⁰ Über ihren argumentativen Wert macht er dort eine aufschlussreiche Bemerkung: Er meint, die Stelle allein wäre schon genug, um definitiv zur *vita contemplativa* zu überreden. Alle anderen Mittel würden dadurch eigentlich überflüssig. Mombaer betrachtete die Martha-Maria-Erzählung also als das stärkste Überredungsmittel, zugleich auch als die stärkste biblische *auctoritas* zur *vita contemplativa*, obgleich es zahlreiche andere gab, die in Umlauf waren;²¹ besonderen Wert erkannte man dabei den Stellen zu, in welchen Christus 'in solitudine' aufschien; man verwendete diese Stellen als Beweis, dass Christus ein Vertreter der solitären bzw. kontemplativen Lebensweise gewesen sei. Während z.B. Petrarca oder Thomas von Kempen die Stellen mit Christus 'in solitudine' als die stärksten *auctoritates* betrachteten,²² gab Mombaer die Palme der Martha-Maria-Erzählung.

Vergleicht man den Aufbau der Überredung bei Mombaer und Gansfort, so scheint es, als ob Gansfort von Mombaer ausgegangen sei. Mombaer hat die Überredungsgründe sorgfältig rubrifiziert:

1. *exemplum/auctoritas*²³
2. Nutzen der *vita contemplativa* (*fructus et utilitas*)²⁴

¹⁹ Sermo VII, 'De bono solitudinis exemplo Christi et sanctorum patrum', Thomas von Kempen, *Opera omnia* I, 116.

²⁰ *Rosetum*, c. CXXX.

²¹ Z.B. Lam. 3, 26–28 (vgl. Thomas von Kempen, Sermo VII, *Opera omnia* I, 117 und Sermo VIII, *ibid.*, 121; Mombaer, *Rosetum*, c. IV 2; Petrarca, *De vita solitaria* II 3, 426.17–26 (Buch/Kapitel/Seitenangabe/zugefügte Zeilenangabe nach der Ausgabe in Petrarca, *Prose*); David (z.B. Ps. 54, 8; Gen. 24, 62–63; s. Petrarca, *De vita solitaria*, II 10, 508.11–510.7; Thomas von Kempen, Sermo VII, *Opera omnia* I, 117); alle Stellen aus den Evangelien, in welchen Christus sich absonderte oder in die Wüste begab (s. Petrarca, *De vita solitaria* II 10, 504.21–506.10; Thomas von Kempen, Sermo VII, *Opera omnia* I, 116–117; für eine Auflistung und Diskussion dieser Stellen vgl. Enenkel, *Francesco Petrarca, De vita solitaria, Buch 1*, Komm. zu proh. 11, 'Christus als Freund der *vita solitaria*').

²² Petrarca, *De vita solitaria*, II 10; 504.21ff.: 'Cum enim valida omnia, tum illud inexpugnabile, quod ipse Salvator, fons omnium salutarium exemplorum . . ., ut doctrinam tamen suam factis adstruet, in montem oraturus ascendit, solus oravit, in solitudine ieiunavit . . .' und 506.7–10: 'Que si vera omnia, si testimoniis evangelicis nota sunt, dubitamus adhuc, Cristiani homines, quid nobis de solitudine sentiendum sit, de qua ita sensisse magistrum et ducem et dominum nostrum scimus?', und Thomas von Kempen, Sermo VII, *Opera omnia* I, 116–117.

²³ *Rosetum*, c. IV: 'primum itaque solitarie vite illectivum et ad celle custodiam incitativum est exemplum.'

²⁴ *Ibid.*, c. CXXX., 2.

3. die *prelata*, d.h. der Vorzug, den die *vita contemplativa* von der *vita activa* verdiene.²⁵

In den ersten Kapiteln von Gansforts *Scala* finden sich ebendie von Mombaer genannten Schritte; Gansfort beginnt mit *exemplum/auctoritas*, der Martha-Maria-Erzählung; danach widmet er je ein Kapitel dem Nutzen der *vita contemplativa*²⁶ und der Vorzüglichkeit der *vita contemplativa*.²⁷ Es wäre natürlich denkbar, dass diese Übereinstimmungen zufällig zustande kamen; vielleicht ist es aber plausibler, dass hier ein Einfluss des Modernen Devoten Mombaer vorliegt. In der Frage des Verhältnisses zwischen der *Scala* und dem *Rosetum* hat van Rhijn die gebende Rolle Gansfort zugeteilt;²⁸ möglicherweise gingen aber ebenso wichtige Impulse von Mombaer aus.

Wie ist nun Gansforts Stellungnahme zum *vita activa-vita contemplativa*-Problem ideengeschichtlich zu beurteilen? Zunächst ist es deutlich, dass er die *vita contemplativa* bevorzugt und sie als diejenige Lebensweise hinstellt, die zu wählen sei. Bemerkenswert ist dabei die Absolutheit und Unbedingtheit der Stellungnahme. Gansfort bringt keine Einschränkungen an, etwa, dass für gewisse Individuen oder für eine gewisse Gruppe von Menschen die *vita contemplativa* nicht die richtige Lebensweise darstelle; die *vita contemplativa* erscheint vielmehr als der einzig richtige Lebensweg, der in jedem Falle einzuschlagen sei. Er lässt auch keine besonderen Umstände oder Lebenssituationen gelten, die — wenigstens im zeitlich beschränkten Bereich — die andere Lebensform nahelegen würden. Die Stellungnahme, die er zum *vita activa-vita contemplativa*-Problem abgibt, ist in keiner Weise nuanciert, auch nicht in der Hinsicht, dass er gewisse Schwachstellen der *vita contemplativa* zugeben würde, etwas, dass die *vita contemplativa* die gefährlichere Lebensweise darstelle, da in ihr das Individuum im spirituellen Einzelkampf den Angriffen und Versuchungen des Bösen standhalten müsse, oder, dass sie eine Lebensform sei, die nicht von jedermann gelebt werden könne, sondern nur von denjenigen, die einen bestimmten spirituellen Reifegrad besäßen.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, c. CXXX, 4.

²⁶ Gansfort, *De stabilitate meditationum*, c. IV, 'Sapientiae et quietis, quae per contemplationem inveniuntur, multiplices et laudabiles operationes'; vgl. Mombaer, *Rosetum*, c. CXXX, 2: 'Alterum inductivum est sacre meditationis fructus et utilitas'.

²⁷ Gansfort, *De stabilitate meditationum*, c. III: 'Comtemplationis praerogativa (...) demonstratur'; vgl. *Rosetum*, c. CXXX, 4: 'Quartum inductivum est prelata (...), qua vita contemplativa aut meditativa super activam extolli solet'.

²⁸ Van Rhijn, *Studien over Wessel Gansfort en zijn tijd*, 65–70.

Keine dieser Nuancierungen finden sich bei Gansfort. Es handelt sich dabei nicht um Erwartungen, die Gansfort unmöglich oder nur sehr schwer erfüllen hätte können. Denn diese Nuancierungen waren von der christlich-mittelalterlichen Diskussion vorgegeben, hätten also kein originelles Denken erfordert. Gansfort benachdruckt gegenüber dieser Tradition die uneingeschränkte Überlegenheit der *vita contemplativa*.

Diese Tendenz wird auch gut in der Quellenbehandlung ersichtlich: Lukas' 'Maria optimam partem elegit'²⁹ versteht er mit den verstärkenden Adverbien 'longe'³⁰ oder 'plane'³¹. Die *vita activa* wertet er hingegen herab, inder er Lk. 10, 41 zu einem kleinen Katalog negativer Eigenschaften ausbreitet: Die *vita activa* würde Behinderung, Unvollkommenheit und spirituelle Schwäche mit sich bringen.³² Dies alles ist weit negativer als Lukas' blosses 'Besorgt-Sein-Um-Vieles'; insbesondere von 'spiritueller Schwäche' ist bei Lukas überhaupt nicht die Rede. Gerade dieser Punkt ist als hochgradig kontrovers zu bezeichnen: Die meisten mittelalterlichen Autoren zum Thema würden ihn, obwohl sie i.a. der *vita contemplativa* den Vorzug gaben, nicht unterschrieben haben. Sie behandelten die *vita activa* durchgehend positiv, und zwar im Rahmen der christlichen Nächstenliebe; es wäre ihnen deshalb fern gelegen, die *vita activa* einfach mit spiritueller Schwäche, mit *infirmitas*, zu identifizieren.

Wie ausgesprochen die Stellungnahme Gansforts ist, zeigt seine Behandlung eines besonderen Konzeptes, welches das mittelalterliche kontemplative Schrifttum zur 'Rettung' der *vita activa* verwendete: das des Aufstiegs von der *vita activa* zur *vita contemplativa*. Man stellte diesem Konzept zufolge eine (als Ideal vertretbare) chronologische Reihenfolge von *vita activa* und *vita contemplativa* fest: Der Mensch müsse sich, um zur ersehnten *vita contemplativa* zu gelangen, zuerst in der *vita activa* als tugendhaft bewähren. Diesen Gedanken hat z.B. Gregor der Grosse seiner Version der Martha-Maria-Erzählung zugrundegelegt.³³ Auch der Moderne Devot Johannes Mombaer führt ihn im *Rosetum* auf;³⁴

²⁹ Lk. 10, 42.

³⁰ *De stabilitate meditationum*, c. 1: 'et revera longe haec optima pars Mariae est'.

³¹ *Ibid.*, (193) 'Mariae itaque susceptio (...) plane optima judicatur'.

³² *Ibid.*, (194): 'nunc distracti, nunc impediti, nunc inconsummati, nunc infirmi'.

³³ *Moralia in Iob* VI, 37 (329–330): 'Qui igitur culmen apprehendere perfectionis nituntur, cum contemplationis arcem tenere desiderant, prius se in campo operis per exercitium probent... actionis namque tempus primum est, contemplationis extremum.'

³⁴ *Rosetum*, c. CXXX: 'Iusto ergo ordine pars illa istam praecedit.'

er beruft sich dabei auf Gregor den Grossen.³⁵ Mombaer lässt dem Gedanken der chronologischen Aufeinanderfolge der Lebensformen ungeteilte Zustimmung zukommen.

Wenn wir damit Gansforts Ausarbeitung des Aufstiegsgedankens³⁶ vergleichen, so lässt sich eine ganz andere Tendenz erkennen: Als Grund dafür, weshalb ein Mensch zuerst in der *vita activa* verweile, sieht Gansfort nicht etwa eine Bewährungsprobe, in der sich die Tugend beweisen könne, sondern einzig und allein die geistige Schwäche, die Blindheit, ja die Tierhaftigkeit des Menschen; Gansfort verwendet hierfür den Begriff 'animalis homo'.³⁷ Die *vita activa* stellt für ihn eine niedrigere, weniger 'menschliche', weniger menschwürdige Stufe des Mensch-Seins dar: in ihr halte sich nur auf, wer dem Irdischen, dem Sinnlichen und dem Sündigen verhaftet sei und noch nicht zur Einsicht gelangt wäre.³⁸ Wer sich von den negativen Einflüssen des Sinnlichen und Tierischen befreit habe, wisse gleichsam selbstverständlich, dass die *vita contemplativa* den einzig richtigen Lebensweg darstelle. Gansforts Version des Aufstiegsgedankens weicht damit stark von der Gregors ab. Sie stellt keine 'Rettung', sondern eher eine regelrechte Verurteilung der *vita activa* dar. Anders als die mittelalterlichen Schriften behandelt Gansfort die *vita activa* nicht unter dem Schild der christlichen Nächstenliebe. In seiner alleinigen Bevorzugung der *vita contemplativa* ist er damit radikaler als seine mittelalterlichen Vorgänger.

Ähnliche Resultate ergeben sich, wenn man Gansforts Stellungnahme mit denen der Modernen Devoten vergleicht: Einerseits ist ein Gleichklang in bezug auf die Vorliebe für die *vita contemplativa* festzustellen,³⁹ andererseits eine Abweichung in bezug auf den Grad der Stellungnahme: die Modernen Devoten schätzten, obwohl sie die *vita contemplativa* bevorzugten, auch die *vita activa*; es wäre ihnen ferngelegen die *vita activa* abzuwerten,

³⁵ *Ibid.*, c. CXXX, 3: 'Et vite active iuxta Gregorium magna sunt merita, sed contemplative maiora'; er zitiert hier *Moralia in Iob*, VI, 37 (331): 'Maria vero etiam laudatur, quia magna sunt activae vitae merita, sed contemplativae potiora.'

³⁶ *De stabilitate meditationum*, c. II: 'Quod contemplationem vita activa praecedat et pedetentim ad contemplativam vitam adducit.'

³⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁸ *Ibid.* I, c. II: 'Dominum Iesum intrans in castellum (= Lk. 10, 38) primo Martha suscipit, quia primo animalis homo non sapit, quae Dei sunt, quousque per consuetudinem exercitato sensu discat esse unum necessarium (= Lk. 10, 42). Et cum hoc perfecte sciverit, mox germano consilio sororis et exemplo incipit optimam partem eligere (= Lk. 10, 42).'

³⁹ Für die Vorliebe der Devotio Moderna für die *vita contemplativa*, vgl. Enenkel, 'Der andere Petrarca'.

indem sie sie schlechtweg mit der Tierhaftigkeit des Menschen auf eine Stufe gesetzt hätten. Thomas von Kempen z.B. hat in einer Schrift an den *cellerarius* des Agnitenberges für Martha durchaus ermunternde und lobende Worte gefunden.⁴⁰ Am besten zeigt sich der Unterschied Gansforts zu den Modernen Devoten gerade im Meditationsbuch Mombaers; dort wird die *vita activa* nicht einfach beiseite gedrückt. Mombaer zeigt vielmehr einen stufenweisen Aufstieg von der *vita activa* zur *vita contemplativa*.

Wie verhält sich nun Gansfort Aussage zu den Auffassungen des Humanismus? Zunächst muss festgestellt werden, dass seine Ausführungen wenig mit den Gedanken des sog. 'Florentiner Bürgerhumanismus', etwa eines Leonardo Bruni oder eines Matteo Palmieri, gemein haben.⁴¹ Die florentiner Bürgerhumanisten gelangten aufgrund ihrer politischen Tätigkeit und durch die Rezeption antiken römischen Materials zu einer Aufwertung der *vita activa*; die reine *vita contemplativa* lehnten sie dagegen ab. Der eklatante Unterschied zum florentiner Bürgerhumanismus lieferte jedoch noch keinen schlüssigen Grund, um Gansforts Stellungnahme in der *Scala* als unhumanistisch zu bezeichnen. Denn die Aufwertung der *vita activa* war kein festes und allgemeingültiges Merkmal des Humanismus. Viele Humanisten besaßen, ausgehend von Petrarca,⁴² eher eine ausgesprochene Vorliebe für die *vita contemplativa*.

In den humanistischen Schriften zur *vita activa* fällt auch das religiöse Element keinesfalls weg.⁴³ Man denke hier etwa an Francesco Petrarca's *De vita solitaria*, Petrarca's *De otio religioso*,⁴⁴ Coluccio Salutati's *De seculo et religione*⁴⁵ oder Erasmus' *De*

⁴⁰ 'Epistola ad quendam cellerarium (De fideli dispensatore qui vulgo dicitur)', Thomas von Kempen, *Opera omnia* I, 129–187.

⁴¹ Für Palmieri siehe Buck, 'Matteo Palmieri 1406–1475) als Repräsentant des florentiner Bürgerhumanismus', id., *Die humanistische Tradition in der Romania*, 253–270; vgl. Lentzen, *Studien zur Dante-Exegese Cristoforo Landinos*, 97–98 und Baron, *In Search of Florentine Civic Humanism* II, 63–64; Palmieris Gedanken sind v.a. in seinem Werk *Della vita civile* formuliert; für Bruni siehe Baron, *op. cit.* II, 67; Baron, 'Cicero and Roman Civic Spirit', 96–97, rezenter *In Search of Florentine Civic Humanism* I ('The Memory of Cicero's Roman Civic Spirit in the Medieval Centuries and in the Florentine Renaissance'), 129–131.

⁴² Petrarca, *De vita solitaria*; siehe dafür die in Anm. 21 genannte Arbeit des Verf.

⁴³ Trinkaus, 'Humanist Treatises on the Status of the Religious' (rezenter mit Veränderungen in Trinkaus, *In Our Image and Likeness* II, 651–682; Trinkaus, 'The Religious Thought of the Italian Humanists and the Reformers'; Voci, *Petrarca e la vita religiosa*.

⁴⁴ Hierunter zitiert nach Buch, Seite und Zeile in der Ausgabe von Rotondi.

⁴⁵ Zu *De seculo et religione* vgl. Witt, *Hercules at the Crossroads*, 195–208.

contemptu mundi,⁴⁶ um nur einige der bekanntesten humanistischen Schriften zum Thema zu nennen. Petrarca z.B. basiert in *De vita solitaria* den Tagesablauf des Vertreters der *vita contemplativa*, des *solitarius*, ganz auf die mönchischen Stundengebete;⁴⁷ Erasmus hatte bei seiner Darstellung der *vita contemplativa* in *De contemptu mundi* das Klosterleben vor Augen.⁴⁸ Wenn in Gansforts Behandlung des *vita activa-vita contemplativa*-Problems das religiöse Element im Vordergrund steht, dann wäre auch das kein ausreichender Grund, seine Darstellung als unhumanistisch zu bezeichnen. Wenn er z.B. am Anfang der *Scala* leitmotivartig die Worte von Ps. 45, 11: 'Vacate et videte' verwendet,⁴⁹ so hat das in den humanistischen Schriften eine genaue Entsprechung in Petrarcas *De otio religioso*, das eine von Ps. 45, 11 ausgehende Meditation darstellt.⁵⁰

Es gibt jedoch andere Kriterien, die für die Frage, inwieweit Gansforts Stellungnahme zum *vita activa-vita contemplativa*-Problem als humanistisch zu bezeichnen ist, sinnvollere Aussagen ermöglichen. Zunächst tritt in den humanistischen Behandlungen des Problems gegenüber den mittelalterlichen Schriften ein neues Element in den Vordergrund: das des *otium litteratum*. Dieser Begriff, der in vorliegender Form von Cicero geprägt worden war,⁵¹ bezeichnet ein *otium*, das vornehmlich der Literatur bzw. der Bildungstätigkeit gewidmet ist. Die Humanisten neigten dazu, die Diskussion in diesen Rahmen zu setzen. In literarischen und gelehrten Studien erblickten sie eine wichtige und wesentliche Façette der *vita contemplativa*. Untersucht man nun Gansforts Problembehandlung in der *Scala* auf dieses Phänomen hin, so wird man nicht fündig. Der Leser, der mit der Person Gansforts

⁴⁶ Hrsg. von S. Dresden in *Opera omnia* (ASD) V 1, 39–86; nach der Ausgabe Dresdens hat M. Haverals eine wichtige Handschrift gefunden, die Dresden nicht berücksichtigt hat und die uns ein Bild vom ursprünglichen Zustand der Schrift vermittelt: Haverals, 'Une première rédaction du *De contemptu mundi* d'Erasmus dans un manuscrit de Zwolle'; zu Erasmus' *De contemptu mundi* siehe weiter Van Eijl, 'De interpretatie van Erasmus' *De contemptu mundi*.

⁴⁷ *De vita solitaria* I 2, 1–28; gl. hierfür den Quellenapp. der Ausgabe des Verfassers und den ideengeschichtlichen kommentar, S.210 und 234–237.

⁴⁸ Vgl. Haverals, 'Une première rédaction du *De contemptu mundi* d'Erasmus' und Van Eijl, 'De interpretatie van Erasmus' *De contemptu mundi*, jeweils *passim*.

⁴⁹ *De stabilitate meditationum*, c. 1, 3, 4.

⁵⁰ *De otio religioso*, I, 2.23ff.: 'Unde vero nunc ordiar, seu quid primum semiabsens dicam, nisi quod totus presens dicere volui, illud nempe Daviticum: "Vacate et videte" . . . in quibus . . . imperativis verbis spiritu Dei, licet hominis ore prolatis, totius, nisi fallor, vite vestre series, tota spes, tota denique continetur intentio finisque ultimus . . . "Vacate igitur et videte", o felices anime . . .'

⁵¹ Vgl. *Tusc.* 5, 36, 105; im Humanismus rezipiert wohl zuerst von Petrarca, *De vita solitaria* I 3, 19.

vertraut ist, mag davon einigermaßen überrascht sein; denn Gansfort selbst hatte immerhin eine *vita contemplativa* gelebt, die ganz von der Gelehrtentätigkeit beherrscht worden war.⁵² Von dieser speziellen Ausrichtung von Gansforts persönlicher *vita contemplativa* ist in der *Scala* keine Spur vorhanden: Es findet sich kein Nachdruck oder besonderer Hinweis auf wissenschaftliche Studien (nicht einmal auf die Theologie), geschweige denn auf die Lektüre antiker Autoren.

Für die Frage, ob das Werk einen humanistischen Anstrich besitzt, könnte man als Kriterium mitberücksichtigen, welche Texte verarbeitet wurden; Humanisten sind geneigt, ihren Behandlungen des *vita activa-vita contemplativa*-Problems gewisse antike Basis-Texte zum *otium-negotium*-Problem, z.B. aus Cicero oder Seneca, einzuflechten, obwohl es verfehlt wäre anzunehmen, dass die Humanisten deshalb auf Bibelzitate verzichtet oder die antiken Autoren schlechtweg anstatt der Bibel zitiert hätten,⁵³ kann das Vorhandensein der antiken Texte eine positive Indikation formen, dass wir es mit einem Traktat humanistischer Färbung zu tun haben.

In Gansforts Behandlung des Problems in der *Scala* fehlen die relevanten antiken Stellen völlig. Nichts deutet hier auf eine humanistische Behandlungsweise hin. Überhaupt konnte ich in den ersten Kapiteln der *Scala* nur ein einziges antikes Zitat feststellen. Die Verwendungsweise gerade dieser einzigen Ausnahme ist, wie ich glaube, vielsagend: Gansfort zitiert hier die bekannten Worte aus dem sechsten Buch der *Aeneis*: 'Hae tibi erunt artes'.⁵⁴ Bei Vergil beziehen sie sich auf das kardinale Betätigungsfeld des Römers, die politische *vita activa*;⁵⁵ Gansfort

⁵² Verglichen damit kommt der religiösen Beschäftigung nach aller Wahrscheinlichkeit viel geringeres Gewicht zu; möglicherweise ist sie sogar etwas ins Hintertreffen geraten. Wenn man einer Anekdote Geldenhouwers glauben schenken darf, so haben sich die Mönche des Agnitenberges darüber gewundert, dass er nicht betete. Darauf angesprochen soll Gansfort zur Antwort gegeben haben, dass ihm bereits ein seltenes Gebet genüge: 'respondit se quidem gratia Dei ad hoc conari, ut perpetuo orare possit; nihilominus tamen singulis diebus orationem Dominicam semel recitare sperareque eam orationis puritatem sufficere, si vel in anno tantum semel Dominicam orationem legeret'. Zur *Vita Geldenhouwers*: van Rhijn, *Wessel Gansfort*, VIII (bijlage A); eine engl. Übers. der Stelle findet sich in Miller and Scudder, *Wessel Gansfort* II, 346.

⁵³ Irreführend zu Erasmus' *De vita contemplativa*-Schrift: Rummel, 'Quoting Poetry instead of Scripture'; Erasmus zitiert in *De contemptu mundi* zwar antike Autoren, jedoch keinesfalls ausschliesslich oder 'anstatt' der Bibel; das Werk weist ein reiches Arsenal an Bibelziten auf (s. den Apparat von Dresdens Ausgabe in *Opera omnia* (ASD) V 1, 39–86).

⁵⁴ *Aen.* 6, 852; Gansfort, *De stabilitate meditationum*, c. 3.

⁵⁵ 'Tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento / hae tibi erunt artes . . .'

hingegen verwendet sie in bezug auf die *vita contemplativa*: Die wünschenswerten und erforderlichen 'Künste' des Menschen wären, sich in der *vita contemplativa* einer Reinigung zu unterziehen, um auf diesem Wege zu Gott zu gelangen.

Somit ergibt sich, dass Gansforts Behandlung des *vita activa-vita contemplativa*-Problems in der *Scala* wenig Affinitäten mit denen des Humanismus hat. Sie fügt sich eher in die Tradition der mittelalterlichen Mönchtheologie und steht in nahem Verhältnis zur Devotio Moderna. Dies zeigt ein Blick auf die Spiritualität der *Scala*: Bezeichnend ist Gansforts Nachdruck auf die spirituelle Erfahrung, die *experientia*: Die *vita contemplativa* könne erst von demjenigen, der sie erfahren habe, richtig bewertet und geschätzt werden: 'Niemand kennt sie', sagt Gansfort, 'der sie nicht empfängt; weil Martha sie nicht empfangen hat, kennt sie nicht deren Glückseligkeit'.⁵⁶ Sowohl der spezifische Gedanke als auch der allgemeine Nachdruck auf die *experientia* entstammt der Mönchtheologie.⁵⁷ Dasselbe gilt für die Metaphorik, in der die Erlebnisse der *vita contemplativa* zum Ausdruck gebracht werden: Die Mönche reden diesbezüglich vom Schmecken, Kosten, Schlürfen, Trinken, von der 'Süsse' bzw. vom 'süssen Geschmack' der *vita contemplativa*. Diese dem Geschmackssinn entnommene Metaphorik findet sich in reichem Masse in Gansforts *Scala*. Gleiches gilt schliesslich für das intime Liebesverhältnis zu Christus, in dem sowohl die mittelalterlichen Mönchtheologen als auch Gansfort das höchste Glück der *vita contemplativa* erblickten.⁵⁸

Alle die genannten Merkmale sind für die Spiritualität der Devotio Moderna bezeichnend, die hier bei den grossen mystischen Autoren, z.B. bei Bernard von Clairvaux, anschloss.⁵⁹ Die modernen Devoten betonten die spirituelle *experientia*, man sehe die zahlreichen Aussagen dazu bei Thomas von Kempen und Johannes Mombaer. Mombaer führt im *Rosetum* auch den

⁵⁶ *De stabilitate meditationum*, c. 1: 'quam (sc. vitam contemplativam) nemo scit, nisi qui accipit. Hanc Martha quia non accepit, non agnovit beatitudinem eius.'

⁵⁷ Siehe z.B. Johannes von Fécamp, *deploratio quietis et solitudinis derelictae*, 189: 'Nescis, quia experientia plus docet quam scientia'; vgl. weiter Enenkel, *Francesco Petrarca, De vita solitaria*, Buch 1, Komm. zu 1.4.

⁵⁸ Vgl. z.B. Gansfort, *De stabilitate meditationum*, c. 1: 'concupiscere', 'amare', 'amore languescere'.

⁵⁹ Bemerkenswert sind z.B. die vielen Zitate aus Bernards Werken im *Rosetum* des Johannes Mombaer; für den Einfluss Bernards auf die Devotio Moderna siehe Mikkers, 'Sint Bernardus en de Moderne Devotie'; Constable, '12th-Century Spiritual Writers in the Late Middle Ages', 18–19; De Bruin in *Geert Grote en de Moderne Devotie*, 114–115.

Gedanken an, dass nur derjenige, der die *vita contemplativa* erfahren habe, über sie urteilen könne.⁶⁰ Ebenso findet sich die Metaphorik der Mönchstheologie, das Kosten, das Schmecken, die Süsse Jesu, usw., in den Schriften der *Devotio Moderna*.⁶¹ Eine besondere Übereinstimmung ergibt sich schliesslich für das intime Liebesverhältnis des Menschen zu Christus, das die Spiritualität der Modernen Devoten kennzeichnet.⁶²

Zusammenfassend lässt sich feststellen, dass Wessel Gansforts Behandlung des *vita activa-vita contemplativa*-Problems in der *Scala* nur wenig Übereinstimmung mit denen des Humanismus hat. Gansfort schliesst mit seiner Problembehandlung eher bei den mittelalterlichen mönchtheologischen Schriften zur *vita contemplativa* an, wobei sich aber als Unterschied eine noch radikalere Vorliebe für die *vita contemplativa* feststellen lässt. Eine gleich starke Affinität ergibt sich zu den Schriften der *Devotio Moderna*, wobei eine Schrift wahrscheinlich eine besondere Rolle gespielt hat: das *Rosetum* des Johannes Mombaer.

⁶⁰ *Rosetum*, c. IV, 3: 'dulcissima est et iocunda (sc. vita solitaria), quam tamen plene nemo nisi qui acceperit, novit.'

⁶¹ So weist z.B. Mombaer wiederholt auf die Übergrosse Süsse, die 'dulcedo' der *vita contemplativa*, hin; siehe z.B. *Rosetum*, c. IV, 32: 'Tercium inductivum vie huius solitarie est ducedo... dulcissima est et iocunda...'

⁶² Für die *Devotio Moderna* siehe z.B. De Bruin in *Geert Grote en de Moderne Devotie*; Gansfort nennt Christus in *De stabilitate meditationum* u.a. 'amator' und 'dulcissimus arbiter' (c. 1); wiederholt zitiert er Ps. 33, 9 'quoniam suavis est Dominus' (cc. 1 und 4); als angemessene Liebesäusserung stellt er das 'desiderium' hin (c. 6); darüberhinaus nennt er als höchstes Ziel die spirituelle Vereinigung, die 'unio' mit Christus (c. 6).

APPENDIX

Text von Wessel Gansforts *Scala Meditationis*, Buch 1, *capp.* 1–7.

Der hier probeweise gedruckte Text soll einen Eindruck von Gansforts spirituellen Werken, im besonderen Fall von der *Scala meditationis* vermitteln. Der wiedergegebene Text beinhaltet den Teil der *Scala*, in welchem das *vita activa-vita contemplativa*-Problem behandelt wird. Von der *Scala* gibt es bis jetzt keine kritische Ausgabe; eine solche ist als *desideratum* zu bezeichnen. Der hier gedruckte Text basiert sich auf den Text in Gansfort, *Opera*, Groningen 1614, der von Petrus Pappus a Tratzberg versorgt worden war. Auf eine handschriftliche Überlieferung kann sich der heutige Bearbeiter des Textes der *Scala*, soweit ich sehe, nicht berufen. Tratzbergs Ausgabe wird das relevante Fundament bilden müssen.

Die hier vorgenommene Ausgabe von I, 1–7 muss, schon aufgrund des insgesamt noch deplorablen editorialen Zustandes der Gansfort-Werke und des somit fehlenden Vergleichsmaterials, einen tentativen Charakter tragen. Hauptaugenmerk lag auf der Erstellung eines möglichst korrekten, verständlichen Textes und der Erarbeitung der von Gansfort verwendeten Quellentexte. Die betreffenden Stellen sind in einem Quellenapparat angegeben. Möge aus diesem Apparat deutlich werden, wie nachdrücklich die Vulgata in der Prosa Gansforts (jedenfalls in den hier wiedergegebenen Textteilen) vorhanden ist.

Einen korrekten, verständlichen Text zu erzielen, bringt mehr Probleme mit sich, als vielleicht auf den ersten Blick scheinen mag. Einerseits ist die tratzbergsche Ausgabe keineswegs fehlerfrei, andererseits weiss Gansfort — von einem klassischen Standpunkt aus gesehen — die syntaktische Richtigkeit und die logische Klarheit des Gedankenganges nicht immer zu wahren. Es ist daher manchmal schwer zu entscheiden, welche von beiden Ursachen dieser oder jener Unklarheit zugrunde liegt. Der zukünftige Herausgeber der *Scala* wird hier einige Probleme zu lösen haben.

Die Orthographie des Textes wurde der vermutlich von Gansfort verwendeten angepasst (*e* und nicht *ae/oe* wie bei Tratzberg; *Ierusalem*, nicht *Hierusalem Tr*; *contemptus*, nicht *contemtus Tr*; *caritas*, nicht *charitas Tr*), die Interpunktion wurde modernen Masstäben angeglichen. Mein besonderer Dank gebührt A. van Heck und F. Akkerman, die mir zahlreiche wertvolle Hinweise gaben und den gesamten hier wiedergegebenen Text mitkorri-

giert haben (alle Irrtümer gehen selbstverständlich auf meine Rechnung); die von ihnen suggerierten Textänderungen sind im kritischen Apparat namentlich angegeben; die dort verwendeten Siglen bedeuten Tr — Tratzberg; vH — van Heck; A — Akkerman; E — Enenkel. Die Bibelstellen sind zitiert aus *Biblia Sacra iuxta vulgatam versionem, ... recensuit et brevi apparatu instruxit Robertus Weber OSB. Stuttgart 1969, 2 Bnde.*

Zum Titel *De stabilitate meditationum et modo figendi meditationes*, s. die Arbeit des Verfassers in diesem Buch, S. 44, Anm. 2.

Venerabilis et doctissimi Wesseli Gosevort Groningensis, doctoris eximii, de stabilitate meditationum et modo figendi meditationes liber incipit.

Pars prima

Cap. I *Comparatio vite active et contemplative comparatione Marie Magdalene et Marthe.*

*Intravit Iesus in quoddam castellum, et mulier quedam nomine Martha suscepit illum in domum suam.*¹

- 5 Cum Verbum caro plena gratie et veritatis factum² plena humanitate, perfecta benignitate apparuit omnibus hominibus, erudiens nos, ut abnegantes omnem impietatem sobrie, pie et iuste vivamus in hoc seculo,³ velut in castellum intravit, quando omnibus hominibus, erudiens, quomodo celestis illius Ierusalem
- 10 comparatione universa peregrinantium hominum multitudo velut foris in agro, in villa, in pago aut castello manet urbis compara-

I,8 velut in castellum A : Velut enim castellum Tr

¹ Lc 10,38–42 factum est autem dum irent et ipse intravit in quoddam castellum et mulier quaedam Martha nomine excepit illum in domum suam. et huic erat soror nomine Maria quae etiam sedens secus pedes Domini audiebat verbum illius. Martha autem satagebat circa frequens ministerium; quae stetit et ait: Domine non est tibi curae quod soror mea reliquit me solam ministrare? dic ergo illi ut me adiuvet. et respondens dixit illi Dominus: Martha Martha sollicita es et turbaris erga plurima. porro unum est necessarium. Maria optimam partem elegit quae non auferetur ab ea.

² Io 1,14 et Verbum caro factum est et habitavit in nobis et vidimus gloriam eius, gloriam quasi unigeniti a Patre plenum gratiae et veritatis.

³ Tit 2,11–12 apparuit enim gratia Dei salutaris (*var. lect.* Salvatoris nostri) omnibus hominibus erudiens nos ut abnegantes impietatem et saecularia desideria sobrie et iuste et pie vivamus in hoc saeculo.

15 tione. In hoc castello qui credunt in nomine eius, hi recipiunt eum. Licet enim in proprium veniat, non tamen sui omnes recipiunt eum.⁴ Sunt ergo recipientes eum alii quidem satagentes circa frequens ministerium in obsequium illius, quem recipiunt. Et hi multiplices actione nunc distracti, nunc impediti, nunc inconsummati, nunc infirmi turbantur erga plurima. His licet erga plurima turbatis, vere tamen Dominus Iesus in domum eorum excipitur, quando propter Iesum omnem suam inquietudinem suscipiunt et moliuntur.

20 Sed non hi soli Dominum Iesum suscipiunt, sed est eis soror Maria nomine, que etiam suscipit Dominum Iesum in domum suam, non satagens multiplices actione, non in multis sollicita, non turbata erga plurima, sed uni et illi^a necessario vacans et intenta sedet circa pedes Domini Iesu, audiens et hauriens verbum illius. Hec non tam edulio reficere curat esurientem quam toto corde vacare et videre,⁵ ruminari, gustare, concupiscere, esurire, sitire, amare, amore languescere, quoniam suavis est Dominus.⁶ Et revera longe hec optima pars Marie est, non omnibus data, 30 quam nemo scit nisi qui accipit.

Hanc Martha quia non accepit, non agnovit beatitudinem eius; unde de non agnito velut non existente iudicans sororem estimavit otiosam. Suo ergo iudicio iuste contra sororis ignaviam invehitur, succensens quod non pari in Dominum Iesum amore 35 flagret, quia non simili fervet ministerio. Dicit igitur: '*Domine, non est tibi cure ignavia sororis mee?*' Indigne facit quod otiosa sedet, ingrata, que tantorum tuorum beneficiorum immemor nihil exhibet officiorum.'

40 Verum Dominus Iesus, inter duas amantissimas has sorores dulcissimus arbiter, utriusque amator, quia pater ambarum et sanctorum utriusque officiorum inspirator, ita sententiam utrinque moderatur, ut et interpellantem in officio recto collaudet et

I,23 multiplices E : multiplicia Tr

⁴ Io 1,11–12 in propria venit et sui eum non receperunt. quotquot autem receperunt eum dedit eis potestatem filios Dei fieri, his qui credunt in nomine eius.

⁵ Ps 45,11 vacate et videte quoniam ego sum Dominus.

⁶ Ps 33,9 gustate et videte quoniam suavis est Dominus; cf. 85,5 quoniam tu Domine suavis et mitis; 99,5 quoniam suavis Dominus; 108,21; 134,3; 144,9 suavis Dominus universis; Sap 12,1; 15,1 tu autem Deus noster suavis et verus es.

^a uni et illi, cf. III,14–15 digna, et vero Dei Patris iudicio digna Deo; VI,27–28 excogitem et suaviter cogitem; oportebit et utiliter oportebit; VII,64 qui diligunt et Deum diligunt.

- ignorantem instruat, preferat preterea Mariam, que altiore officio in suam domum suscepit Verbum Dei, Martha,^b quia carnem Verbi in materiali domo suscepit, visibili etiam pane pascendum sollicitavit, Maria soror eius,^b quia Verbum Dei sitiebat, aurem paravit ut in corde suo susciperet. Et hec altior illa et dignior susceptio, qua suscipi desiderat, licet priorem etiam dignanter acceptet.
- Marie itaque susceptio comparatione susceptionis eius, qua per Martham suscipitur, plane optima iudicatur. Unde et Maria optimam partem elegit, que nulla sororis instantia, nullo periculorum murmure aufertur ab ea. *Adiurate sane filie Ierusalem, ne suscitent dormientem dilectam, donec ipsa velit.*⁷ Eatenus enim actio caritatis integra fertur in Deum, nec ullis pulsata circumstrepentibus propter Deum actionibus revocatur, quatenus et quam diu caritas ipsa non movet ad illam, que etsi non in Deum, propter Deum tamen est conversa. Pietas igitur propter Deum, que non in Deum ipsum exhibetur, ad Martham spectat, pietas autem que in Deum ipsum est, ad Mariam. Hec est illa optima pars ad quam Maria electa fuit magis quam elegit; elegit nihilominus quoniam electa ad eam. *Theosebia* igitur et *Eusebia* sorores. Adiurat autem Dominus sponsus Martham et omnem Eusebiam non suscitare *Theosebiam*, quoadusque sanctum caritatis dictamen obstat atque sancte caritatis iudicium precipiat exire ad opus.

Cap. II *Quod contemplationem vita activa precedit et pedetentim ad contemplativam vitam adducit.*

- Dominum Iesum intrantem in castellum primo Martha suscipit, quia primo animalis homo non sapit que Dei sunt, quousque per consuetudinem exercitato sensu discat esse unum necessarium. Et cum hoc perfecte sciverit, mox germano consilio sororis et exemplo incipit optimam partem eligere, illam unam petere, hanc requirere,⁸ sedere ad pedes Domini Iesu, ex eius voluntate pendere, propter hoc verbum ex eius ore audire. Felix qui ad hoc desiderium pervenit et vere felix, quia pars hec optima non aufertur ab eo. Et nisi hanc eligat, nisi propter hoc ad pedes Domini Iesu sedeat, propter hoc verbum ex ore illius audiat, nisi

⁷ Ct 2,7 adiuro vos filiae Ierusalem per capreas cervosque camporum ne suscitetis neque evigilare faciatis dilectam quoadusque ipsa velit.

⁸ Ps 26,4 unam petii a Domino, hanc requiram.

^b Martha ... Maria soror eius — *nominativi in appositione*, cf. LHS, 27 sq.

hanc petat et requirat, non habitabit in domo Domini in longitudine dierum.⁹

- 15 Et quia Virgo mater in utraque vita perfectissima fuit, ideo mox concepto Domino exsurgens, post susceptum Dominum in domum suam, abiit in montana salutare Elisabeth¹⁰ quasi mensibus tribus. Et quoniam unum necessarium, ideo post menses tres reversa in domum suam¹¹ vacare decrevit.

Cap. III *Contemplationis prerogativa beatissime virginis Marie exemplo demonstratur*

- Quem fructum habeat vacatio quique ex ea spectari possit, brevi experimento vel ex parte datur intelligi. Nam si quis quieto silentio, hoc est a strepitu concupiscentiarum et passionum tranquillus, vacet ad videndum,¹² qualis fuerit mens Marie virginis in Deum, antequam ad eam divino partu gravidandam Gabriel angelus a Deo mitteretur¹³ — tametsi frigida mens hec audientis perfunctorie sentiat, ut afficiatur quidem, sed non permoveatur
10 nec efficaciter trahatur aut rapiatur in affectum cordis, nisi considerando figat oculum, ut vacet et videat, qualis fuerit ipsa intrinsecus sequestrata, divinitus electa et preparata ambulare in munditia, puritate, rectitudine, sobrietate, castitate, sanctitate, complacentia, gratiarum plenitudine,¹⁴ donec digna esset et vero
15 Dei Patris iudicio digna Deo,^a — qualem suspicabimur fuisse mentem illam, que proprio Dei iudicio Deo digna est?

- Igitur he tibi semper erunt artes,¹⁵ quoniam solis Marie artibus summus et dignissimus est questus, tantus tamque speciosus, ut omnem aspicientem cordialiter medullitus adficiat. Non igitur
20 sine magno fructu vacatur, videtur, quibus puellaris adhuc virgo passibus Deum secuta et consecuta est. Trahit enim post eam fragrantissimus odor virtutum¹⁶ eius, sive aromata sive unguenta

⁹ Ps 22,6 et ut inhabitem in domo Domini in longitudinem dierum ('longitudo dierum' *etiam* Ps 20,5; 90,16; 92,5; Dt 30,20; Prv 3,2; 3,16; Sir 1,12; 23,38).

¹⁰ Lc 1,39–40 exsurgens autem Maria in diebus illis abiit in montana cum festinatione in civitatem Iuda et intravit in domum Zacchariae et salutavit Elisabeth.

¹¹ Lc 1,56 mansit autem Maria cum illa quasi mensibus tribus et reversa est in domum suam.

¹² *cf. notam 5.*

¹³ Lc 1,26 missus est Angelus Gabriel a Deo.

¹⁴ Lc 1,28 et ingressus Angelus ad eam dixit: have gratia plena.

¹⁵ Verg. Aen. 6,852 hae tibi erunt artes.

¹⁶ Ps Bas., De laude vit. sol. (Pier Damiani, Liber qui dicitur Dominus vobiscum), PL 145,246 D sic fragrantia spirant odora menta virtutum (sc. in eremo).

25 nominare velis sive etiam gemmas virtutum: simplicitas, puritas, rectitudo, munditia, integritas, sobrietas, castitas, mititas, humilitas, acceptabilitas, gratia, dignitas. Sed quem ista considerata non movent, trahunt, devinciunt, retinent, stupidus, frigidus, vacuus, vanus est, et non credo vacare illum, tametsi sedeat solitarius.¹⁷ Solitudinis fructus ea suaviter sapere, que nisi^c in solitudine reperiuntur.

Cap. IV *Sapientie et quietis, que per contemplationem inveniuntur, multiplices et laudabiles operationes.*

Quam sit quieta sapientia vera, docet eorum sapientia, qui sapientie vacant, quantoque magis vacant, magis quieti sunt.
 5 Unde vera sapientia omnium quietissima est. Neque tamen ideo otiosa est, quippe perpetuos latissime fructus copiose spargit, ut vere divina res habeatur sapientia, que cum tanta quiete tam sit efficax. Quamque sit a terrenis elongata, contemptus docet eorum, cuncta terrena ad ultimas usque necessitates despicientium
 10 et velut stercora reputantium. Hinc puritas eius et mundicia et sanctitas et sublimitas, non loco, sed ordine et dignitate vendicata. Quamque munita, securitas docet nihil intra, nihil extra formidantium, quoniam fiducia illorum immortalitatis plena. Et quoniam nemo melius illam novit quam ipsa se ipsam, nulliusque
 15 iudicium gravius ad auctoritatem adferendam, per eam ipsam fiducialiter adstruere licebit solidam esse et in eternum firmatum solium¹⁸ velut immobili rupe collocatum.¹⁹ Et quam sit leta sapientia, perpetua et stabilis <docet> illorum letitia, qui sine dissolutione, cachinno aut risu <letantur illa letitia, que> populares
 20 omnes velut adulterinas respuit letitias, indignas et sordidas iudicans. Quam et non indiga quamque sufficiens, quam opulenta

IV,10 Hinc A : Huc Tr

IV,12 intra vH : infra Tr

IV,18 <docet> add. A

IV,19 <letantur illa letitia, que> add. A

¹⁷ Lam 3,28 sedebit solitarius et tacebit.

¹⁸ 1 Par 17,12 ipse aedificabit mihi domum et formabo solium eius usque in aeternum; 1 Par 22,10 firmaboque solium regni eius super Israhel in aeternum; cf. Ps 92,2.

¹⁹ cf. Sir 26,24 fundamenta aeterna super petram solidam; Ps 124,1 sicut mons Sion non commovebitur in aeternum.

^c nisi — *h.l. pro tantum*, cf. LHS, 668.

sibi, quam se ipsa contenta, desideria ipsa sapientum docent, qui, nisi corpusculi infirmitas et necessitates obstarent, semper cuperent etiam vacare, videre et gustare, quoniam suavis est
 25 Dominus,²⁰ cuius exuberantissimam suavitatem vacando, videndo, gustando in semetipsis experiuntur.

Etiam in tenebris istis, in erumnis istis, in angustiis istis liquido et evidenter palpare²¹ licet, quoniam sapiens Dei imago est in
 30 terris, ut, quemadmodum Deus cuncta, que fecit, Verbo fecit, ita et sapiens gentes, nationes, regna, populos omnes in beatum statum reformaret, solum si presides et principes illum verbo monentem audirent, quemadmodum ipse interius audit precipientem sapientiam, ut non solum sapiat, sed et gaudeat morem gerere. Non tam gaudet sitiens limpido fonte, tam famelicus
 35 oblato pane, non tam amans delato nuntio a terra longinqua, quam gaudet sapiens secreto, quieto, fido, certo, fecundo, leto, sapido magistre sue sapientie colloquio.

Cap. V *Quanquam inter angustias faciendi et patiendi constituti,^d viam tamen exitus vera sapientia ipsam angustiam facit; et quomodo ad veram sapientiam etiam animalibus sicut spiritualibus patet accessus.*

5 Inter duas necessitates velut inter duos muros in angustiis constituti sumus, unam faciendi, patiendi alteram. Necessario constricti sumus facere et operari legem tuam, necessario item constricti perferre manum tuam, dominator Domine,²² quia regnum tuum dominatur omnium.^e Non enim possibile, ut qui
 10 sciens et dicens, precipiens omnia fecisti,^f quidquam nisi te sciente, dicente, precipiente ac per hoc te dominante, preter te subsistat. Te igitur dominatorem ac dispositorem necessario per-

IV,22 qui E : que Tr

IV,23 cuperent E : cuperet Tr

²⁰ cf. notam 6.

²¹ Dt 28,29 et palpes in meridie sicut palpare solet caecus in tenebris; Iob 15,25 palpabunt quasi in tenebris; cf. Iob 5,14.

²² Is 3,1 ecce enim dominator Deus (*var. lect.* Dominus) exercituum.

^d constituti — *supplendum* sumus; *durissima ellipsis, quae figura frequenter occurrit in nostro textu*: I,8–9; I,40–41; I,62; II,18; IV,14–15; V,9–10; V,16–17; V,24; V,47–50; VI,9; VII,58–59.

^e dominatur omnium — *Graecismus*, cf. Löfstedt, *Synt.* II,416.

^f ut qui ... fecisti — *pro* ut cum tu ... feceris.

ferre opus, quodcunquevis. Voluntati enim tue quis resistet?²³
 15 Aliter enim in tua scientis, dicentis, precipientis ac per hoc ex
 toto constituentis ditione cuncta sunt posita, et aliter in cetero-
 rum potestate regum ac principum. Nullus enim, quantumlibet
 monarcha, Nabuchodonosor, Cyrus, Alexander, Octavianus, qui
 noscendo, dicendo, precipiendo vel granum sabuli vel minimum
 20 vermiculum aut culicem solum, inquam, dicendo constituere
 posset; immo nec ipsum nosse vel dicere vel precipere, quo nos-
 cunt vel dicunt vel precipiunt, ab eis tanquam eorum dominatio-
 nibus est, quia non volentis aut curantis est, sed tantum Dei mise-
 rentis et operantis omnia in omnibus.²⁴ Et hec necessitas, licet
 25 non absoluta sit, quoniam extra te, primum ens et necessarium,
 omne reliquum contingens est, irrefragabilis tamen et inevitabi-
 lis te sic volente.

Prima vero necessitas, quam faciendi diximus, conditionis ne-
 cessitas est. Necesse namque implere legem tuam, si salvi fieri
 velimus. Quam si salutem parvi facimus^g et perditionem eter-
 30 namque miseriam non curemus,^g conceditur perituris licentia
 declinandi a lege tua²⁵ in interitum, sic tamen, quod per hanc li-
 centiam non prorsus a prima necessitate sit relaxata.^h In eternum
 enim permanet verbum tuum.²⁶ Legis igitur tue obligatio perma-
 net in eternum, quia sicut necessario in eternum obligabitur, ita
 35 in eternum declinans violatam legem in eternum sentiet corus-
 cantem et urentem. Grave iugum harum duarum necessitatum,
 grandis harum duarum necessitatum angustia, neque ultra con-
 clusis ullus nisi per sapientiam filiorum Dei panditur exitus in
 latitudinem et libertatem glorie. Per hanc enim computrescet
 40 iugum a facie olei et unctionis.²⁷ Omnium enim artifex et opus,
 tua sapientia, non solum inter angustias luce sua viam pandit,
 sed, quod omnium est mirabilius, ipsam angustiam viam facit et
 exitum. Quantumlibet enim angusta via que ducit ad vitam,²⁸ nisi

V,22 curantis A : currentis Tr

²³ Est 13,9 et dixit: Domine Domine, rex omnipotens, in ditione enim tua cuncta sunt posita et non est qui possit tuae resistere voluntati.

²⁴ 1 Cor 12,6 Deus qui operatur omnia in omnibus.

²⁵ Ps 118,51 a lege autem tua non declinavi.

²⁶ Ps 118,89 in aeternum Domine verbum tuum permanet in caelo.

²⁷ Ex 30,25 faciesque unctionis oleum sanctum.

²⁸ Mt 7,14 quam angusta porta et arcta via quae ducit ad vitam.

^g parvi facimus ... curemus — *Gansfortius h.l. indicativum et coniunctivum modum variat.*

^h sit relaxata — sc. licentia.

45 desit vere sapientie tue artificium, ipsa angustia pro via est. Per
 illam enim illustramur docemurque nullum patere conanti ex-
 itum nisi te conductore, quo conditore. Solus enim tu de mediis
 necessitatibus educere potes, qui solus eas imposuisti. Magna
 itaque pars tue sapientie graves has necessitates agnoscere, maior
 50 nosse per quem ducem datur exitus, maxima confugere et con-
 siderare ad illum, tanquam ad petram refugii²⁹ manantem salutaris
 huius sapientie aquas copiose omni indigenti sapientia. Solum
 adeo indigeat, ut sciat et recurat ad petram copiose manan-
 tem,³⁰ hauriat aquas de fonte salvatoris.³¹ Hec enim petra non
 solos filios Isrel, sed et iumenta copiose reficit.

55 Quisquis enim animalis adhuc homo est, ut non possit sapien-
 tiam, iudicium et iustitiam puro mentis cogitatu tractare, sed
 adhuc imaginariis rerum tropis opus habet, habet nihilominus
 tantum vivifici spiritus,³² ut cupiat et efficaciter cupiat salvus fieri;
 huic animali adhuc <homini> vere salutaris sapientie ex petra
 60 scissa fluunt aque vive,³³ solum si pio cogitatu sese constituat ad
 latus dextrum vivifici summi templi Dei et velut corporali sensibi-
 lique haustu de latere Domini aperto³⁴ tanquam de fonte vivo³⁵
 hauriat, sugat, bibat, nec dubitet, si crebro faciat, quin magno
 fructu faciat. Non enim cassum suspicari licet grande testamen-
 65 tum illud et sensibilia illa fluentia, que discipulus ille, quem dili-
 gebat Iesus,³⁶ tam signanter credenda commendavit. Et credo,
 quantumlibet animalis aliquis fuerit, si pie sitiens accedat et
 sugat, brevi per aquam illam in spiritualem sapientiam³⁷ illumi-
 nabitur, quemadmodum per piam crebram sancte Eucharistie

V,59 <homini> *add.* A

V,69 sancte A : facile Tr

²⁹ Ps 103,18 petra refugium erinacii.

³⁰ Ex 17,6 percutiesque petram et exibat ex ea aqua ut bibat populus; cf. Nm 20,8; 20,10; Dt 8,15; 2 Esr 9,15; Iob 28,10; Ps 77,16; 77,20; 104,41; 113,8; Sap 11,4; Is 48,21.

³¹ Is 12,3 haurietis aquas in gaudio de fontibus salvatoris.

³² Io 6,64 spiritus est qui vivificat, caro non prodest quicquam; 2 Cor 3,6 littera enim occidit, spiritus autem vivificat.

³³ cf. *notam* 30.

³⁴ Io 19,34 sed unus militum lancea latus eius aperuit et continuo exivit sanguis et aqua.

³⁵ Apc 21,6 ego sitiendi dabo de fonte aquae vitae gratis; Ier 2,13 me dereliquerunt fontem aquae vivae; Nm 20,6 (*var. lect.*) aperi eis thesaurum tuum fontem aquae vivae; Ps 35,10 quoniam apud te fons vitae; Prv 13,14; 14,27; 16,22; Sir 21,16.

³⁶ Io 21,7 discipulus ille, quem diligebat Iesus (*sc.* Iohannes); cf. 13,23; 19,26; 20,2; 21,20.

³⁷ Col 1,9 in omni sapientia et intellectu spiritali.

70 sumptionem, nisi quod hec via semper et ubique laicis et mulieri-
bus commodissima patet in omnibus ubi sapientia opus fuerit.
Sapientia vero semper et ubique opus habemus; ubique igitur et
semper omnes animales et spirituales festinemus, quoniam huius
75 fontis fluenta verum sacramentum, solide confirmatum testamen-
tum sunt et fidissimum pignus exeundi de quacunque necessi-
tate clamaverimus³⁸ et recurrerimus ad hunc fontem.

Alii vero mere spirituales habent sensus exercitatos, ut mox
possint spiritualia spiritualibus comparare et sapientiam et iudi-
cium et iustitiam clara cognitione diffinite cognoscere. Huius-
80 modi cum Paulo dicere possunt: *Etsi Christum secundum carnem
cognovimus, iam non cognoscimus*,³⁹ quia spiritus etiam in carne est,
qui vivificat spiritum. Et his talibus *caro* parum est; immo, secun-
dum verbum Domini, *non prodest quidquam*.⁴⁰

Horum autem duorum alii medii sunt, neque mere spirituales
85 cum postremis neque prorsus animales cum primis, verum, ut
sunt medio sese gradu rapientes, qui, licet corporalium simula-
cris, qualia sunt haustus, potus aque, sanguis, non opus habent, a
sensibilibus tamen prorsus assurgere non possunt, et cuiusmodi
sunt, qui lumine, splendore, fervore theologisant.

90 Utrisque autem grandi sollicitudine observandum, ut semper
magis intentione pietatis nitantur quam sensibilibus similitudi-
num involucris. Spiritualium rerum et perfectionum simpliciter
conceptus et idee, quando ab imperfectionibus creaturarum de-
purantur et cum divinis proprietatibus, uti sunt *In se vitam habens,*
95 *per se, in se existens, Sibi ipsi sufficiens, a nullo efficienter dependens,*
necessarium, eternum etc. et reliquas complectuntur,ⁱ securissime
sunt meditantibus, iudicantibus et optantibus. Neque deiiciat
horum paucitas, quia etiam primi, si perseverent, hunc gradum
assequentur. Qui enim perseveraverit usque in finem,⁴¹ quantu-
100 locunque parvo gradu pietatis inceperit, perseverans crescet et
finalem fructum celestibus conviviis dignum faciet. Et hoc est: *in
finem*, hic salvus erit.

V,100 pietatis E : pieratis Tr

³⁸ Ex 22,27 si clamaverit ad me exaudiam eum; cf. Is 46,7.

³⁹ 2 Cor 5,16 et si cognovimus secundum carnem Christum, sed nunc iam non novimus.

⁴⁰ cf. notam 32.

⁴¹ Mt 10,22 qui autem perseveraverit in finem, hic salvus erit; cf. 24,13.

ⁱ complectuntur — h.l. in sensu activo, VI,12 autem in sensu passivo adhibitum hoc verbum.

Cap. VI *Quomodo vie Domini, quibus ad nos venit vel ipsi ad eum venimus, observande nobis sunt, et que uberiores vie nobis ad hoc sunt.*

Non inutile observare vias Domini,⁴² vias dico, quibus vel nos
 5 Deo accedimus vel Deus nobis; easdem enim puto vias esse, quibus accedit homo ad cor altum et quibus exaltatur⁴³ Deus in corde eius. Omnimodo enim quomodocunque cor nostrum Deo vel Deus nobis iungitur et unitur, nobis he in Deum, Deo in nos vie sunt. Sed uberiores vie, que magis uniunt magisque nobis
 10 Deum habitationem conciliant. Conciliatur autem nobis meditationibus bonis, magis autem admiratione, sed altius mirabilium investigatione. Omnium autem arctissime complectiturⁱ desiderio et amore. Vigilandum ergo et observandum attento oculo, si quando consideratione rerum in admirationem conditoris exurgas, quanta vestigatione ducaris in ardua quantoque rapiaris affectu. Observandum item, si preveniente desiderio fructum et fines rerum tuo consilio excogitandos tibi proponas et invenias te longe sub conatu succumbentem, quanto vel conatu proficias vel affectu movearis, ut eam eligas, que Deo propius monendo,
 20 docendo, diligendo conducit, nisi forte melior illa, que ex utraque coniuncta.

Bonum igitur preveniente desiderio casum ponere hoc modo: Ego si volatum avi prestare vellem, quibus illud organisi adoriendum? Invenio sane nisi piscium pinnae aut avium pennas aut
 25 apum et papilionum alas aut vespertilionum alates pelles in volatilibus nihil habere me, unde volatum aut volandi instrumenta excogitarem. Ut igitur excogitem et suaviter cogitem,^a oportebit et utiliter oportebit opera artificis intueri. Mox enim omnis inopia meditantis profligatur et opulenta supellex non arrogantem
 30 solum, sed et fastidientem reddit egenum. Hinc iterum si pergis opus tuum varietate multiplicare, varietatem ordinare, ordinem fecundare, fecunditatem gratificare velle, ut prius, sterilitatem invenires, nisi iterum ad facturam Dei considerandum oculum convertas.

35 Verum ut in his fructuose negotiemur et per has creaturarum vias compendio maiore ad eum veniamus, fons omnis boni exorandus, Pater luminum, a quo omne datum optimum ac donum

VI,16 preveniente E : perveniente Tr

⁴² Ps 24,4 vias tuas Domine demonstra mihi.

⁴³ Ps 63,7–8 accedet homo et cor altum et exaltabitur Deus.

perfectum de sursum est descendens,⁴⁴ ut qui nos ad se solum
 40 condidit, ipse missa luce sue veritatis illuminet oculos nostros,⁴⁵
 ignem mittat in cor nostrum, quo fida agnitione, vehementi af-
 fectione curramus accincti a contemplatione creaturarum, velut
 odore unguentorum et aromatum⁴⁶ conditoris, trahamur post
 eum ad eum.

Cap. VII *Quod cor nostrum Salomon precipit servandum et quomodo
 solus amor cor nostrum sistit et secundum amoris differen-
 tiam differentes sunt cogitationes nostre, sive vage, vane, per-
 verse, trunche, debiles sint.*

5 Salomon, quando precipit *omni custodia custodire cor, quoniam ex
 ipso vita procedit*,⁴⁷ non tam cogitationes custodiendas mandavit,
 quam abditum quidpiam, quod ante cogitationes ipsas cogitan-
 tem afficit. Videmus enim cogitationes nostras aliquando vagas,
 10 aliquando vanas, aliquando truncas, aliquando debiles. Vage
 sunt, que nullum finem destinant, sed absque proposito negli-
 gentibus, otiosis nobis licenter mentem nostram occupant, ex
 altero in alterum iactant, velut si navis temulento gubernatore
 quovis vento feratur. Huius tametsi facile omnibus horrendum
 15 periculum navigationis videatur, ideo fit,^k quia corporalem salu-
 tem temere iactari detestamur. Interioris autem hominis vitam si
 vere amaremus, incomparabiliter ardentiore zelo contra fluc-
 tuationem cogitationum nostrarum accingeremur ac detestare-
 mur, scientes, quoniam quod corporalis navigatio exterior<i> est
 homini, hoc cogitationes interiori sunt homini. Quales semper
 20 cogitationes tue, talis erit et portus tuus; quo fit, ut qui nullum
 portum destinat, equaliter omni vento naviget et, ubi inter navi-
 gandum alius a latere, alius a fronte ventus exsurgat, mutato
 amplustri illum sicut ventus maris insequatur, ut vere dictum sit:
*Impius velut mare fervens, quod quiescere non potest.*⁴⁸

VII,18 <i> add. E

VII,21 naviget E : navigat Tr

⁴⁴ Iac 1,17 omne datum optimum et omne donum perfectum de sursum est descendens a Patre luminum.

⁴⁵ Ps 12,4 respice exaudi me Domine Deus meus inlumina oculos meos.

⁴⁶ Ct 4,10 et odor unguentorum tuorum super omnia aromata.

⁴⁷ Prv 4,23 omni custodia serva cor tuum quia ex ipso vita procedit.

⁴⁸ Is 57,20 impii autem quasi mare fervens quod quiescere non potest.

^k tametsi ... ideo fit — *iunctura inusitata*, cf. VII,39–40 Ut ... ideo accidit.

25 Magis autem ignominiose huius passionis indignitas et tur-
 pitudo depingitur in muliere meretrice, que in lupanari prosti-
 tuta sedet, exspectat, occurrit, acceptat omnem venientem, illu-
 dentem, contemnentem, conspuentem amplectitur, osculatur et
 30 commiscetur. Hoc unde, nisi quia non legitima fide suo viro con-
 iugata est mens nostra? Certissimum enim est, si fido amore
 Deum nostrum diligeremus, non tam vago fluctuantium cogita-
 tionum estu cor nostrum iactaretur. Ubi enim thesaurus tuus,
 illic et cor tuum est.⁴⁹ Neque ad hoc opus constitutis. Natura ipsa
 35 amoris hoc habet, ut quod vehementer amas, facili occasione in
 id cogitandum revertaris, quantislibet etiam necessitatibus avoce-
 ris. Amor ergo tuus cor illud tuum est, quod Sapiens precepit
 custodiendum et observandum; quoniam si perversus fuerit,
 perverse erunt cogitationes, et si rectus, recte cogitationes. Ut
 autem vage sint cogitationes, ideo accidit,^m quoniam amor nullus
 40 est, quoniam, ut supra ex verbo Domini, *Ubi thesaurus tuus, illic
 cor tuum.*

Habet ergo omnis homo grave apud se tribunal de interioris
 hominis sui vita ex cogitationum suarum qualitate. Quales sunt
 meditationes nostre, talis est amor noster, ut si amor nullus,
 45 erunt cogitationes vage, et si vage cogitationes, liquet amorem
 nullum esse. Non dico cogitationes multifarias aut varias; aliud
 est enim vagum, aliud varium aut multifarium. Habuit Martha
 multifarias cogitationes, quando erga plurima turbabatur; non
 tamen vagas habuit, quando omnes eas uno fine frequentis
 50 ministerii negotiosa dispensavit. Non vaga erat cogitatu, que
 circa frequens ministerium sollicita erat, que nullos profanos
 cogitatus admisit, que in omni illa inquietudine pietatis portum
 destinavit et ad illum finem universam actionem moderabatur.
 Vis igitur non instar fluctuantis navis periculo iactari? Vis non de-
 55 decere prostitute mulieris ludibrio haberi? — Ama. Quia, si non
 amaveris, vagus et vilis iactabere. Et sicut ex nullo amore vage
 sunt cogitationes, ita ex perverso amore perverse fiunt cogitatio-
 nes. Unde enim, quod avarus nocte ac die semper in arcam, in
 marsupium, in gregem, in agrum, in mercantiam, nisi quod rem
 60 vanam amat et eam sibi Deum constituit? Ambitosorum cogi-

VII,33 constitutis E : constitutus Tr

VII,34 quod E : que Tr

VII,55 prostitute E : prostitute Tr

⁴⁹ Mt 6,21 ubi enim est thesaurus tuus ibi est et cor tuum.

^m Ut ... ideo — v. *notam* k.

tatus in sublimitate, in potestate, in auctoritate, curiosorum in literis, in artificiis et ingeniosis quibusque rebus vanis amorem quia constituerunt, ideo tales ipsi meditationes mente versant.

65 'Dicis ergo: qui diligunt et Deum diligunt,^a nunquam <non> perfectis cogitationibus sunt?' Non hoc dico, nisi ex toto corde diligant. Si enim divisum est cor, ut multorum bonorum coniugatorum, qui et Deum super omnia diligunt, sed *quia*, iuxta Paulum, *divisi sunt, cogitant que uxoris sunt*,⁵⁰ non perfectas possunt habere in Deum cogitationes. Coguntur enim sepe truncas
70 emittere et aliorum intendere. Et quia infirmus est amor quibusdam, ideo plerique nostrum infirmas debilesque experimur meditationes.

Amor ergo noster cor nostrum est et ab illo procedit vita nostra, hoc est, interiorum meditationum nostrarum universitas.
75 Huic uni, velut cordi, invigilandum, hoc unum omni custodia custodiendum, ut vere, mere, sincere, ex toto corde, ex toto spiritu, ex tota anima Dominum Deum nostrum diligamus.⁵¹ Quotiens igitur frigide, trunce, vane, vage cogitationes fuerunt, ad tribunal vocande, considerande sunt, diiudicande sunt, condemnande sunt, confessione nostra apud Deum accusande, et contra
80 contumaces altius tribunal oratione provocandum. Quod si legitime fecerimus et divini iuris ac fori terminos observemus, confidamus, quia superior iudex remittet ad nostrum tribunal, ut faciamus in eis iudicium conscriptum. Dabit in manibus nostris
85 gladios ancipites ad faciendam vindictam in nationibus, ad alligandos reges eorum in compedibus et nobiles eorum in manicis ferreis,⁵² quatenus que in cogitationibus nostris atque consiliis germana sunt et vicina sanctis desideriis, vincta servire cogantur.

VII,64 <non> *add.* A

VII,75 Huic E : Hinc Tr

⁵⁰ 1 Cor 7,33 qui autem cum uxore est sollicitus est quae sunt mundi quomodo placeat uxori et divisus est.

⁵¹ Mt 22,37 ait illi Iesus: diliges Dominum Deum tuum ex toto corde tuo et in tota anima tua et in tota mente tua.

⁵² Ps 149,6–9 exaltationes Dei in gutture eorum et gladii ancipites in manibus eorum ad faciendam vindictam in nationibus increpationes in populis ad alligandos reges eorum in compedibus et nobiles eorum in manicis ferreis.

M.J.F.M. HOENEN

ALBERTISTAE, THOMISTAE UND NOMINALES:
DIE PHILOSOPHISCH-HISTORISCHEN HINTERGRÜNDE
DER INTELLEKTLEHRE DES WESSEL GANSFORT (+1489)¹

Wessel Gansforts Intellektlehre ist unseres Wissens nach noch nie unter einer philosophisch-historischen Perspektive betrachtet worden. Obwohl M. van Rhijn in seinem bekannten Wessel Gansfort-Buch aus dem Jahre 1917 der Seelenlehre Wessels einen langen Abschnitt widmete, blieb es dort bei einer Paraphrase von einschlägigen Stellen aus Wessels Werken.² Nach den Quellen seiner Seelenlehre suchte van Rhijn fast gar nicht. Auch ging er nicht auf die damaligen Streitfragen über die Natur des menschlichen Intellekts ein, wie etwa auf die im 15. Jahrhundert von Autoren der *via antiqua* viel diskutierte und — wie aus den Quellen hervorgeht³ — als sehr schwierig empfundene Frage, ob der menschliche Intellekt ohne Phantasmen, also ohne sinnliche Erkenntnisbilder, Gott erkennen könne; was von Wessel, wie wir noch zeigen werden, bejaht wurde. Auch in van Rhijns zweitem Wessel-Buch, mit dem vielversprechenden Titel *Studien over Wessel Gansfort en zijn tijd*, und in der neueren Literatur über Wessel wird auf diese Fragen nicht eingegangen.⁴

Das Fehlen einer Untersuchung über Wessels Intellektlehre kann nur bedauert werden: eine derartige Untersuchung würde die noch immer nicht ganz geklärte Frage nach der genauen Stellung Wessels innerhalb der philosophisch-theologischen Strömungen des späten Mittelalters und insbesondere die nach seiner Stellung innerhalb des damaligen Streites zwischen *nominales*, *formales*, *thomistae* und *albertistae* einer Lösung näher bringen oder weiter differenzieren können.⁵

¹ Diese Studie wurde ermöglicht durch ein DAAD-Forschungsstipendium (1989) am Institut für Philosophie, Ruhr-Universität Bochum.

² Van Rhijn, *Wessel Gansfort*, 161–169.

³ Cf. z.B. Jacobus de Gostynin, *De anima*, zitiert bei Kuksewicz, *Albertyzm i Tomizm w XV wieku w Krakowie i Kolonii*, 300.

⁴ Cf. Van Rhijn, *Studien over Wessel Gansfort*, 161–169.

⁵ Über diese Schulen im späten Mittelalter, siehe etwa *Antiqui und Moderni. Traditionsbewusstsein und Fortschrittsbewusstsein im späten Mittelalter* und Kaluza, *Les querelles doctrinales à Paris*.

Die Intellektlehre als Streitfrage im 15. Jahrhundert

Dass es im 15. Jahrhundert über die Natur des menschlichen Intellekts und insbesondere über die Frage, ob der Mensch Gott ohne Phantasmen erkennen könne, grössere Auseinandersetzungen gab, zeigen die Streitigkeiten zwischen Thomisten und Albertisten an der Kölner Universität und der Angriff des Heidelberger Theologieprofessors Johannes Wenck (†1460) auf Nikolaus von Kues (†1464).

Zu Köln: Wie bekannt, entwickelte sich in Köln im 15. Jahrhundert ein in Bursenform institutionalisierter Gegensatz zwischen *thomistae* (Montanerburse) und *albertistae* (Laurentianerburse).⁶ Zu den wichtigsten Dokumenten dieses Streites zählt der einflussreiche *Tractatus problematicus* des niederländischen Philosophen und Theologen Heymeric van de Velde (†1460), verfasst gegen 1424–25 und veröffentlicht 1428, in welchem die Lehrdifferenzen zwischen den Kölner *thomistae* und *albertistae* in Form mehrerer breit ausgeführter Problemata dargestellt wurden.⁷ Zwei dieser Problemata bezogen sich auf die Frage, ob der Mensch Gott ohne Phantasmen erkennen könne (probl. 13 und 14). Aus diesen beiden Problemata geht hervor, dass die *thomistae* die Möglichkeit eines solchen Gotterkennens verneinten, die *albertistae* hingegen sie auf Grund der Gottebenbildlichkeit des menschlichen Intellektes bejahten. Heymeric van de Velde, damals *magister* an der später so genannten Bursa Laurentiana, zeigte sich in diesem Werk deutlich als Anhänger und Verteidiger der neuplatonisch orientierten, sich an Augustin anlehrenden Intellektlehre der *albertistae*.⁸

Dass Heymeric's anti-thomistische, albertistische Intellektlehre aus dem *Tractatus problematicus* an der Bursa Laurentiana Schule machte, zeigt der um 1442 verfasste *De anima*-Kommentar des

⁶ Siehe dazu Meersseman, *Geschichte des Albertismus*, Hefte I und II. Über die Kölner Albertisten und Thomisten und ihre Bursen, siehe neulich Meuthen, *Die alte Universität*, 91–97 und 178–191. Die Existenz des Albertismus als eigenständige Lehrrichtung in der ersten Hälfte des 15. Jahrhunderts wurde von H.G. Senger bestritten, siehe Senger, 'Albertismus? Überlegungen zur "via alberti" im 15. Jahrhundert'. Wir möchten auf die Thesen Sengers bei einer anderen Gelegenheit zurückkommen.

⁷ Cf. Heymeric van de Velde, *Problemata inter Albertum Magnum et Sanctum Thomam ad utriusque opinionem multum conferentia*. Für die Datierung, siehe Meersseman, *Geschichte des Albertismus* II, 24. Ein inhaltlicher Überblick über die von Heymeric behandelten Themen findet sich *ibid.*, 25–60.

⁸ Cf. *ibid.*, 46–52. Biographische Angaben über Heymeric bei Caviglioli, 'Les écrits d'Heymericus de Campo (1395–1460) sur les oeuvres d'Aristote', 289–311, und Meuthen, *Die alte Universität*, 187–189.

Johannes Hulshout van Mechelen, des Nachfolgers Heymericus als *magister regens* der Bursa Laurentiana. In diesem *De anima*-Kommentar wurde die Heymericische augustinisch-neuplatonische Darstellung der albertistischen Intellektlehre fast wörtlich übernommen.⁹ Wohl durch den grossen Einfluss des Heymericischen Werkes herausgefordert, veröffentlichte der Thomist Gerhard ter Stege von 's-Heerenberg, seit 1431 *magister regens* der thomistischen Montanerburse, im Jahre 1456 einen gegen den *Tractatus problematicus* gerichteten *Tractatus concordiae*, in welchem er unter anderem darzulegen versuchte, Albertus habe nie gelehrt, der Mensch könne Gott ohne Phantasmen erkennen und dass es deshalb in diesem Punkte gar keinen Gegensatz zwischen der Lehre des Thomas und Albertus gebe.¹⁰

Wessel Gansfort muss den Streit zwischen den Kölner *albertistae* und *thomistae* über die Natur des menschlichen Intellekts aus erster Hand gekannt und die neuplatonisch orientierte albertistische Intellektlehre intensiv studiert haben, denn er war von 1449 bis 1452 Student an der albertistischen Bursa Laurentiana und 1455–56, zur Zeit der Veröffentlichung der Gegenschrift des Thomisten Gerhard ter Stege von 's-Heerenberg zu Heymericus *Tractatus problematicus*, sogar *magister artium* in der Laurentianerburse.¹¹ Obwohl er sich der *Vita Wesseli* des Albertus Hardenberg zufolge immer darüber beschwert hatte, dass er in Köln kaum etwas anderes als Thomas van Aquin und Albertus Magnus zu hören bekam,¹² zeigte er sich später dankbar darüber, dass er bei den Laurentianern noch mit Plato vertraut gemacht worden war.¹³ Wie wir noch sehen werden, gibt es in der Tat Parallelen zwischen der augustinisch-neuplatonischen Intellektauffassung der Kölner *albertistae* und der Wessels.

Auch in Heidelberg, wo Wessel 1456–57 weilte, spielte die Frage, ob der Mensch Gott ohne Phantasmen erkennen könne, eine bedeutende Rolle. Im Jahre 1442 veröffentlichte der Heidelberger Theologieprofessor Johannes Wenck eine Kampfschrift (*De ignota litteratura*) gegen Nikolaus von Kues, den in Köln an der späteren

⁹ Siehe Johannes Hulshout van Mechelen, Kraków, Biblioteka Jagiellonska 2074, *Super de anima*, Lib. III, 73r–74v. Für die Datierung dieses Werkes, siehe Pattin, 'Jan van Hulshout', 110. Biographische Daten über Johannes Hulshout van Mechelen *ibid.*, 104–105 und bei Meuthen, *Die alte Universität*, 164.

¹⁰ Über Gerhard ter Stege von 's-Heerenberg und seinen *Tractatus concordiae*, siehe Meersseman, *Geschichte des Albertismus* II, 67–85, insbesondere 80, und Meuthen, *Die alte Universität*, 189.

¹¹ Cf. Van Rhijn, *Wessel Gansfort*, 48–57 und Meuthen, *Die alte Universität*, 205.

¹² Cf. Gansfort, *Opera* 1614, 2.

¹³ So bei Meuthen, *Die alte Universität*, 205.

Laurentianerburse ausgebildeten Schüler und Freund des Heymeric van de Velde. In dieser Schrift griff er die — seiner Meinung nach — von Nikolaus van Kues vertretene Ansicht, der Mensch könne *in hac vita* Gott ohne Phantasmen erkennen, mit äusserster Schärfe an.¹⁴ Diese These, so Johannes Wenck, widerspreche nicht nur der Autorität des Aristoteles (III *De anima*), sondern auch derjenigen der Schrift (1 Kor. 13, 12), wo ausdrücklich gesagt wird, der Mensch könne Gott in diesem Leben nur 'per speculum in enigmate' erkennen.¹⁵

Wie R. Haubst und K. Park dargetan haben, war der Grund dieser ungemein heftigen Reaktion vermutlich die Überzeugung Wencks, Nikolaus von Kues vertrete die ketzerische eckhardisch-begardische Lehre vom 'abgeschieden Leben'.¹⁶ Die albertistische Auffassung, der Mensch könne Gott ohne Phantasmen erkennen, stand also unter dem Verdacht der Häresie.

Die Streitigkeiten in Köln, wie auch die Reaktion Wencks, legen hinreichend dar, dass die Frage nach der Natur und den Fähigkeiten des menschlichen Intellekts zu den wichtigsten und am lebhaftesten diskutierten Themen der Theologie und Philosophie des 15. Jahrhunderts zu rechnen ist.

Die Intellektlehre des Wessel Gansfort

Kommen wir nun zur Intellektlehre Wessels. In fast allen erhaltenen Schriften Wessels sind Aussagen über den menschlichen Intellekt zu finden, insbesondere Aussagen über dessen Gottesebenbildlichkeit. Am wichtigsten sind wohl Wessels Ausführungen über den Intellekt im Traktat *De certissima et benignissima Dei providentia*, wo er der Kritik an Aristoteles und dessen Thesen über den tätigen Intellekt einen längeren Abschnitt widmet.¹⁷ Mit Ausnahme dieser Ausführungen handelt es sich an anderen diesbezüglichen Stellen fast immer um kleinere Bemerkungen; eine systematische Erörterung fehlt. Auch gibt es so gut wie keine Quellenverweise. Dennoch hat Wessel sich mehr als beiläufig mit diesem Thema beschäftigt: wie unter anderem aus der *Vita Wesseli* des Hardenberg hervorgeht, hat Wessel ein *Liber notularum* verfasst,

¹⁴ Über diesen Streit, siehe Haubst, *Studien zu Nikolaus von Kues und Johannes Wenck*, 83–136, und Flasch, *Einführung in die Philosophie des Mittelalters*, 181–195.

¹⁵ Vansteenbergh, *Le 'De ignota litteratura' de Jean Wenck de Herrenberg contre Nicolas de Cuse*, 21.

¹⁶ Cf. Haubst, *Studien zu Nikolaus von Kues und Johannes Wenck*, 124–125, und Park, 'Albert's Influence on Late Medieval Psychology', 531–533.

¹⁷ Gansfort, *Opera*, 718–722 ('De certissima et benignissima Dei providentia').

in welchem er auch *loci* und *sententiae* über die Seele zusammengetragen und mit Erläuterungen versehen hat.¹⁸ Es ist zu bedauern, dass dieses Werk verloren gegangen ist.

Wie bekannt, stammen die erhaltenen Schriften Wessels alle aus der Zeit zwischen 1475–1489, d.h. aus seinen späteren Jahren, als er vor allem in Zwolle (1478–1482) und Groningen (1482–1489) lebte¹⁹ und zum zweitenmal für längere Zeit in direktem Kontakt mit den Mönchen des Chorherrenklosters vom Agnetenberg stand, einem wohlbekannten, unter dem Einfluss der *Devotio Moderna* stehendem Kloster der Windesheimer Kongregation. Auffallend ist, dass es gerade Klöster der Windesheimer Kongregation waren, wo die Werke des obengenannten Albertisten Heymeric van de Velde gelesen wurden. Wie aus dem Katalog des südlich von Brüssel gelegenen Rooklooster hervorgeht, besaßen etwa das bei Eindhoven liegende Kloster Marienhage und das Löwener Kloster Vallis sancti Martini, die beide zur Windesheimer Kongregation gehörten, in ihrer Bibliothek viele Werke des Heymeric, so unter anderem den *Tractatus problematicus*.²⁰ Es handelte sich in beiden Klöstern um eine stattliche Anzahl von Heymeric-Handschriften: 13 bzw. 16 Kodizes. Man darf daher vermuten, dass auch bei den Windesheimer Mönchen vom Agnetenberg die neuplatonisch-albertistischen Theorien des Heymeric bekannt waren und dass Wessel nicht nur in Köln, sondern auch später noch in den Niederlanden von der Heymericischen Intellektlehre beeinflusst wurde.

Die wichtigsten Elemente der Intellektlehre Wessels

Die wichtigsten Elemente der Intellektlehre Wessels lassen sich in folgende vier Sätze zusammenfassen:

1. Gott ist die direkte und unmittelbare Ursache aller geschaffenen Dinge, also auch der menschlichen Seele.²¹ Dieser Satz ist, wie sich noch zeigen wird, von zentraler Bedeutung. Er bringt den theologisch-metaphysischen Hintergrund der Wesselschen Seelenlehre in aller Kürze zum Ausdruck.
2. Der tätige Intellekt ist weder ein Vermögen (*potentia*) der menschlichen Seele noch ein natürlicher Habitus derselben,

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 11. Siehe auch den 'Catalogus scriptorum Wesseli Groningensis', *ibid.*, 27, und Van Rhijn, *Wessel Gansfort*, LII (= Bijlage C(a)).

¹⁹ Cf. Reeves, 'Gansfort, Wessel', 26.

²⁰ Cf. Kaluza, 'Trois listes des oeuvres de Heimeric de Campo dans le "Catalogue du Couvent Rouge"', 9–15.

²¹ Gansfort, *Opera*, 711 ('De certissima et benignissima Dei providentia').

sondern das unmittelbare Licht Gottes.²²

3. Jede intellektuelle Kreatur ist von Natur aus (*natura*) göttlich.²³ Der menschliche Geist ist ein entferntes Abbild Gottes und soll sich Gott so weit wie möglich angleichen. Er braucht dazu die aus Gott ausströmende Weisheit.²⁴
4. Der Mensch kann durch eine Selbstbetrachtung seines Geistes Gott erkennen und sich ihm angleichen.²⁵ Die aus der sinnlichen Wahrnehmung stammende phantasmatische (bildhafte) Erkenntnis verhindert dies; der Mensch muss sich deshalb von seiner sinnlichen, phantasmatischen Erkenntnis so weit als möglich befreien.²⁶

Diese vier Sätze enthalten wenig Neues, auch nicht der zweite Satz, dass der tätige Intellekt etwas göttliches ist. Im Grunde genommen gilt für Wessels Intellektlehre das, was im allgemeinen Margaret Ogilvies Untersuchungen zufolge auch für Wessels Kirchenlehre und Theologie zutrifft: sie ist nicht originell.²⁷ Dennoch handelt es sich hier um Sätze, die, wie schon gesagt, im späten Mittelalter kontrovers waren. Eine Untersuchung dürfte sich daher lohnen.

1. Die göttliche Kausalität

Der erste Satz: Gott ist die unmittelbare Ursache aller Dinge, einschliesslich der menschlichen Seele. Wir gehen zuerst auf dieses als allgemeiner Lehrsatz formuliertes Theorem ein, anschliessend betrachten wir die Frage nach dem Ursprung der menschlichen Seele.

Dass Gott die unmittelbare Ursache aller Dinge ist, wurde von Wessel in *De oratione* und in *De certissima et benignissima Dei providentia* mit einer von ihm dem Neuplatoniker Proklos zugeschriebenen *propositio* belegt: die erste Ursache hat mehr Einfluss auf ein hervorgebrachtes Ding als jedwede zweite Ursache. Allein die Erstursache ist dazu notwendig; die Zweitursachen sind kontingent.²⁸

²² *Ibid.*, 722.

²³ *Ibid.*, 66 (*De oratione*, Lib. III, c. 8).

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 49–50 (*De oratione*, Lib. II, c. 5) und 606–607 (*De magnitudine passionis*, c. 74).

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 49–50.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 6–7 (*De oratione*, Lib. I, c. 2).

²⁷ Ogilvie, 'Wessel Gansfort's Theology of Church Government', 149.

²⁸ Gansfort, *Opera*, 78 (*De oratione*, Lib. III, c. 14) und 711 (*De certissima et benignissima Dei providentia*) (= wörtlich die gleiche Stelle). Siehe auch van Rhijn, *Wessel Gansfort*, 160, und Reeves, 'Gansfort, Wessel', 26.

Der hier zum Ausdruck gebrachte grundsätzliche Unterschied zwischen der Kausalität der Erstursache und der geschaffenen Zweitursachen wurde von Wessel betont, indem er die zweiten Ursachen ‘concausae’ oder ‘occasiones’ der göttlichen Kausalität nannte. Das bedeutet nicht, dass Wessel die ‘okkasionalistische’ Kausalitätslehre der Mutakallimun vertrat, die den Zweitursachen jedwede eigene Ursächlichkeit absprach, welche unter anderem durch die Übersetzung von Maimonides’ *Dux neutrorum sive dubiorum* (‘Führer der Unschlüssigen’) (Lib. I, c. 73, 6) seit der ersten Hälfte des 13. Jahrhunderts im Lateinischen Westen bekannt geworden war.²⁹ Für Wessel sind die Zweitursachen wirkliche Ursachen: *causae secundae verae causae sunt*.³⁰ Da aber die Zweitursachen nur wirken, wenn Gott es will, und nur so, wie er es will, sind sie im Gegensatz zu Gott weder *causae totales* noch *causae cardinales*, sonder nur *concausae* oder *occasiones*. *Concausa* oder *occasio* besagt bei Wessel nicht, dass die Kausalität ausschliesslich bei Gott liegt, denn die Zweitursachen behalten ihre eigene Funktion. Obwohl Gott aller Dinge Ursache ist, will er beispielsweise, dass der Bauer das Land bestellt. Arbeitet der Bauer nicht, so gibt es keine Ernte.³¹ Eine Anlehnung an die Theorie der Mutakallimun liegt bei Wessel also nicht vor, sondern nur eine für die spätmittelalterliche Theologie nicht ungewöhnliche Betonung der radikalen Abhängigkeit der Geschöpfe von Gott.

Wessels Verweis auf Proclus

Die Tatsache, dass Wessel als Quelle für den im späten Mittelalter sehr oft zitierten Satz gerade auf Proclus verweist, verdient unsere Beachtung, da ein solcher Verweis wahrscheinlich auf frühere Kölner Einflüsse bei Wessel hindeutet. In der Regel nämlich verwies man bei diesem Lehrsatz nicht auf Proclus, sondern auf den inhaltlich identischen ersten Lehrsatz des viel bekannteren *Liber de causis*, auch nachdem Thomas von Aquin gezeigt hatte, dass mehrere der Lehrsätze des *Liber de causis*, unter ihnen auch

²⁹ Zur dieser Lehre der Mutakallimun, cf. etwa Courtenay, ‘The Critique on Natural Causality in the Mutakallimun and Nominalism’, 83, und Wolfson, *The Philosophy of the Kalam*, 518–600.

³⁰ Gansfort; *Opera*, 714.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 716: ‘Et licet omnia sic a Deo, ut penitus ab eo sint, vult nihilominus agricolam haec et per haec operari: et adeo vult, ut cum ipse totum faciat, pigrum tamen et stertentem agricolam sicut nulla benedictio, sic nullus etiam fructus sequatur.’

der erste, inhaltlich mit Sätzen aus der *Elementatio* des Proclus übereinstimmen.³² Dass man gerade auf den *Liber de causis* verwies (und nicht auf Proclus) wurde wohl dadurch noch verstärkt, dass der betreffende Satz in dem bekannten, wahrscheinlich von Marsilius von Padua verfassten Florilegium *Auctoritates Aristotelis*, unter den 'auctoritates Libri causarum' aufgezählt wurde.³³ Die grosse Zahl der Handschriften und Drucke beweist, dass dieses Florilegium bis hinein ins 16. Jahrhundert viel benutzt wurde.³⁴

In Köln bestand im 15. Jahrhundert ein nachweisbares Interesse an der Lehre des Proclus. Das zeigen nicht nur die Schriften des Heymeric van de Velde, dessen Abhängigkeit von Proclus bekannt ist,³⁵ sondern geht auch daraus hervor, dass sich der Oxforder Kanzler William Grey eine Abschrift des nur in einigen Handschriften erhaltenen Kommentars des Berthold von Moosburg zu der *Elementatio theologica* des Proclus 1444 in Köln anfertigen lassen konnte.³⁶ Aufgrund dieser beiden Fakten darf man vermuten, dass — obwohl die Werke des Proclus im 15. Jahrhundert auch anderweitig im Brennpunkt des Interesses standen (man denke etwa an Nikolaus von Kues) — Wessel gerade in Köln, seinem ersten Studienort, mit dem Denken des Proclus vertraut wurde.

Der historisch-philosophische Hintergrund der Wesselschen Anwendung des Satzes von der göttlichen Kausalität

Was den historisch-philosophischen Hintergrund der Wesselschen Anwendung dieses Satzes betrifft, ist schon öfter darauf hingewiesen worden, dass die unmittelbare Kausalität Gottes bei Denkern wie Wilhelm von Ockham und Gregor von Rimini, die zur Zeit Wessels der *via moderna* zugerechnet wurden, eine wichtige Rolle spielte. Das scheint auf eine Hinwendung Wessels zur *via moderna* oder den *nominales* hinzudeuten. Aber so einfach liegt die Sache nicht. Es darf nämlich nicht übersehen werden, dass der Satz von der unmittelbaren Kausalität Gottes auch von Denkern wie Thomas von Aquin und Duns Scotus, die als geistige Väter der sogenannten *via antiqua* galten, wie auch von vielen Thomisten und Scotisten bis hinein ins 15. Jahrhundert an zentralen Stellen angewandt wurde.

³² Cf. *Le Liber de causis*, Prop. 1 n. 1.

³³ Cf. Hamesse, *Les auctoritates Aristotelis*, 231 (1).

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 24–35 und 47–50.

³⁵ Cf. Grabmann, 'De Proklosübersetzungen des Wilhelm von Moerbeke', 422, und Korolec, 'Heymeric de Campo et sa vision néoplatonicienne de Dieu'.

³⁶ Meuthen, *Die alte Universität*, 205.

Nach Thomas van Aquins Schrift *De potentia* ist Gott die Ursache aller Tätigkeiten (*actiones*), insofern er jedweden Ding das Vermögen zur Tätigkeit verleiht, es im Sein erhält, ihm zur Tätigkeit verhilft und insofern jedwedes Geschaffene aufgrund der göttlichen Kraft wirkt.³⁷ Im Hinblick auf die Wirkungsgeschichte dieser Auffassung des Thomas ist interessant, dass am Anfang des 14. Jahrhunderts, bei der Herausarbeitung der thomistischen Orthodoxie in der Dominikanerschule, die Theorie des Durandus, nicht *Gott* sei die unmittelbare Ursache der geschöpflichen Tätigkeiten, sonder lediglich die Geschöpfe selber, in zwei gegen Durandus gerichteten thomistischen Irrtumslisten (verfasst 1314 und 1316–17) der eben genannten Auffassung des Thomas gegenübergestellt und als ‘error’ und ‘contra Thomam’ verurteilt wurde.³⁸ Auch im 15. Jahrhundert wurde die Lehre von der unmittelbaren Kausalität Gottes von den Thomisten verteidigt. Der Kölner Thomist Heinrich von Gorkum (†1431), Gründer der später berühmt gewordenen Bursa Montis, führte in seinem einflussreichen Kommentar zur *Summa theologiae* des Thomas (auch *Compendium Summae theologiae* genannt) aus, Gott sei als *ipsum esse* die unmittelbare Ursache des Seins jeden Geschöpfes. Da das Sein das Innerste eines Seienden ist, ist Gott als unmittelbare Ursache des Seins im Innersten alles Seienden tätig.³⁹

Was Scotus betrifft, legte er in seiner *Lectura* unter Verweis auf den ersten Satz des *Liber de causis* dar, dass jedwedes Wirken einer Zweitursache von der ersten Ursache bestimmt wird. Jedwede

³⁷ Thomas van Aquin, *De potentia*, q. 3 a. 7 c, 58b: ‘Sic ergo Deus est causa actionis cuiuslibet in quantum dat virtutem agendi, et in quantum conservat eam, et in quantum applicat actioni, et in quantum eius virtute omnia alia virtus agit. Et cum coniunxerimus his, quod Deus sit sua virtus, et quod sit intra rem quamlibet non sicut pars essentiae, sed sicut tenens rem in esse, sequetur quod ipse in quolibet operante immediate operetur, non exclusa operatione voluntatis et naturae’.

³⁸ Siehe Koch, ‘Die Magister-Jahre des Durandus de S. Porciana O.P.’, 57 (Liste 1) und 83 (Liste 2).

³⁹ Heinrich von Gorkum, *Quaestiones in S. Thomam*, q. 5, col. 2 (nicht foliert) (die Zeichensetzung wurde leicht abgeändert): ‘Opportet (!) autem omne agens coniungi ei in quod immediate agit et sua virtute illud contingere, quemadmodum movens et motum oportet (!) esse simul. Cum autem deus sit ipsum esse per essentiam, oportet (!) quod proprius et immediatus effectus eius in rebus creatis sit esse, sicut ignire est proprius effectus ignis. Hunc autem effectum causat deus in rebus non solum quando esse incipiunt sed quamdiu in esse conservantur, sicut lumen causatur in aere a sole quamdiu aer illuminatus manet. Unde patet quod deus in omnibus intime se habet, sicut esse est maxime intimum unicuique’. Über Heinrich von Gorkum, siehe Weiler, *Heinrich von Gorkum*, 173–174.

kontingente geschöpfliche Handlung stammt aus Gott und wird von ihm ermöglicht.⁴⁰ Auch im Sentenzenkommentar des Scotisten Franciscus de Mayronis, eines Theologen, der von Wessel namentlich zu den *formales* gerechnet wurde,⁴¹ ist mit Berufung auf den ersten Satz des *Liber de causis* ein Plädoyer für die göttliche Allursächlichkeit zu finden.⁴²

Nicht nur die Scotisten, sondern auch andere Theologen liessen sich in diesem Punkt von Scotus inspirieren: eine sich deutlich an Scotus anlehrende Auffassung der göttlichen Ursächlichkeit findet sich in den *Quaestiones Sententiarum* des Heinrich von Oyta (Paris 1378–80),⁴³ eines Denkers, von dem wir — nebenbei gesagt — aufgrund einer *collatio* des niederländischen Predigers Johannes Brugman wissen, dass er Verbindungen hatte mit Geert Groote, dem Inspirator der Devotio Moderna.⁴⁴

Die von Wessel angeführte Lehre der Gottursächlichkeit lässt sich also schwer ausschliesslich mit der *via moderna* verbinden.

Kommen wir jetzt zur Frage nach dem Ursprung der menschlichen Seele. Wessel war — im Einklang mit seiner Lehre von der unmittelbaren Kausalität Gottes und im Anschluss an die Schöpfungslehre der Genesis — der Meinung, dass die menschliche Seele allein von Gott dem menschlichen Körper eingehaucht wird. Er wies ausdrücklich die gegenteilige Auffassung zurück, die Seele sei nicht geschaffen, sondern auf natürliche Weise (*per naturalem potentiam*) aus der Materie entstanden.⁴⁵

Man darf diese Kritik nicht als obligatorische Ablehnung einer schon längst nicht mehr vertretenen Position verstehen. Im Gegenteil. Obwohl man im 14. und 15. Jahrhundert allgemein der Meinung war, dass *secundum fidem* die Seele unmittelbar von Gott stamme, wurde diese Gottgeschaffenheit der Seele dennoch

⁴⁰ Johannes Duns Scotus, *Lectura in librum primum Sententiarum*, Lib. I d. 39 qq. 1–5 nn. 35–37, 489–490 und n. 41, 492.

⁴¹ Gansfort, *Opera*, 877. Für Franciscus de Mayronis als der wohl wichtigste Vertreter der 'formales' (so bei Wessel), oder, wie sie auch genannt wurden, der 'formalizantes' (so etwa bei Gerson), siehe Kaluza, *Les querelles doctrinales à Paris*, 33.

⁴² Franciscus de Mayronis, *In libros Sententiarum*, Lib. I dd. 43–44 q. 7: 126va–127rb.

⁴³ Cf. Heinrich von Oyta, *Quaestiones Sententiarum*, München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Clm 8867, Lib. I, 167va. Für einen Überblick über die Auffassungen des Heinrich von Oyta, siehe Lang, *Heinrich Totting von Oyta*.

⁴⁴ Cf. Brugman, *Verspreide Sermoenen*, 157.

⁴⁵ 'Haec est opinio mea de unione vivifica corporis et animae, qua teneo, divinitus plasmato corpore, sive in paradiso, sive in matris utero, sicut per nullam naturalem potentiam anima educitur de potentia materiae, sed solum divinitus inspiratur in faciem eius spiraculum vitae'. Gansfort, *Opera*, 722.

von mehreren Denkern aus philosophischen Gründen in Frage gestellt oder sogar verneint. Interessanterweise handelt es sich bei diesen Denkern um Philosophen, die im 15. Jahrhundert als Repräsentanten der *via moderna* und der *nominales* galten, wie Johannes Buridan und Peter von Ailly.⁴⁶

Buridan führte in seinem *De anima*-Kommentar bei der Frage, ob der menschliche Intellekt die Form des Körpers sei, drei *opinionēs famosiores* an: die des Alexander von Aphrodisias (der menschliche Intellekt ist *forma materialis* und *educta de potentia materiae*), die des Averroes (der menschliche Intellekt ist *unicus omnium hominum, non extensus nec inhaerens corpori*) und die des Glaubens (der menschliche Intellekt ist *creatus, non educta de potentia materiae* und dennoch *forma corporis*).⁴⁷ Die Lehre des Glaubens ist nach Buridan nicht beweisbar. Behauptet man, die Seele sei geschaffen und sei nicht aus der Materie hervorgegangen, so behauptet man etwas, dass mehr aufgrund des Glaubens als aufgrund der *humana ratio* zu halten ist.⁴⁸ Die Schöpfung ist etwas Übernatürliches und lässt sich auf natürliche Weise (*naturali demonstratione*) nicht beweisen.⁴⁹ Die Auffassung des Averroes, der Intellekt sei ein einziger für alle Menschen, ist nach Buridan völlig unhaltbar. Darum, so Buridan, gäbe es den Glauben nicht, so würde ich dem Alexander zustimmen.⁵⁰ Fazit: Die Idee eines organgebundenen, vergänglichen, allein aus der Materie hervorgegangenen Intellekts ist für Buridan nicht vernunftwidrig. Ganz anders etwa Thomas van Aquin, der es, ebenso wie Wessel, als notwendig ansah, dass die Seele immateriell und geschaffen sei.⁵¹

Buridan stand mit seiner Auffassung nicht allein: auch Peter von Ailly, Marsilius von Inghen, Johannes Eucles und Benedikt Hesse von Krakau, alle mehr oder weniger Repräsentanten der

⁴⁶ Für Buridan und Peter von Ailly als herausragende Repräsentanten der *via moderna* und der *nominales*, siehe Pluta, *Die philosophische Psychologie des Peter von Ailly*, 6–7 (mit Quellennachweis).

⁴⁷ Buridan, *Quaestiones de anima*, Lib. III q. 3, 24rb.

⁴⁸ 'Unde notandum est quod dicta conclusio ('quod intellectus humanus non est forma materialis ita quod sit eductus de potentia materie', M.H.) magis tenenda est fide quam humana ratione. Puto enim quod non sit demonstrabilis circumscripita fide nostra catholica'. *Ibid.*, 24va.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 24va.

⁵⁰ '(...) et ideo nisi esset fides nostra, ego crederem Alexandro, cuius opinio prius fuit demonstrata (...)'. *Ibid.*, 24vb (die Zeichensetzung wurde leicht abgeändert).

⁵¹ Cf. Thomas von Aquin, *Summa theologiae*, I q. 90 a. 2 c, 560A: 'Et quia non potest fieri (anima, M.H.) ex materia praeiacente, neque corporali, quia sic esset naturae corporeae; neque spirituales, quia sic substantiae spirituales invicem transmutarentur; necesse est dicere quod non fiat nisi per creationem'.

via moderna, hielten in ihren *De anima*-Kommentaren die Theorie des Alexander für eine philosophisch sehr gut vertretbare Position.⁵²

Es ist nicht ausgeschlossen, dass Wessel sich mit seiner Kritik an der Lehre eines aus der Materie hervorgegangenen Intellekts direkt gegen die von den genannten Repräsentanten der *via moderna* verteidigte Auffassung des Alexander richtete. Die von ihm unter anderem in *De certissima et benignissima Dei providentia* benutzte Formulierung 'per nullam naturalem potentiam anima educitur de potentia materiae', kommt in verneinender Form dem Wortlaut der Darstellung der Lehre des Alexander bei Buridan und auch bei Peter von Ailly (der sich auf Buridan stützte) sehr nahe, und könnte in diese Richtung weisen. Zudem schrieb Wessel an einer anderen Stelle in der soeben genannten Schrift die Auffassung, der Intellekt sei *secundum se* organisch, explizit dem Alexander zu.⁵³ Aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach hat er diesen Punkt aus einem der genannten *De anima*-Kommentare, vermutlich dem des Buridan, übernommen: dieser Kommentar war weit verbreitet und wurde an vielen Universitäten gelesen.⁵⁴

2. Wessels Lehre vom tätigen Intellekts

Kommen wir nun zum zweiten Satz: Der tätige Intellekt ist kein Vermögen der menschlichen Seele, sondern das unmittelbare Licht Gottes.

Kurz zu Aristoteles. Um das aktive und höchste Prinzip der menschlichen Erkenntnis anzudeuten, verwies Aristoteles in seiner Schrift *De anima* auf eine geistige, tätige Ursache (τὸ αἴτιον καὶ ποιητικόν), die getrennt, leidensunfähig, unvermischt und ihrem Wesen nach tätig ist. Diese tätige Ursache (erst in der nach-aristotelischen Tradition ποιητικὸς νοῦς genannt) kann alles

⁵² Peter von Ailly, *Tractatus de anima*, ed. in Pluta, 'Die philosophische Psychologie', c. 6, 35: 'Prima tamen opinio superius dicta (= die 'opinio Alexandri', M.H.) circumscripta fide et sequendo apparentiam rationis naturalis inter omnes probabilior videretur'; Pluta, *Kritiker der Unsterblichkeitsdoktrin in Mittelalter und Renaissance*, 47 (= Marsilius von Inghen); Pluta, 'Die Diskussion der Frage nach der Unsterblichkeit in einer Leipziger Handschrift', 497 (= Johannes Eucles) und Burrichter & Dewender, 'Die Diskussion der Frage nach der Unsterblichkeit in den "Quaestiones in libros De anima"', 576 (= Benedikt Hesse von Krakau).

⁵³ Cf. Gansfort, *Opera*, 718: 'Volebat autem Alexander intellectum secundum se organicum esse, sicut visum et sensum communem'.

⁵⁴ Zur Einfluss Buridans, siehe Markowski, 'L'influence de Jean Buridan sur les universités d'Europe Centrale', und Michael, *Johannes Buridan*, 321–398. Mit besonderem Bezug auf Buridans *De anima*-Kommentar, siehe auch Pluta, *Kritiker der Unsterblichkeitsdoktrin*, 37–49.

bewirken und aktuiert einen hylischen oder möglichen Intellekt, der, umgekehrt-analog zu der allumfassenden Tätigkeit des tätigen Intellekts, alles werden kann.⁵⁵

Es ist in der Aristoteles-Literatur bis auf den heutigen Tag immer noch nicht entschieden, was Aristoteles eigentlich unter dieser geistigen, tätigen Ursache verstand: ein Vermögen der menschlichen Seele oder aber, wie es aufgrund einer ausführlichen Argumentation vor einigen Jahren wieder von W.K.C. Guthrie und in seiner Nachfolge von V. Kal behauptet worden ist,⁵⁶ der göttliche voûç der *Metaphysik*, Buch Lambda.

Für Wessel in seiner Schrift *De certissima et benignissima Dei providentia* ist die Sache klar: der tätige Intellekt kann nur als Gott oder als das Licht des Gesichts Gottes (*lumen vultus Dei*, cf. Ps. 4, 7) aufgefasst werden, nicht als ein Vermögen der Seele.⁵⁷ Undeutlich aber bleibt, ob Wessel diese Deutung des tätigen Intellekts Aristoteles zuschrieb oder nicht. Man muss dies wohl verneinen, da Wessel ausdrücklich von einer 'opinio mea de intellectu agente contra Aristotelem' spricht. Dennoch aber zeigen gewisse Stellen in der soeben genannten Schrift, dass die Intellektlehre des Aristoteles für Wessel durchaus mehrere Interpretationen zuliess.⁵⁸

In derselben Schrift geht Wessel auch in der Form einer kurzen intellektuellen Autobiographie näher darauf ein, wie er zu seiner Auffassung des tätigen Intellekts gekommen ist.⁵⁹ Problematisch für ihn war die Deutung der Tatsache, dass der menschliche Geist manchmal denkt und manchmal — vor allem während des Schlafes — nicht denkt. Deshalb meinte er anfangs, Alexander habe mit seiner Aristoteles-Interpretation recht gehabt, indem er den Intellekt als etwas organisches betrachtete, das, um Erkennen zu können, die von den Sinnesorganen herrührenden Phantasmen brauche. Aber diese Lehre erschien Wessel schliesslich unbefriedigend und sie sei, so Wessel, auch dumm: der Intellekt denke nämlich offenbar häufig über Dinge nach, die durch keine körperlichen Bilder dargestellt und von keinem körperlichen Vermögen erfasst werden können, wie etwa Weisheit

⁵⁵ Aristoteles, *De anima*, Lib. III, c. 5: 430a10–19.

⁵⁶ Cf. Guthrie, *A History of Greek Philosophy* VI, 315–330, und Kal, *On Intuition and Discursive Reasoning in Aristotle*, 84–92.

⁵⁷ Gansfort, *Opera*, 721 und 722: '(...) intellectui possibili Deus est lumen agens ut intelligat (...). (...) Unde quod Aristoteles intellectum agentem, hoc ego lumen vultus Dei'.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 718 und 720 (siehe den Text in Anm. 61).

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 718–720.

(*sapientia*), Liebe (*amor*) und Gerechtigkeit (*iustitia*). Der menschliche Intellekt sei also nicht körperlich, sondern immateriell. Deshalb, so Wessel, müsse es eine höhere (immaterielle) Ursache geben, die bestimmt, wann der Mensch denkt und wann nicht. Diese höhere Ursache könne nicht der tätige Intellekt des Philosophen Aristoteles sein, da dieser Intellekt seiner Natur nach *immer* tätig ist. Es müsse eine freie Ursache sein und diese Ursache könne, so Wessel, nur der freie, mit dem Menschen kooperierende Gott der Schrift sein, der nur durch die *pietas* des Glaubens, nicht aber durch die weltliche Weisheit, aufspürbar ist.⁶⁰

Interessant ist, dass Wessel in diesem Punkt Averroes explizit zustimmt, insofern Averroes den tätigen Intellekt nicht als ein Vermögen der Seele betrachtet, sondern als etwas, dass ausserhalb der Seele existiert, auch wenn Averroes, da er die Schrift nicht kannte, irrtümlich die unterste Intelligenz als den *intellectus universaliter agens* ansah.⁶¹

Die Gleichsetzung des tätigen Intellekts mit Gott war zu Wessels Zeiten nichts Neues. Wie E. Gilson bereits 1926 in dem ausführlich dokumentierten Artikel 'Pourquoi Saint Thomas a critiqué Saint Augustin' dargelegt hat, gab es im Lateinischen Westen schon zu Anfang des 13. Jahrhunderts Denker, welche diese These vertreten haben. So legte der Pariser Bischof Wilhelm von Auvergne in seiner Schrift *De anima* dar, der tätige Intellekt könne unmöglich ein Teil der Seele sein, da der tätige Intellekt seiner Natur nach immer alles denkt. Wäre er ein Teil der menschlichen Seele, so würde der Mensch immer alles denken, was jedoch offenkundig nicht der Fall sei.⁶² Nach Wilhelm von Auvergne hat die menschliche Seele — genau wie es später von Wessel behauptet werden sollte — nur einen möglichen Intellekt, der von Gott illuminiert wird.⁶³

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 718: 'Oportebit ergo hujus otii altiore esse causam non per seculi hujus philosophiam, sed fidei tantum pietate vestigabilem: liberam scilicet voluntatem cooperantis increati signati super nos luminis vultus Dei'.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 720: 'Et quia rationes *Aristotelis* de intellectu agente nihil tam evidenter concludunt, eum animae non potentiam esse, quin commentator ejus *Averrois* agentem intellectum posuerit realiter extrinsecum, licet in operando conjunctum (*ed.*: commentum, M.H.), sicut lumen (*ed.*: lumine, M.H.) Solis realiter coloribus et visivae potentiae diversum, ad videndum tamen oportet conjungi, et causaliter simul concurrere, sicut causas essentialiter ordinatas. Et quia Sacras literas ignorabat, ideo qui nesciebat signatum super nos lumen vultus Dei (*cf.* Ps. 4, 7, M.H.), posuit infimam intelligentiam nobis pro Sole intellectuali et universali intellectu agente'.

⁶² *Cf.* Gilson, 'Pourquoi Saint Thomas a critiqué Saint Augustin', 63 (mit Quellennachweis).

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 79–80 (mit Quellennachweis). Siehe aber auch Marrone, *William of Auvergne and Robert Grosseteste*, 63–65.

In diesem Zusammenhang sind auch einige Bemerkungen des Roger Bacon sehr interessant. Ihm zufolge wurde die These, der tätige Intellekt sei kein Teil der Seele, sondern mit Gott zu identifizieren, nicht nur von Wilhelm von Auvergne, sondern auch von den *sapientes antiqui*, von Robert Grosseteste und Adam de Marisco vertreten, die von Roger Bacon als *majores clerici de mundo* bezeichnet wurden.⁶⁴ Dass es geschätzte Theologen gab, die diese These vertraten, wird bestätigt durch Bemerkungen in anderen Werken, beispielsweise in der 1985 von Gauthier edierten, um 1245–1250 entstandenen Mitschrift einer anonymen *Lectura in librum de anima*, in welcher es heisst ‘Istud (. . .) ponunt magni clerici et antiqui’, durch einige Stellen in den Werken des Thomas von Aquin (‘quidam catholici doctores, [. . .] posuerunt ipsum Deum esse intellectum agentem’) und in der 1936 von Grabmann edierten anonymen, zwischen 1308 und 1323 entstandenen Quaestio ‘Utrum beatitudo consistat in intellectu agente (. . .)’, in der nicht weniger als sechzehn verschiedene Interpretationen des tätigen Intellekts angeführt werden.⁶⁵ Bemerkenswert ist auch, dass Thomas von Aquin, der in seinen späteren Werken die Gleichsetzung des tätigen Intellekts mit Gott heftig kritisierte, sie in seinem Sentenzenkommentar noch als ‘satis probabilis’ bezeichnete.⁶⁶

Den Schriften des Roger Bacon lässt sich auch entnehmen, dass sich im Laufe des 13. Jahrhunderts eine Gruppe von Denkern gebildet hat, die diese ältere These der Gleichsetzung des tätigen Intellekts mit Gott verwarf. Im *Opus tertium* des Roger Bacon heisst es: ‘omnes moderni dicunt, quod intellectus agens in animas nostras, et illuminans eas, est pars animae’.⁶⁷ Einer dieser *moderni* war wohl Thomas von Aquin.

Neben diesen beiden Gruppen entwickelte sich im 13. Jahrhundert eine dritte Gruppe, deren Auffassung man als eine *via media* bezeichnen kann. Die Vertreter dieser Gruppe waren der Meinung, dass es zwei Arten des tätigen Intellekts gebe: einen geschaffenen und einen ungeschaffenen tätigen Intellekt. Der erste ist ein Teil der menschliche Seele, der zweite ist Gott. Zu

⁶⁴ Siehe die Zitate bei Gilson, ‘Pourquoi Saint Thomas a critiqué Saint Augustin’, 81 (= Roger Bacon, *Opus majus* II, c. 5, und *Opus tertium*, c. 23).

⁶⁵ Anonymi Magistri Artium, *Lectura in librum De anima*, Lib. III, lect. 2, q. 4–5: 469; Thomas von Aquin, *Scriptum super libros Sententiarum* II, Lib. II, d. 17 q. 2 a. 1 c: 423 und Grabmann, *Mittelalterliche Deutung und Umbildung der aristotelischen Lehre vom ΝΟΥΣ ΠΟΙΗΤΙΚΟΣ*, 85–86 (für die Datierung, *ibid.*, 5).

⁶⁶ Siehe dazu Gilson, ‘Pourquoi Saint Thomas a critiqué Saint Augustin’, 80 (mit Quellennachweis).

⁶⁷ Siehe das Zitat *ibid.*, 83 (= Roger Bacon, *Opus tertium*, c. 23).

dieser Gruppe gehörten Theologen wie Johannes von Rochelle und Johannes Pecham.⁶⁸

Vor allem die These der letzten Gruppe ist im Rahmen unserer Untersuchung wichtig; sie kehrt nämlich bei Denkern des 14. und 15. Jahrhunderts zurück, von denen angenommen werden kann, dass Wessel deren Thesen kannte: bei Johannes Buridan und den Kölner Albertisten der Laurentianerburse.

Buridan führte in seinem bereits erwähnten *De anima*-Kommentar aus, dass Gott im eigentlichen Sinne *intellectus agens* genannt werden kann, weil Gott alles erkennt: 'deus maxime proprie dicitur intellectus agens'.⁶⁹ Da Gott als erste Ursache mehr Einfluss auf die Wirkung einer Zweitursache hat als jedwede zweite Ursache, wirkt Gott, so Buridan, als tätiger Intellekt bei jedem Erkenntnisakt des Menschen aktiv mit.⁷⁰ Es gibt aber bestimmte Aktivitäten des menschlichen Geistes, deren Existenz nicht nur mit einem Verweis auf die Tätigkeit des göttlichen Intellekts erklärt werden können, wie etwa das diskursive, nicht intuitive Erkennen. Gott ist eine allgemeine Ursache und seine Tätigkeit muss deshalb von einer partikularen, niedrigeren Ursache spezifiziert und abgegrenzt werden. Um das menschliche diskursive Denken zu erklären, muss man deshalb das Bestehen eines partikularen tätigen Intellekts annehmen, der, so Buridan, entweder mit der menschlichen Seele zusammenfällt oder ein Teil derselben ist.⁷¹

Interessant ist, dass Buridan bei der Darlegung seiner These, der göttliche, tätige Intellekt wirke bei jedem menschlichen Erkenntnisakt aktiv mit, auf den ersten Satz des *Liber de causis* verweist.⁷²

Nicht nur im *De anima*-Kommentar des Buridan, sondern auch in dem des Kölner Albertisten Johannes Hulshout van Mechelen,

⁶⁸ Siehe das Zitat *ibid.*, 88 (= Johannes von Rochelle, *Summa de anima*, Lib. II c. 37) und Pecham, *Tractatus de anima*, c. 5, 20 n. 7: 'Duplicem pono intelligentiam agentem, increatam et creatam (...)'.
⁶⁹ Buridan, *Quaestiones de anima*, Lib. III q. 7, 27ra (prima conclusio).

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 27ra-b: 'Secunda conclusio: ad intellectionem formandam in intellectu nostro possibili necesse est active concurrere quendam intellectum agentem. Et hoc probatur primo quia necesse est deum active ad hoc concurrere. Omnia enim agentia sunt ipsi deo essentialiter subordinata et in essendo et in agendo. Ideo nulla est actio ad quam non concurrat deus active, immo principalius quam alia agentia, propter quod dicit auctor de causis quod prima causa scilicet ipse deus plus est influens in effectum quam causa secunda. (...) ideo quando de novo intelligimus, factum totale est compositum ex intellectu nostro possibili et intellectione. Modo non potest assignari agens nobilius isto composito nisi concurret active aliquis intellectus agens et sine dubio ille est intellectus divinus.'

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 27rb.

⁷² Siehe den Text in Anm. 70.

entstanden nur vier Jahre bevor Wessel als Student an die Bursa Laurentiana kam, wurde die Theorie verteidigt, der mögliche Intellekt des Menschen könne sowohl durch den tätigen Intellekt, der ein Teil der menschlichen Seele sei, als auch direkt vom göttlichen Intellekt illuminiert werden. Der mögliche Intellekt des Menschen ist nicht nur, so Johannes Hulshout, ein *stramentum* für den zur menschlichen Natur gehörigen tätigen Intellekt, sondern auch für das Licht der Engel und für den göttlichen Intellekt. Denn der göttliche Intellekt wirkt in jeder Kreatur.⁷³

Für eine mögliche Beeinflussung Wessels von seiten der Kölner Albertisten könnte auch der von Wessel für Gott benutzte Terminus 'intellectus universaliter agens' sprechen. Obwohl dieser Terminus auch gelegentlich von anderen Theologen und Philosophen benutzt wurde, gilt er dennoch als ein für die vom Neuplatonismus geprägten Albertisten typischer Begriff.

Obschon nun die beiden genannten Denker nicht die negative These vertreten haben, der tätige Intellekt sei kein Teil der menschlichen Seele, wurde in ihren *De anima*-Kommentaren dennoch die positive These Wessels behauptet, Gott sei als tätiger Intellekt aufzufassen und er illuminiere als solcher den möglichen Intellekt des Menschen. Da Wessel während seines Artes-Studiums diese beiden Werke kennengelernt haben muss, ist es durchaus möglich, dass er von den in diesen Werken niedergelegten Gedanken beeinflusst worden ist.

⁷³ Johannes Hulshout van Mechelen, Kraków, Biblioteka Jagiellonska, MS 2074, *Super de anima*, Lib. III: 75v: '(...) intellectus possibilis est stramentum quaduplicis intelligibilis, primo fantasmatum a quibus patitur secundum quod est intellectus humanus et in corpore positus. Secundo est stramentum intellectus agentis secundum quod convenit sibi secundum propriam naturam, cum agens proprie semper intelligit seu respicit proprium intellectum sicut suum obiectum in agendo quemadmodum quid quod est in essendo. Tertio est stramentum intellectus angelici potentis (?) illuminare ipsum, qui inquantum est virtus passiva (?) non determinatur ad maximum. Sed si patitur a minore, scilicet intellectu agente, patitur a maiore, scilicet intellectu angelico et divino. Qui divinus intellectus est summum intelligibile. (...) Quod autem intellectus angelicus agit in intellectum nostrum non minus videtur, quia potest agere in corpus, ergo in intellectum corpori coniunctum. Intellectus autem divinus agit in omnem creaturam sibi obedientialiter subiectam.' Auch Wessel war der Meinung, dass der menschliche Intellekt von den Engeln erleuchtet werden kann, siehe Gansfort, *Opera*, 720 (*De certissima et benignissima Dei providentia*); *ibid.*, 73 (*De oratione*, Lib. III c. 10): '(...) Possunt enim (sc. angeli, M.H.) assistente illis cooperatione divina, quae semper beatis illis assistit per vivas notas mentem nostram intellectualiter irradiare; quod nullus mortalium potest', und *ibid.*, *De purgatorio*, 831, prop. 25.

3. Der menschliche Geist als Abbild Gottes

Kommen wir zum dritten Satz: Der menschliche Geist ist ein Abbild Gottes. Über Wessels Lehre der Gottebenbildlichkeit ist schon einiges in dem Wessel-Buch van Rhijns gesagt worden.⁷⁴ Wir können uns deshalb hier kurz fassen.

Wessel bezog die Gottebenbildlichkeit ausschliesslich auf den inneren Menschen (den *homo interior*), d.h. den nicht-körperlichen, geistigen Teil des Menschen.⁷⁵ Gott ist 'Weisheit', 'Wort' und 'Liebe' (die Trinität) und kann deshalb nicht von einem körperlichen Bild dargestellt werden.⁷⁶ 'Weisheit', 'Wort' und 'Liebe' sind ja für Wessel, wie oben gesagt, immateriell. Die Idee, dass die Gottebenbildlichkeit sich auch auf den 'homo exterior' bezieht, d.h. auf den körperlichen Teil des Menschen, wurde von ihm explizit zurückgewiesen.⁷⁷

Der menschliche Geist ist für Wessel von Natur gottebenbildlich. Er verliert die Gottebenbildlichkeit nicht durch den Sündenfall, denn es existiert eine ewige Vermählung zwischen Gott und dem 'homo interior'.⁷⁸ Dennoch wird die Gottebenbildlichkeit von Wessel vor allem final verstanden. Der menschliche Geist ist 'ad imaginem Dei' geschaffen, wobei die Präposition 'ad' nicht modal, sonder final interpretiert werden muss. Es ist die Liebe auf Christus hin, welche die Voraussetzung dafür ist, dass er zum Abbild und zur Ähnlichkeit Gottes wird.

Da der menschliche Geist gottebenbildlich ist, kann er, wenn er sich direkt nach oben, auf Gott richtet, in sich einen kleinen Gott (*parvum Deum*) gebären, denn der Geist des Menschen ist wie ein Spiegel, der das reflektiert, auf das er gerichtet wird. Diese geistige Hinwendung zu Gott 'reformiert' den Geist: der von ihm geborene kleine Gott ist eine *imago dei reformata*.⁷⁹ Die

⁷⁴ Van Rhijn, *Wessel Gansfort*, 161–169.

⁷⁵ Gansfort, *Opera*, 830 (*De purgatorio*, prop. 1): 'Cum dicitur homo factus ad imaginem et similitudinem Dei, ego de interiore homine tantum intelligo.'

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 71 (*De oratione*, Lib. III c. 10).

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 389 (*Scala meditationis*, Exemplum III, Tractatio): 'Factus est itaque homo ad imaginem et similitudinem sanctae Trinitatis. Et quae sacrae hujus Trinitatis potest esse vera similitudo? Sane non corporalis ac exterioris hominis forma Deus homini similatur.'

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 129 (*De oratione*, Lib. VII, c. 4), 159 (*De oratione*, Lib. IX, c. 3) und 604 (*De magnitudine passionis*, c. 73).

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 222 (*Scala meditationis*, Lib. I, c. 21): '(. . .) Et sicut speculum corporale Solis conjugio parvulum solem; ita mentes nostrae intelligibilia specula beato Dei conjugio parvum Deum, qui reformata imago est Dei, concipiunt, praegnant, pariunt, in seipsis aeternum concipientes, aeternum praegnantes, aeternum beate parientes.'

göttliche Weisheit des Vaters strömt im Geiste des Menschen aus und führt ihn zurück zu Gott. Durch sie kann er Gott erkennen und wird er mit Gott verbunden.⁸⁰

Wessel stand mit dieser Lehre auf dem Boden der Imago Dei-Tradition Augustins und Bernhards von Clairvaux, zweier Theologen, die in den Werken Wessels öfter genannt und zitiert wurden und von deren Gedanken Wessel auch an anderen Punkten beeinflusst worden ist.⁸¹ Dass Wessel in dieser Tradition stand, bedeutet selbstverständlich nicht, dass er sich in seiner Lehre der Gottebenbildlichkeit der Seele nicht auch von anderen Denkern hat inspirieren lassen können. Interessant und von der Biographie Wessels her vielversprechend sind die Theorien der Kölner Albertisten: in den Schriften des Heymeric van de Velde beispielsweise, des wohl einflussreichsten Magisters der Laurentianerburse, lassen sich mehrere Elemente der Imago Dei-Lehre, wie sie von Wessel vertreten wurde, in einer philosophischen Fassung aufweisen.

Zuerst Augustin. Wie später auch Wessel, unterschied Augustin sehr deutlich zwischen einem äusseren und einem inneren Menschen, etwa in der viel gelesenen Schrift *De Trinitate*.⁸² Nur der geistige, innere Mensch ist nach Augustin ein Abbild Gottes; der äussere Mensch dagegen ist lediglich als *vestigium trinitatis* zu verstehen.⁸³ Auch wurde von Augustin in den Schriften ab 412 (*De spiritu et littera*) und ganz klar in *De Trinitate* behauptet, die Gottebenbildlichkeit gehöre zur Natur des Menschen. Sie gehe durch die Sünde nicht verloren, werde aber verunstaltet.⁸⁴ Durch den Glauben an Christus jedoch könne die 'deformierte' Gottebenbildlichkeit der Seele wieder 'reformiert' und 'renoviert' werden.⁸⁵ Und schliesslich: da die menschliche, geistige Seele ein Abbild Gottes sei, könne der Mensch über sie zu Gott, welcher der Schöpfer und das Ur-Bild der menschlichen

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 50 (*De oratione*, Lib. III, c. 5), 66 (Lib. II, c. 8): '(...) Omnis enim creatura intellectualis natura est divina. Est ergo secundum gradus scalae praesentis seculi, Pater sapiens sapientibus, ut ab ipso Patre, id est, ab ipsa sapientia sapientes sint, quae se omnibus communicat, ut Deum cognoscant', und 224 (*Scala meditationis*, Lib. I, c. 22): 'Illic speculum, quod ad imaginem et similitudinem capiendam factum est, aeterni amoris nexibus hominem Deo, Deum homini colligabit.'

⁸¹ Cf. Van Rhijn, *Studien over Wessel Gansfort*, 91.

⁸² Cf. Augustin, *De trinitate*, 356 (Lib. XII, c. 1, n. 1).

⁸³ *Ibid.*, 333–334 (Lib. XI, c. 1 n.1).

⁸⁴ Siehe die eingehende Darstellung bei Schmaus, *Die psychologische Trinitätslehre des heiligen Augustinus*, 292–294.

⁸⁵ Cf. Augustin, *De trinitate*, Lib. XIV, cc. 15–19, 449–459.

Gottebenbildlichkeit ist, emporsteigen und ihn auf geistige Weise erfassen. Richte die Seele sich auf Gott, so empfangen sie die Weisheit Gottes.⁸⁶

Diese Themen kehren auch bei Bernhard von Clairvaux in seinen berühmten *Sermones* über das Hohelied (den *Sermones super Cantica canticorum*) zurück: die Gottebenbildlichkeit ist der menschlichen Seele angeboren und wird beim Sündenfall nicht zerstört, sondern nur verdunkelt.⁸⁷ Die Hinwendung zu Christus, so Bernhard, gestaltet die Seele um und gleicht sie wieder dem göttlichen Wort an. Zudem wurde in Bernhards *Sermones super Cantica canticorum* das später von Wessel benutzte Motiv der Vermählung der gottebenbildlichen Seele mit Gott ausgearbeitet.⁸⁸

Kommen wir zu Heymeric van de Velde. In seinem Werk, besonders im *Tractatus problematicus*, tritt die Gottebenbildlichkeit der Seele in einem vom Neuplatonismus geprägten philosophischen Zusammenhang und deshalb ohne die typisch theologischen Elemente Sündenfall und Nachfolge Christi zutage.

Auch Heymeric unterschied scharf zwischen *homo exterior* und *homo interior*.⁸⁹ Der *homo interior* stellte für ihn den rein geistigen Teil des menschlichen Intellekts dar, der sich nicht nach unten auf das Körperliche richtet, sondern sich selber schaut oder sich nach oben auf die abgetrennten Substanzen und auf Gott richtet.⁹⁰ Der Mensch besitzt diesen höheren, rein geistigen Teil des Intellekts von Natur aus: Gott hat im Menschen ein Abbild der göttlichen Trinität geschaffen, das es dem Menschen ermöglicht, sich über das Sinnliche hinaus zu erheben und sich Gott unmittelbar (*immediate*) anzuhängen (*adhaerere Deo*).⁹¹

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, Lib. XIV, c. 12, 442–444, und c. 14, n. 20, 448–449.

⁸⁷ Cf. Bernardus von Clairvaux, *Sermones super cantica canticorum*, Sermo 82, 293. Über Bernardus' Lehre von der Gottebenbildlichkeit der Seele, siehe Hiss, *Die Anthropologie Bernhards von Clairvaux*, 66–137, und Köpf, *Religiöse Erfahrung in der Theologie Bernhards von Clairvaux*, 72–80.

⁸⁸ Cf. Bernardus von Clairvaux, *Sermones super cantica canticorum*, Sermo 83, 298–302.

⁸⁹ Cf. Heymeric van de Velde, *Problemata inter Albertum Magnum et Sanctum Thomam*, Probl. 14, 47r (ad sextam): 'Dicendum quod vita peregrina est hominis carnalis et exterioris, qui non potest diiudicare vel sapere que sunt spiritus, ut idem dicit Apostolus (Röm. 8, 5). Sed vita hominis interioris per illustrationem spiritus est participative patrie, quomodo verum est quod idem Paulus asserit (Phil. 3, 20): nostra conversatio est in celis, eo quod in contemplatione illius intellectus ipse homo immediate coniungitur suo creatori (...)', und 47v (ad decimam).

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, Probl. 13, 43v (ad primam) und 44r (ad secundam).

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, Probl. 13, solutio quaestionis: 43r–43v und 43v (ad primam). Siehe

Schaut der höhere Teil des menschlichen Intellekts sich selbst, so wird er dadurch zu Gott, der Quelle seiner Intellektualität, zurückgeführt.⁹²

Das Gesagte könnte darauf hinweisen, dass die Imago Dei-Lehre Wessels durch die Auffassungen des Heymeric van de Velde beeinflusst worden ist. Wie aus dem *De anima*-Kommentar des Johannes Hulshout van Mechelen hervorgeht, steht jedenfalls fest: Der *Tractatus problematicus* des Heymeric gehörte zur Zeit von Wessels Aufenthalt an der Laurentianerburse zu den dort benutzten Schriften. Zudem lässt sich nachweisen, dass die Werke des Heymeric, wie oben gesagt, gerade in den unter dem Einfluss der Devotio Moderna stehenden Klöster der Windesheimer Kongregation, zu der auch das Kloster auf dem Agnetenberg gehörte, wo Wessel häufiger weilte, gelesen wurden.

4. Der Mensch soll sich von den Phantasmen befreien, um Gott zu erkennen

Nun zum vierten und letzten Satz: Der Mensch kann durch eine nicht-phantasmatische Selbstbetrachtung seines Geistes Gott erkennen und sich ihm angleichen. Wir haben am Anfang unseres Beitrages schon darauf hingewiesen, dass es im 15. Jahrhundert über die Möglichkeit eines nicht-phantasmatischen Gotterkennens eine heftige Kontroverse gab. Wie stand es nun mit der Auffassung Wessels in diesem Punkt?

Nach Wessel kann Gott ohne Phantasmen, durch das nicht-körperliche, im menschlichen Geist existierende Abbild der göttlichen Trinität erkannt werden. Betrachtet der Mensch dieses Abbild, so kann er die göttliche Erhabenheit erforschen (*investigare*) und verschiedene Eigenschaften Gottes erkennen.⁹³ Der Mensch hat ein höheres geistiges Auge, das nicht nur ein Spiegel der körperlichen, sondern auch der rein geistigen und göttlichen Formen ist.⁹⁴ Dieses höhere geistige Auge, dieser

auch die Ausführungen Heymeric über den menschlichen Intellekt in dem (leider sehr fehlerhaft edierten) *Compendium divinatorum* (entstanden 1420–1422 zu Diest bei Löwen), in: Korolec, „Compendium divinatorum“ Heimeryka de Campo w rkp. BJ 695', 80–81.

⁹² Cf. Heymeric van de Velde, *Problemata inter Albertum Magnum et Sanctum Thomam*, Probl. 13, 40r–40v und 42r (Decimotertio sic (. . .)): 'Ergo naturaliter potest (sc. intellectus humanus, M.H.) per actum separatum memorie, intelligentie et voluntatis converti ad se et ad suum creatorem (ed.: cratorem, M.H.) (. . .).'

⁹³ Gansfort, *Opera*, 50 (*De oratione*, Lib. II, c. 5).

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 223 (*Scala meditationis*, Lib. I, c. 22): 'Est ergo quidam altior non

Spiegel, dient dem Menschen dazu, sich mehr und mehr Gott anzugleichen.

Folglich war Wessel der Meinung, dass der Mensch sich von seiner bildhaften, phantasmatischen Erkenntnis losreißen und befreien muss. Der menschliche Intellekt soll rein werden. Die sinnenhafte, phantasmatische Erkenntnis ist schwankend und unbeständig (*vagus*), eitel und leer (*vanus* und *vacuus*) und zieht den Menschen von einer Gott zugewandten Kontemplation ab.⁹⁵ Richtet der Mensch seinen Geist nach oben, zu Gott, so befreit er sich von dieser phantasmatischen Erkenntnis,⁹⁶ und sein Geist wird mehr und mehr gottähnlich.

Der Prozess des menschlichen Gotterkennens geht nach Wessel also nicht grundsätzlich über den Weg der sinnlichen Welt, wie bei Thomas von Aquin. Im Einklang mit seiner Lehre der Immaterialität des *homo interior* kann Gott nach Wessel durch eine vom Sinnhaften abgewandte Betrachtung der Gottebenbildlichkeit des menschlichen Geistes erkannt werden.

Wessel schloss sich mit dieser Lehre abermals einer Auffassung an, die wir bei den Kölner Albertisten finden können und die sogar typisch für diese Denker ist.

Nach Heymeric van de Velde kann der Mensch schon in diesem Leben Gott ohne Phantasmen erkennen. Wie bereits oben gesagt, hat der Mensch ihm zufolge zwei Teile: einen höheren und einen niedrigeren. Der niedrigere Teil ist nach unten, auf die körperliche Welt gerichtet und braucht die Phantasmen. Der höhere Teil dagegen ist nach oben gerichtet und braucht sie nicht. Er erkennt nur auf rein geistige Weise und steht als Abbild Gottes nicht mit der körperlichen Welt, sondern mit Gott und dem Göttlichen in Verbindung. Wenn der Mensch seine Neigung, sich der körperlichen, sinnlichen Welt zuzuwenden, durch asketische

animalis oculus interior, sed intellectualis mentalis, qui vivacissimum speculum est formarum, non solum corporearum, sed mere spiritualium et divinarum specierum contemplandarum.'

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 203 (*Scala meditationis*, Lib. I, c. 7): 'Interioris enim hominis vitam si vere amaremus, incomparabiliter ardentiore zelo contra fluctuationem cogitationum nostrarum accingeremur, ac detestaremur (...)' (wörtlich die gleiche Stelle auch in die spätere (cf. die Bemerkung *ibid.*, 18) Schrift *De oratione*, Lib. I, c. 2, 7) und *ibid.*, 387 (*Scala meditationis*, Exemplum III, Electio): 'Quae igitur mea munditia, mea libertas, mea dignitas, nisi ut excussis vagis, vanis, vacuis illis phantasmatis munde, libere, digne intendam sacrae philanthropiae Dei?' Siehe auch die ersten Kapitel der Schriften *Scala meditationis* und *De oratione*.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 213 (*Scala meditationis*, Lib. I, c. 14): 'Nihil tam efficax ad intelligentiam depurandam a phantasmatis, ut est vehemens affectio in Deum.' (Wörtlich die gleiche Stelle in *De oratione*, Lib. I, c. 2, p. 6 und cf. 839–840.)

Übung überwindet, kann er Gott und das Göttliche direkt und auf rein geistige Weise erkennen.⁹⁷

Diese Auffassung, dass es dem Menschen während dieses Lebens möglich ist, Gott ohne Phantasmen zu erkennen, wurde auch, in Anlehnung an Stellen aus dem *Tractatus problematicus* des Heymeric, von Johannes Hulshout van Mechelen vertreten.⁹⁸ Eine ähnliche Auffassung wurde ebenfalls von dem in den zwanziger Jahren des 15. Jahrhunderts in Köln ausgebildeten Dionysius dem Kartäuser verteidigt. Nach ihm ist die *vis intellectiva* der menschlichen Seele immateriell und Abbild des ersten ungeschaffenen Lichtes. Deshalb braucht sie sich nicht bei jedem Erkenntnisakt auf die materiellen Phantasmen zu richten und kann auch ohne Phantasmen erkennen.⁹⁹

Im diametralen Gegensatz zu dieser Auffassung standen damals die Thomisten. Sie waren der Meinung, dass jedes menschliche Erkennen notwendigerweise vermittels der Sinnesorgane zustande komme, da der menschliche Intellekt ein Teil der als *forma substantialis* mit dem Körper verbundenen Seele sei. Immaterielle Substanzen wie Gott können deshalb nicht direkt, sondern nur indirekt erkannt werden, mit Hilfe der aus der körperlichen Wahrnehmung gewonnenen Erkenntnisbilder.¹⁰⁰

Diese Auffassung, dass der Mensch immer die Phantasmen

⁹⁷ Cf. Heymeric van de Velde, *Problemata inter Albertum Magnum et Sanctum Thomam*, Probl. 13, 43r–43v: 'Licet homo secundum partem sue intellectualitatis qua est animal rationale nihil sine fantasmate intelligat, tamen secundum portionem sue intelligentie qua est animal divinum et intellectuale etiam seipsum et puras rerum quiditates intelligit in hac vita. (...) <I>n corpore existens (sc. anima, M.H.) per studium extatice conversionis ad seipsum et per abstractionem totalem a fantasmatibus, se et quavis sincera et pura intelligibilia (...) potest intelligere.'

⁹⁸ Johannes Hulshout van Mechelen, Kraków, Biblioteka Jagiellonska, MS 2074, *Super De anima*, Lib. III, 73v: 'Maior: Anima intellectiva in corpore posita est in operatione intellectuali multipliciter ancilla ad fantasiam secundum esse eius inferius naturaliter conversa. Minor: A qua per abstractionis avertitur studium, cum omne incorporeum sit ad seipsum conversivum. Conclusio: Hinc postquam intellexerit alia, secundum portionem (Hs: proportionem, M.H.) eius superiorem potest intelligere se et separata alia sine conversione ad fantasmata.'

⁹⁹ Dionysius Cartusianus, *Opera omnia*, Elementatio philosophica, De anima rationali, Prop. XLV, 57a–59b.

¹⁰⁰ Siehe die Darstellung der thomistischen Ansicht bei Heymeric van de Velde, *Problemata inter Albertum Magnum et Sanctum Thomam*, Probl. 13, 42v–43r. Im 14. und 15. Jahrhundert wurde diese Auffassung öfter mit Thomas von Aquin und den Thomisten in Verbindung gebracht, siehe z.B. Johannes von Jandun, *Quaestiones super libros Aristotelis De anima*, col. 413 (Lib. III, q. 36): 'Opinio (...) fratris Thomae et suorum sequacium', und die (anonyme) Glosse in der Handschrift Kraków, Biblioteka Jagiellonska, 2013, MS 173r des *De anima*-Kommentars des Benedikt Hesse von Krakau.

braucht, das Gegenteil von dem, was Heymeric und Wessel behaupteten, wurde auch von Denkern, die im 15. Jahrhundert zur *via moderna* gerechnet wurden, unter Hinweis auf Aristoteles vertreten, so etwa in den *De anima*-Kommentaren des Buridan und Peter von Ailly.¹⁰¹ Auch Nikolaus Oresme vertrat diese Ansicht.¹⁰²

Dass diese letztgenannte Ansicht von so vielen Denkern vertreten wurde, lässt sich vielleicht dadurch erklären, dass, wie eingangs bemerkt, die Lehre, der Mensch könne Gott ohne Phantasmen erkennen, unter dem Verdacht der Häresie stand.

Angesichts dieser Lage, muss es als signifikant betrachtet werden, dass Wessel eine solche der Häresie verdächtige und oft kritisierte Auffassung vertrat. Fest steht, dass er in diesem Punkt *nicht* durch die Auffassungen von *thomistae* oder von Vertretern der *via moderna* beeinflusst worden ist.

Obwohl wichtige Elemente der Wesselschen Erkenntnislehre auch bei Augustin zu finden sind, einschliesslich der sehr negativen Bewertung der Phantasmen,¹⁰³ und man daher Augustin als Quelle ständig im Auge behalten muss, kann man sich dennoch schwer dem Eindruck entziehen, Wessel habe sich während seiner Aufenthalte an der Kölner Laurentianerburse (und vielleicht auch noch später durch die Schriften des Heymeric) von der albertistischen Intellekttheorie beeinflussen oder zumindest inspirieren lassen, denn die von Wessel vertretene Auffassung wurde zu seiner Zeit, wenigstens in Köln, als typisch 'albertistische' Auffassung vertreten und als solche anderen Auffassungen entgegengestellt.

Wessel Gansfort ein Nominalist oder Repräsentant der via moderna?

Kommen wir zum Schluss: Wie steht es mit Wessels Schulzugehörigkeit? In einem an Jacobus Hoeck gerichteten Brief, wahrscheinlich kurz vor Wessels Tode im Jahre 1489 geschrieben,¹⁰⁴ berichtete Wessel, er sei bis zum Anfang seiner Pariser

¹⁰¹ Cf. Buridan, *Quaestiones de anima*, Lib. III, q. 9, 28ra; Peter von Ailly, *Tractatus De anima*, 61.

¹⁰² Cf. Marshall, *Nicholas Oresme's 'Quaestiones super libros Aristotelis de anima'*, Lib. III, q. 10, 631 (tertio).

¹⁰³ Cf. z. B. Augustin, *De Genesi ad litteram*, Lib. XII, cc. 25–26, 475–476; *id.*, *De vera religione Libri IV*, 49 n. 95, 249, und *id.*, *Quaestionum in Heptateuchum Libri VII*, Quaest. Num. XXVIII, 251.

¹⁰⁴ Für diese Datierung, cf. Van Rhijn, *Wessel Gansfort*, 153. Siehe auch Oberman, *Forerunners of the Reformation*, 97–98 und 119.

Zeit 1458/9 Anhänger der *via realium* gewesen, habe sich in Paris nach einigen Monaten den *formales* angeschlossen, sei aber innerhalb eines Jahres schliesslich zu den *nominales* übergegangen.¹⁰⁵ Die nach 1561 entstandene *Vita Wesseli* des Albertus Hardenberg, obwohl nicht immer zuverlässig, bestätigt diesen Wechsel Wessels von den *reales* über die *formales* zu den *nominales*.¹⁰⁶ Auch in der modernen Forschung wird Wessel den *nominales* zugerechnet.

Die von uns aufgedeckten Fakten bestätigen das aber nicht. Wessels erhaltene Schriften, die alle in der Zeit zwischen 1475 und 1489 entstanden sind, belegen etwas anderes: Wessel vertrat in seiner Intellektlehre Auffassungen, die im 15. Jahrhundert als typisch galten für den Albertisten, die damals zu den *reales* gerechnet wurden.

Wie ist das mit dem eben genannten Wesselschen Selbstzeugnis in Einklang zu bringen? Um dieses Selbstzeugnis richtig bewerten zu können, darf man eine sehr wichtige Bemerkung Wessels nicht übersehen: er (Wessel) möchte nicht hartnäckig (*pertinax*) sein und würde sich gleich wieder den *formales* oder *reales* anschliessen, fände er bei den *nominales* etwas, dass dem Glauben widerspräche (*quid fidei contrarium*).¹⁰⁷ Obwohl sich Wessel also den *nominales* zurechnete, war ihre Lehre für ihn nicht absolut bindend.

Es handelt sich hier um eine Bemerkung des späten Wessels. Dennoch zeigt sie *in nuce* das Forschungsprogramm all seiner (früheren) Schriften (1475–1489): bei der Suche nach der Wahrheit zählt allein die Schrift, nicht die Autorität einer bestimmten Schule, auch nicht die der *nominales*. Dieses Programm hat offenbar auch für seine Intellektlehre gegolten: Wie wir gesehen haben, wich Wessel in einigen Punkten deutlich von der Lehre herausragender Repräsentanten der *via moderna* ab und neigte den Auffassungen der *antiqui* zu, etwa bei der Frage nach dem Ursprung der Seele und beim Problem des Gotterkennens. In diesen beiden Fällen, darauf sei besonders hingewiesen, legte er ausdrücklich dar, dass die von ihm vertretene Ansicht der Schrift gemäss sei.¹⁰⁸ In anderen Punkten vertrat er eine Lehre,

¹⁰⁵ Cf. Gansfort, *Opera*, 877 (Epistolae). Siehe auch Van Rhijn, *Wessel Gansfort*, 78, 83 und 236, und Ogilvie, 'Wessel Gansforts Theology of Church Government', 125.

¹⁰⁶ Hardenberg, *Vita Wesseli*, 4. Über diese Vita, siehe Van Rhijn, *Wessel Gansfort*, XII-XXII (Bijlage A (I g)).

¹⁰⁷ Cf. Gansfort, *Opera*, 877–878 (Epistolae).

¹⁰⁸ Siehe *ibid.*, 720 bzw. 722.

die sowohl von Angehörigen der *via antiqua* wie auch von denen der *via moderna* vertreten wurde, so etwa bei der Lehre von der göttlichen Kausalität. Auch hier verwies er auf die Schrift.

Die Tatsache, dass Wessel Gansfort in der modernen Literatur öfter als 'Nominalist', 'Modernist' oder sogar als 'entschiedener Nominalist' dargestellt wird,¹⁰⁹ ist also wohl richtig in bezug auf andere Punkte seines Denkens, aber grundsätzlich falsch in bezug auf seine Intellektlehre: das haben die Quellen des 14. und 15. Jahrhunderts deutlich gezeigt.

¹⁰⁹ Siehe etwa Barnikol, 'Gansfort, Wessel', 1199–1200, und *Mittelalter. Kirchen- und Theologiegeschichte in Quellen* II, 219.

H.A. OBERMAN

WESSEL GANSFORT: 'MAGISTER CONTRADICTIONIS'

The Three Coordinates

Wessel Gansfort died on the Day of St. Francis, the fourth of October, 1489. Almost seventy years old, he had gained notoriety as the 'Master of Contradiction'. As Jacob Hoeck (†1509), his former fellow student in Paris and later critic was quick to point out, this was not an honorific title, but rather meant to lampoon his stubborn 'singularity' as lack of respect for the authority of church and tradition.¹ Not new historical evidence, but a new historical perspective is documented when in following decades his early biographers assign to him the title *Lux Mundi*.

For this first generation of Erasmian and Lutheran reformers it is obvious that Wessel withstood the barbarism of the later Middle Ages, and therefore stood out as a beaming beacon in a time of deep darkness. With this interpretation, they removed themselves decisively from the sentiments, convictions, and frame of reference of Wessel Gansfort himself. For him, singularity is not a virtue but a vice, and the title, Master of Contradiction, therefore, a vicious attack rather than a descriptive evaluation. And it would not have entered his mind to describe the later Middle Ages, its culture and religion, as barbarian and completely shrouded in darkness. His view of the times was much more nuanced, and as we know today, much more historically accurate than the look-back-in-anger of the first spokesmen for Renaissance and Reformation.

The title *Magister Contradictionis*, however, is pertinent — and much more so than his detractors intended — in three respects: 1) as contradiction against untested knowledge; 2) as contradiction against unauthentic authority; and 3) as contradiction against his own inner confusion, which indeed lends his work its highly

¹ 'Id est, quod dura te jactas cervice, qua cunctis in dictis tuis quandam niteris inveniri singularitatem, adeo ut plurimorum judicio *Magister contradictionis* merito valeas appellari. Et, ne dubites, tua doctissimi viri singularitas plerosque scandalizat.' Gansfort, *Opera*, 871; cf. 879. The most complete collection of data on Jacobus Houck de Leydis (Leiden), alias Angularis, is provided in *Auctarium Chartularii universitatis Parisiensis* VI, 331 note 11. Houck or Hoeck served as rector in 1466 and 1473; he was in charge of the most prestigious of the some 40 Parisian colleges.

personal and even psycho-therapeutic dimension. In the following I intend to 'catch' the elusive Wessel Gansfort historically by 'placing' him in relation to three currents of the time; namely, to late medieval nominalism, to early Renaissance humanism, and to the Modern Devotion. As we shall see, Wessel contradicts tenets of all three, but yet, it is within these three coordinates that his work and significance are most clearly elucidated.

It may seem surprising not to choose as fourth coordinate the Wittenberg Reformation. I believe, however, that Maarten van Rhijn made a lasting contribution in his substantial dissertation on Wessel Gansfort in 1917, both by describing the life of Wessel Gansfort and by establishing the chasm which divides Wessel from Martin Luther.² Van Rhijn's achievement is particularly striking if we compare his work with the book published that same year, *Wessel Gansfort. Life and Writings*, by J.W. Scudder and E.W. Miller, who still argued that Wessel was a 'Protestant'.³ While gratefully treading in the steps of Van Rhijn, the advances in the seventy years since his *magnum opus* may appear from the fact that I will draw comparatively more on the two large works of rhetoric, *De oratione dominica* and the dazzlingly profound *Scala meditationis*, which both Miller and Van Rhijn largely ignored. In the following, we not only look at all the extant works but also pay particular attention to *obiter dicta* and *exempla*, since these allow us sudden glimpses into basic assumptions of Wessel himself and what he believed to be the sensitivities of his audience.

One more cautionary comment before we set out on our complex course. When we now proceed to locate Wessel within the relevant coordinates, it is not in order to reduce the mystery of an individual thinker to the components of the several traditions from which he has drawn — the tempting fallacy of the older history of ideas. Rather, we want to read the works of Wessel with the help of several 'dictionaries', which allow us at once to avoid errors in 'translation' by noting important leads in the text, and to come closer to the fascination Wessel held for his contemporaries and early readers.

² Van Rhijn, *Wessel Gansfort*, esp. 231–233; cf. 246f.

³ Scudder and Miller, *Wessel Gansfort* I, ch. 8, 126. Cf.: '... Wessel's relations to the Reformation were not merely those of a precursor': I, 163. Under the auspices of a member of the American branch of the Gansfort family, Miller produced a biography and Scudder an English translation of some of the letters and the theological treatises.

Wessel the Nominalist

In contrast with earlier scholarship, we turn first to Wessel's relationship with the *via moderna* rather than the *Devotio Moderna* because Wessel is explicit and, indeed, proud of the fact that he is a nominalist. For the early biographers of Gansfort, late medieval thought is a period of such barbarism, that they were unable to accept that Wessel could possibly have embraced nominalism. Thus, Gerard Geldenhouwer explains the title *Magister Contradictionis* as due to the fact that Wessel was a convinced Platonist who, for that reason, contradicted Aristotle with more sharpness than the scholastic doctors could stomach; no mention is made of Wessel's 'contradiction' as nominalist in the areas of epistemology and logic — with far-reaching consequences for psychology and religion.⁴

Albert Hardenberg tried to play down the significance of Gansfort's turn to nominalism when he wrote that Wessel sided with the nominalists, because he found them to be 'relatively more pure or at least more subtle' ('aliquanto puriores aut saltem subtiliores'). In the same vein he concludes: '... when he could not find a more reliable road ('viam tutiorem') with better access to the simplicity of the Scriptures and the Fathers, he remained in the nominalistic camp ('permansit in illa Nominalium secta') while using the best that the schools had to offer in biblical exegesis.'⁵

Even the best of modern Gansfort scholarship retains this disinterested disdain typical of the early biographers. Thus Van Rhijn suggested that the question whether Wessel was a nominalist and what this implied is irrelevant for the interpretation of his thought.⁶ Although this essay is based on the solid biographical foundations laid by him, in this respect a change of perspective is in order if we want to retrace the battlefronts on which Wessel saw himself standing. In this we can, of course, profit from the

⁴ 'Et cum Platonicae doctrinae, ut diviniore et Christianismo proximioris, summus admirator esset, acerbius interdum in Aristotelem investus est, quam tenerae Scholasticorum Doctorum aures ferre possent. Hinc factum est, ut a nonnullis Magister contradictionis adpellaretur'. Gansfort, *Opera*, ***3v-4r.

⁵ 'Ut ut erat, cum viam tutiorem non inveniret, et quæ magis ad simplicitatem Scripturæ et veterum Patrum accederet, permansit in illa Nominalium secta, et consummatissime absolvit quidquid Scholæ in Sacris habebant eximii.' Gansfort, *Opera*, **2v.

⁶ Van Rhijn, 236f. Cf., however, Van Rhijn, *Studiën over Wessel Gansfort*, 24ff. Here Van Rhijn, in his typical scholarly, selfcritical style, declares this lack of attention for the late medieval scholastic 'schools' as regrettable.

seventy years of scholarship in the field of Renaissance and Reformation studies which has established the manifold lines of continuity between scholasticism and Renaissance humanism. Paul Oskar Kristeller and Charles Trinkaus have highlighted the continuity of the Italian Renaissance respectively with Thomism and with nominalism. A warning against the validity of the term 'nominalism' has been voiced by specialists in medieval philosophy or, more precisely, in the philosophy of the fourteenth century. William J. Courtenay, Katherine Tachau and — from the perspective of Marsilius van Inghen — the Dutch scholar M. Hoenen, have argued that one should avoid the term 'nominalism' altogether because it serves as a universal or umbrella for too many mutually divergent views to be a useful historical category. Elsewhere, I have expressed my serious doubts whether such reticence is any longer appropriate, once we reach the second half of the fourteenth century.⁷

For the beginning of the fifteenth century, and most certainly for the time when Wessel studied at Paris, the term 'nominalism' is well established and readily used as a term of clear identification, and in the statutes of the young universities in Germany it is identified with the *via moderna*. Nominalism or the *via moderna* is the alternative to Albertinism, Thomism, and Scotism, or the *via antiqua*. It should be noted explicitly that with Wessel Gansfort we do not find a trace of the complaint which soon will become a commonplace among the early humanists — that his scholastic training was a loss of time. Wessel's longtime 'famulus', at once companion and assistant, Goswinus van Halen (c. 1468–1530), reports that Wessel's friend and younger colleague, Rudolph Agricola (1444–1485), regarded his seven years at Louvain as time lost with empty word battles.⁸ The decisive distance and the crucial difference between Wessel and the next generation of northern humanists can be documented by the very fact that Wessel is not only not disdainful of his scholastic training, but, on the contrary, proud of the fact that he made his way from Thomism to Scotism, and finding also the Scotists wanting, finally saw the light of nominalism.

Wessel's *Notularum pro Nominalibus . . . Liber*, in which he took issue with Agricola's realist view of universals, would not have been

⁷ See, further, the moderate and cautious conclusions in Courtenay's most recent and impressively documented *Schools and Scholars*, 201 and 217f. Cf. my article 'Via Antiqua and Via Moderna', 445–463.

⁸ Kan, *Erasmiani Gymnasii Programma Litterarium*, 7: 'De nulla re tantum doleo quantum de ea quod totos septem annos in illis nugis peridi cum ingenti dispendio rei atque aetatis.'

lost to us if the editor of the Groningen edition of 1614, Petrus Pappus, had found it sufficiently important to include it. Unfortunately, by that time such a debate seemed to be so irrelevant and furthermore its inclusion would seem to separate the two Groningen heroes, Wessel Gansfort and Rudolph Agricola, that the editor argued his omission with the revealing comment: 'This work is so obscure that it is hardly possible to understand what the author is after'.⁹ Fortunately, the extant works of Gansfort make it quite clear what he is after, and in the following we select those aspects of his nominalism that are most revealing for our theme.¹⁰

Being a nominalist was for Wessel Gansfort not just one among many aspects of his thought, but a proud and central claim; and his turn to nominalism in Paris in the late fifties of the fifteenth century — sometime between 1457 and 1460 — was a key event in his life, described as a conversion experience leading to the dazzling brightness of truth. But how did this breakthrough affect him — what did it mean to become a nominalist?

If one would have asked Wessel Gansfort which biblical text belonged to the core of the Scriptures, he would have pointed without hesitation to Mt. 7, 7 (Luc. 11, 9): 'Seek and you will find.' As we will have occasion to see, this injunction is the basic presupposition behind his psychology and his pedagogics. It also underlies his mystical teaching in the *Scala meditationis* about the steps that lead from inner confusion to increasing clarity — best understood as *Bewusstseinserweiterung* — and, finally, to the ultimate feast of love. But far from limiting the basic search to spiritual and heavenly truth, to meditation and mystical union, the biblical injunction applies to the investigation of all aspects of reality. In keeping with this search Wessel responds to Jacob Hoeck's critique that he was too inquisitive in matters pertaining to indulgences and purgatory, by relating his own quest: how he pressed on from the Thomism he had learned in Cologne and Louvain, to the Scotism he encountered in Paris, to then, finally, see the light

⁹ 'Notularum pro *Nominalibus* adversus *Realium Formaliumque* defensores, ac ex parte contra Rodolphum Agricolam Liber; valde tamen obscurus, ut vix intelligi possit, quid Auctor velit.' Gansfort, *Opera*, ***6r. Though his realist position is obvious from *De inventione dialectica*, Agricola planned to write a separate treatise on universals, which may well have been preserved in the Württembergische Landesbibliothek Stuttgart, Cod. poet. et phil. 4° 36. See Braakhuis, 'Agricola's View on Universals', 240, note 4.

¹⁰ With the kind permission of Sarah Reeves, for the following section I could consult the chapter entitled 'Wessel as a nominalist' in her (not completed) Harvard dissertation, in which she lists the passages where Wessel explicitly refers to himself as 'nominalist'.

and become a nominalist. This provided him with the necessary truth to avoid the one basic fallacy of philosophy: namely, obfuscating reality with preconceived ideas instead of allowing experienced reality to shape thought.

I must withstand the temptation to use Wessel's statements about nominalism in order to take issue with present tendencies which reduce nominalism to the lowest denominator of what all nominalists held in common. As in the case of 'humanism', such a procedure promises to yield chemical purity but it most certainly removes us from historical reality. Instead of using the *Opera* of Wessel to extend and document our understanding of fifteenth century nominalism, here I must make this interest subservient to the task of grasping the unique world of thought of Wessel Gansfort, though clearly aided and sensitized by his stance as a nominalist. Hence, I do not want to claim the time and space to prove how the following three facets are related to the history of nominalism. I would rather point to the fact that without being familiar with fifteenth-century nominalism, the interpreter is bound to miss out on important nuances, stances, and positions which make Wessel into a unique thinker.

I use the word 'unique' advisedly to describe Wessel's thought. Earlier research has left the impression that Wessel Gansfort was not an original thinker, a pious but not a creative philosopher, rather a man of great integrity and refined piety, with that kind of abhorrence of late medieval external religion and external ecclesiastical obedience, which explains his popularity in the early Reformation history of the 1520s. Along these lines important work evolved in the history of theology, clarifying the pre-Reformation position of Wessel with regard to the Eucharist and indulgences, to name just two intriguing points. But Wessel's devotional and theological writings are deeply embedded in carefully and independently thought through philosophical presuppositions, of which the following three points provide a revealing selection:

1. At first sight, it is striking that the typical nominalist predilection for the contrast between the *potentia absoluta* and the *potentia ordinata* is absent from the writings of Wessel. Once the meaning and function of this terminology was decoded to mark especially the borderline between the realms of faith and reason — best characterized as the 'dialectic' between the *potentia absoluta* and the *potentia ordinata* — its medieval antecedents could be uncovered. We all are particularly indebted to William Courtenay and to Berndt Hamm for tracing its prehistory back to the early Middle

Ages. Yet, there can be no doubt that it was fourteenth-century nominalism which seized upon this dialectic as a favorite tool to distinguish *and* relate the realms of faith and reason. Hence, it is striking that Wessel, who insists on being a nominalist, does not seem to employ this terminology.¹¹

However, its content is present throughout and it is Wessel who seems to answer the modern critics of nominalism who tend to argue that the emphasis on the absolute power of God undercuts the reality of both faith and reason by sheer speculation. By now not surprisingly, Gansfort, taking his point of departure in Mt. 7, 7, 'Seek and you will find', authorizes the quest against ignorance by raising questions, hypothetical questions (i.e., *de potentia absoluta*) since 'we know only as much as we ask'. In the third book of the *Scala meditationis*, which he wrote in 1483,¹² he calls this *conditionaliter quaerere*.¹³ Moreover, competence in logic is essential for the scholastic enterprise;¹⁴ and nominalist logic, with its fine sense of terminology and dialectical precision, helps to fend off errors in the realm of faith and provides external protection against inquisitional and, therefore, Thomist accusations. Yet, within the realm of faith, the quest of reason is to be replaced by the flame of love, which leads to identification and union with God as the loving origin of all wisdom.

With this awareness of the sharp demarcation between the realms of faith and reason, goes the nominalist attack on Anselm's so-called 'necessary reasons', which claimed to provide rational 'evidence' for faith and revelation. Wessel has his own and indeed effective way of contradicting Anselm. After he seems to grant Anselm's point of departure, namely, that God is the one 'quo melius cogitari non potest', he then adds: 'sed etiam cui simile aut pene simile cogitari non potest'¹⁵ — thus insisting on a basic dissimilarity, which undercuts the whole Anselmian argument. The displacement of reason by faith comes through in a breathtaking fashion when Wessel dedicates a whole chapter to the question 'Cur Deus homo?' Lightyears removed from Anselm's

¹¹ Oberman, *Harvest of Medieval Theology*, 50–56. This less explicit application of the dialectic is in keeping with the findings of Courtenay for England after the middle of the fourteenth century. See *Schools and Scholars*, 201 en 217f.

¹² Gansfort, *Opera*, 257.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 258.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 916.

¹⁵ '... quia quantumlibet bonum et bene cogitaveris, longe semper infra remanebis, etiam si Cherubico volatu, Seraphico contuitu contenderis. Unde ridiculum est altissimum quaerere in his quae infra cogitatum hominis, quantumcumque sublimiter cogitantis.' *Ibid.*, 75.

logical analysis of what 'must' have been the divine reason for the incarnation, Wessel, with his unique gift for rhetoric, repeats the question eleven times and answers it each time on the basis of scriptural 'narrative', invoking the suggestive 'symbolic' (poetic) force of biblical imagery rather than the analytical syllogistic power of logic:

Cur Deus homo? — so as to lead his Church to complete happiness.

Cur Deus homo? — so that his Church would be the cornerstone.

Cur Deus homo? — so as to give every creature a common mediator.

Cur Deus homo? — so as to provide his people with its king.

Cur Deus homo? — so that the school of God would have its teacher.

Cur Deus homo? — so that the heavenly city would have its own temple.

Cur Deus homo? — so that the heavenly Jerusalem would have its own high priest.

Cur Deus homo? — so that all the daughters of God would have their bridegroom.

Cur Deus homo? — so that all who sacrifice in the temple of God will have their host (hostia).

Cur Deus homo? — so that all the sheep of God have a common pastor.

Cur Deus homo? — so that the whole creation and all the children of God have a first born brother.

This passage¹⁶ is quoted at length, so as to avoid the danger of analyzing Gansfort by atomizing the cohesive fiber of his thought. At the same time it illustrates how this nominalist, who can philosophize with the best in worldly matters, will not trespass the demarcation line drawn between logic and dialectic on the one hand, and the world of faith, of Scripture, revelation and mystical experience on the other.

2. Gansfort repeatedly invokes the authority of the *articulus Parisiensis*,¹⁷ with which he does not mean the decree against the nominalists of 1474 but, quite clearly, the condemnation of 1277. This he regarded not merely as a condemnation of Averroism but of Thomas and Thomism as well. Though Aristotle is for him a past master in the field of logic, dialectic and rhetoric,¹⁸ in the

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 424–426.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 130, 719.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 264.

field of theology his views lead to blasphemy¹⁹ and to the worst kind of heresy because it destroys piety, 'exstinguit pietatem'.²⁰ If Thomas had known Greek, he could have read Aristotle with more perception. With knowledge of Hebrew, he might even have realised that Aristotle was blind and wrong. If the Aristotelians had had a command of Hebrew, they would have discovered that the name of God revealed to Moses does not mean 'I am who I am', but 'I will be who I will be'.²¹ This traditional 'metaphysical' proof-text (Ex. 3, 14) for medieval scholasticism establishes, therefore, the radical transcendence of God and not the common ground of being.²² We will have to return to the significance of Wessel's knowledge of Hebrew in our final section.

The transcendent sovereignty of God has an immediate bearing on the realm of anthropology in which Wessel finds the Thomists wanting again. God is so much in charge of His creation, that He rules 'totaliter, cardinaliter, causaliter'.²³ This implies that all so-called 'second causes' are not really causes but rather occasions (*occasiones*) 'nisi verba fidei cogerentur in contrarium'.²⁴ What are these 'verba fidei'? Such a key word as Jesus spoke at the Last Supper: 'He who has faith in me will do what I am doing, and he will do even greater things . . .' (Joh. 14, 12). 'Greater things', i.e. acts of faith, hope and love. God wants His creatures to cooperate with Him, and it is their consensus which decides about 'nostrum peccatum vel nostra pietas'.²⁵ Solving this tension between human responsibility and divine sovereignty, leads to the very edge of our grasp, the dark *abyssus* which will be illuminated only at the Last Judgment.

Against this background, and with a nominalist's understanding of the primacy of will, Wessel Gansfort now develops a solution for the classical problem of salvation and free will, reconciling

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 420.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 548.

²¹ 'Expedit ergo nunc veritatem innotescere, ut dicamus nomen Dei esse *Ero qui ero*, de futuro, et absque pronomine *Ego*.' *Ibid.*, 419. Cf. 78! The 'Hebraica Veritas' enables Wessel to criticize even the authority of Bernard of Clairvaux; *Ibid.*, 484.

²² 'Omnibus ergo beatis erit haec vicissitudo Dei: ut quantumlibet norint et videant, semper erit quod non comprehendant. Et hoc puto dictum, *Ero qui ero*. Quia quantum adscenderit homo ad cor altum, semper exaltabitur Deus, et ambulabit super pennas eius, et erit semper super eum quod erit, et ita transiens ministrabit ministris suis'; *ibid.*, 421. Cf. note 15 above. See also *ibid.*, 51.

²³ *Ibid.*, 712; cf. 714!

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 713.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 713.

alternatives which, almost half a century later, would put Luther and Erasmus into opposite camps. Distinguishing the laws that pertain to nature and laws that are operative in human affairs, Wessel points out that the course of nature is nothing else than the will of God manifested with regularity, 'consuetudinis lege regulata';²⁶ miracles are merely the unusual expression of exactly the same will of God. In human affairs, however, the new element of 'consciousness' and 'awareness' comes in. Here the same rule applies that God ultimately is the first cause, but He has created man in such a way that *regulariter* (though not using the expression, this means: *de potentia ordinata*) man is expected to make up his own mind; God does not want man to refer all his actions to Him as the ultimate cause, but only his salvation. Thus Wessel reaches the surprising conclusion that we must take responsibility for our own perdition, while God alone is completely responsible for salvation: 'Et mirabile dictu, ut cuius sibi perditio ex se, illi tamen tota salus et totaliter ex Dei voluntate sit'. God's saving will is what the Bible calls 'the Book of Life', out of which no one is ever scratched.²⁷ This crucial distinction between the metaphysical language of causation and the religious language

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 715.

²⁷ 'Haec ergo voluntas liber vitae est, in quo conscripti sunt omnes filii Dei, ex quorum beato numero perit nemo'; *ibid.*, 715. The same distinction between the objective 'being-ness' of metaphysics and the subjective validity of the religious perspective underlies the tension between *esse* and *habere* in the central formulation about second causality: '... licet secundae causae verae causae sunt, comparative tamen solum occasiones habendae, ut vere omnis cura et cogitatus noster in illum digne et sapientialiter proiciatur'; *ibid.*, 714.

Margaret H. Ogilvie goes so far as to claim: 'Deftly using Occam's razor, Gansfort has eliminated the role of secondary causes in the world to an even greater extent than other exponents of the *via moderna*'; Ogilvie, 'Wessel Gansfort's theology of church government', 127, cf. 149. But, as Ogilvie has noted herself, the intent of Gansfort is divine immediacy and human instrumentality: through the operation of the Holy Spirit human agents (the Doctores vs. the Prelates!) achieve a new degree of 'independence'; *ibid.*, 147f. To avoid misunderstandings, it is, therefore, better to highlight that all secondary causes are 'contingentes'; Gansfort, *Opera*, 711.

Moreover, this independence applies to all political 'subjects'. Francis Oakley has made a major contribution in showing that Wessel Gansfort was the medieval forerunner of 'legitimation by consent'. While preferring the term 'voluntarism' to 'nominalism', he finds here the root of Wessel's theory of voluntary association. Oakley concurs wholeheartedly with Walter Ullmann that 'voluntarism' shaped Wessel's political theory, particularly 'the means by which human beings bind themselves together in societies'. See Oakley, 'Disobedience, consent, political obligations', 220; cf. 216f.; Ullmann, *Law and Politics in the Middle Ages*, 305f.

The key passage in Gansfort is even richer than Oakley takes time to show, since it contains a theory of dissent, resistance and even revolt, based on the *lex pactorum* as the charter of the free election process: 'Ex hoc fundamento

of attribution (thanksgiving), in other words, the distinction between philosophical analysis and theological discourse, is a major breakthrough which could have provided Luther and Erasmus with the vocabulary, if not for reconciliation, then at least for clarification.

3. We are now in a proper position to appreciate the importance of the invocation of the Parisian condemnation of 1277. Article 194 condemned the Averroïstic thesis, which posited that the right will always follows the dictate of right reason.²⁸ This suggests to Wessel that the will would follow reason by necessity and not freely, which in its final consequence would rob man of his human dignity: his spontaneity. There is indeed, Wessel is willing to grant, a *part* of the will which always follows the right reason — this part is called 'conscience' or 'synteresis'. Yet there is also another part: in biblical language 'the heart'. In demons it revolts against God, but in the faithful it is the high road of affection and love. It is this theme of the potentially free, inflammable will, as the center of the dignity of man, which has led earlier Wessel scholarship to the conclusion that he is a Platonist or Neo-Platonist. Some statements can be quoted that point in this direction, but on closer consideration, his critique of a Thomistic anthropology is based on Scripture and experience²⁹ rather than on an alternative form of metaphysical speculation.

Gansfort's ultimate concern in this matter is not an academic debate about anthropology to score points for nominalism, but rather the appeal to withstand the tyranny of right reason to make room for the innate gift or capacity for meditation and commemoration, defined as the '*spontanea facultas cum naturali desiderio commemorandi res novas*'.³⁰ This faculty is 'spontaneous' because

non solum Regibus non parendum in malis, verum etiam iure deberent regno deturbari' — provided (1) a greater good is achieved by overcoming the former mala, and (2) it is undertaken with broad support (*publico consensu*). '*De potestate ecclesiastica*'. Gansfort, *Opera*, 766; quoted by Oakley, 220, n. 42. The vague term 'voluntarism' has neither sufficient content nor profile to mark this breakthrough in constitutional theory. 'Nominalism' in the fifteenth century sense of '*via moderna*' is more appropriate, provided '*Occam's razor*' is not understood as destroying 'second causes' but as the means to cut them loose and thus emancipate them from ontological, hierarchical moorings.

²⁸ *Auctarium Chartularii universitatis Parisiensis* I, 554. This implies for Wessel that the will follows the reason '*necessario et non liber*'; Gansfort, *Opera*, 179; Wessel: 'What 'he' assigns to the synteresis, I do not attribute to any capacity in man, but to the operation of the Holy Spirit, '*inspiratum spiraculum vitae divinitus*'; *ibid.*, 722. I am indebted to William Courtenay, who kindly called my attention to this article 194.

²⁹ Gansfort, *Opera*, 722f.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 339.

it is not 'ordered around' by reason; yet it is directed towards uncovering *new* truths (*res novae*) and, hence, not a Platonic remembering of innate ideas. To summarize, Wessel emphasizes the inflammable dimension of the human will against all forms of Aristotelian rationalism or Thomistic determinism. He does so with the tools which nominalism provided, tools of which he was at once aware and proud.

Wessel Gansfort and the Modern Devotion

We prefaced this section with a sketch of Wessel Gansfort as a creative nominalist thinker — possessed of that acuity of mind for which he praised Ockham³¹ — in order to avoid the pitfall of too easily identifying Wessel with the reform movement, which is well known for its propagation of a simple piety abhorring all scholarly pursuits, especially those associated with scholasticism. In contrast with Wessel's explicit adherence to the *via moderna*, we do not have a similar statement which documents that he regarded himself as a representative of the *Devotio Moderna*. However, there is sufficient external evidence — carefully gathered by Van Rhijn to which modern research added further details — both for his training and teaching at Zwolle as well as for the ongoing contacts with the Fraterhouse there and on Mount Agnes, an hour's walk to the northeast of Zwolle, where he liked to visit with Thomas a Kempis.

One additional preliminary observation should be made before we turn to the internal evidence. Due to our preoccupation with the three founding fathers of the movement — Geert Grote (†1384), Gerard Zerbolt of Zutphen (†1398), and the charismatic organizer Florens Radewijns (†1400) — and under the impact of the evidence which R.R. Post brought against the Hyma-thesis of the Modern Devotion as the 'Christian Renaissance' north of the Alps, there is today a clear tendency to highlight the anti-intellectual thrust. It is important to realize that in Wessel Gansfort we re-encounter the movement a hundred years later. This realization lends special significance to a source such as the *Ex vitis fratrum nostrorum*, published in a critical edition by John Van Engen.³² This source, which can be characterized as the *Legenda Aurea* of the Modern Devotion,³³ documents the extent to which

³¹ *Ibid.*, 235.

³² Van Engen, 'The Virtues, the Brothers, and the Schools'.

³³ Cf. my article 'Die Gelehrten die Verkehrten', 52.

the movement had come to broaden significantly the concept of erudition to encompass intellectual pursuits in terms of the *fides, quaerens intellectum*.

With this general backdrop in mind, we do well to proceed in three steps:

1. We first turn to the well known letter of Wessel to the Benedictine nun Geertruida Reyners, of the house 'Klaarwater' near Hattem, in order to call attention to some points that have hitherto been overlooked. Quite likely because of Wessel's unorthodox interpretation of purgatory — for him a place of purgation rather than of punishment — Geertruida asks what Gansfort's view is of a widely discussed recent apparition. In his answer, Wessel introduces the term 'popular piety', *popularis pietas*,³⁴ but in a different sense from our modern usage. He is willing to grant that such apparitions can further the cause of 'popular' or 'civic piety' such as almsgiving, pilgrimages, fasts, and prayers — the four parts of the external discipline of penance! — all sanctioned by the Scriptures. But revelations or visions do not give access to any aspect of that hidden wisdom which makes for an unadulterated piety and charity, 'quo fixe apertam pietatem ac charitatem aedificaret . . .'³⁵ But for us, as Wessel sees 'modern times', the Gospel has become so old and cold (*nobis inveteravit*), that we put more credence in such apparitions than in the words of the prophets and of Moses, of the Apostles and the Gospel writers (cf. Luc. 16, 30). One does not have to study the *Scala meditationis* closely to realize that the *aperta pietas*, in contrast to the external *popularis pietas*, means that inner fire of disciplined dedication, which allows the soul to soar to union with the transcendent God, with the Hidden Wisdom, Himself.

We cannot dismiss this letter as evidence for Wessel's relation to the Modern Devotion, on the basis of the mere fact that he writes to a Benedictine nun. After all, the monastery at Klaarwater had been reformed under the influence of the Fraterhouse in Diepenveen, which in turn had been a foundation of the Fraterhouse in Zwolle. The distinction, however, between the internal piety of love and the more common, external 'popular piety' fits the general impression, that among the three main foundations of Geert Grote — the Sisters of the Common Life, the Brethren of the Common Life, and then the Windesheim Congregation

³⁴ Gansfort, *Opera*, 915.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 915.

(posthumously in 1387) — it is the latter one which provides the context and perhaps even the model for Wessel's spirituality. 2. This tentative conclusion is confirmed by Wessel's elaboration of the *aperta pietas*, which in contrast with the hidden wisdom (*abditā sapientia*) is revealed: true piety is based on 'commemoration' of the Acts of God, the *Magnalia Dei*. The injunction of Luc. 22, 19 — 'Do this in remembrance of Me' — which tradition had interpreted as the proof-text for the institution of the Eucharist, is presented by Wessel as the charter for the imitation of Christ and the groundrule for the *militia Christi*.³⁶ When again narrowly focused on the Eucharist, this very text would lead via Hoen and Zwingli to the Sacramentarian issue in the twenties of the sixteenth century. For Wessel, Luc. 22, 19 is not primarily a Eucharistic text but the summary of the law of God which has to be fulfilled in order to proceed on the road to heaven. Through 'commemoration' the inner fire is ignited and intensified which burns away the stains of sin and provides — not here, but in heaven — for that white nuptial dress with which the soul will be adorned in its heavenly union.

It has hitherto gone unnoticed that Wessel discerns five types or five levels of commemoration and piety, which reveal his evaluation of the Modern Devotion:

- 1) First of all, there are the *beati* who in perfect commemoration are aflame in the Feast around the throne of the Lamb. Then we descend to earth from the *comprehensores* to the four groups of *viatores*, where we find:
- 2) John, the preeminent 'disciple whom Jesus loved' (1 John 1, 8) and his disciples Polycarp and Ignatius. These three have in common with the *beati* that they knew the historical Christ and, therefore, can meet the awesome standard of Paul to 'discern' the body of Christ (1 Cor. 11, 29) — a unique interpretation of this passage with immediate implications. Such historical knowledge is not available to the following three groups which together constitute the Christianity of post-Apostolic times:
- 3) First among these are the monks who truly commemorate the Lamb by accepting monastic vows, who thus pitch observance against human frailty by remembering the Passion 'regularly', in keeping with their rule: 'commemorant omnes regulariter professam religionem communi fragilitate observantes'.³⁷

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 335f.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 337.

- 4) Below the monks are those who live chastely in the world outside the monastery (*in seculo*) and exercise commemoration as often as this kind of life allows.
- 5) Finally, and at the bottom of the hierarchy of commemoration and true piety (*longe inferiores*), we encounter those who, on the advice of the Apostle, accept a married status to avoid the temptation of Satan (I Cor. 7, 5).

One could be inclined to believe that type 4 is an objective and, indeed, a realistic classification of the Modern Devouts as the *medius status* between monks and common lay Christians. But on closer consideration, Gansfort's characterization deviates dramatically from the self-understanding of some of the chief spokesmen for the Modern Devotion; as, for instance, formulated by his friend Gabriel Biel in the latter's defense of the common life, *De communi vita*. Here we find the explicit and eloquent claim that the Brothers and Sisters live in 'Christian liberty' because they are not subject to vows; and, furthermore, that they better the monks, since they do not live according to such recent rules as those of Benedict, Dominic or Francis: they live under the oldest one, the Golden Rule, and they acknowledge only one *magister*, Jesus Christ.³⁸ Gansfort at once quotes and deflates this proud self-understanding, when he defines the life of the Sisters and Brethren as 'regularis professionis et obedientiae magistrum veriti Christiana libertate contenti',³⁹ which can be rendered as: 'they are the ones who content themselves with Christian liberty shying away from the discipline of monastic rule and obedience to a founding father'.

Kasper Elm has made a major breakthrough in the field of Modern Devotion-research by defining this movement in terms of its legal position as *medius status*. To put the same in social terms: they live 'between the monastery and the city'. Elm sees the Modern Devotion as part of a much larger pan-European movement which in the later Middle Ages spread rapidly by establishing lay fraternities and confraternities.⁴⁰ Wessel Gansfort knew this movement intimately and saw its value, but within his Christian hierarchy he ranked it clearly under the monks: he did not share the Devouts' sense of achievement in transcending the formal structures of the cloistered life — one of the essential characteristics of the Sisters and Brethren of the Common Life.

³⁸ Cf. my *Werden und Wertung der Reformation*, 8f.

³⁹ Gansfort, *Opera*, 337.

⁴⁰ Elm, 'Die Bruderschaft vom Gemeinsamen Leben', 470ff.; 476.

3. The chief problem in determining the exact relationship of Wessel Gansfort to the Modern Devotion stems from the lack of profile of this movement. Quite differently from many other crucial issues in the field of late medieval, early renaissance and Reformation studies, this is not primarily due to a lack of sources or to contradictory conclusions in secondary scholarship, but rather to the manifold programmatic articulations over the one hundred years of its 'golden age' — 1380 through 1480 — which alone in the territory which is today identified as the Netherlands yielded over two hundred foundations. Yet its common focus, its continuous vision, its chief appeal and its central impact is to be seen in the transfer of monastic wisdom, experience, and psychology, bursting out of the monastic walls and seeking new rootage 'in seculo', in the outside secular world.

This is a momentous and breathtaking development in medieval culture, worth mention in one breath with such movements as Gregorian Reform and Conciliar Reform and hence, it is at the same time a risky trek to new horizons. This powerful eruption required far-sighted pathfinders and precise traffic control to avoid clashes and crashes. This is exactly the task Wessel shouldered — at the zenith of the impact of the movement. Cautious in not overreacting against inquisitional suspicion on the one hand, and leery of the widely touted expressions of popular piety on the other, Wessel Gansfort became such a 'past master' in setting his sights on the essentials of the *praxis pietatis*, that I do not hesitate to designate him as the *Doctor Devotionis Moderna*.

To define his position more precisely, it is helpful to contrast Wessel with two contemporaries whom he respected and knew personally. In comparison with Gabriel Biel, Wessel did not praise the ideal of 'Christian liberty' as freedom from monastic vows. Admittedly, Wessel can warn that not even the Carthusian pledge of lifelong silence can achieve the internal stillness required for spiritual growth,⁴¹ but it is striking that the innovative and 'democratic' slogan which we can trace from Geert Grote to Erasmus — namely, that the real religious (*religiosus*) is a true Christian — is absent from his work. Wessel does not militate against the monastic state; he is concerned with its reformation and reinvigoration.

In comparison with a second friend, Thomas a Kempis, Wessel does not emphasize the importance of the Eucharist and the singular status of the priest which, for Thomas, went along with

⁴¹ Gansfort, *Opera*, 206.

this.⁴² But these differences are merely the top of the iceberg and point to much more deeply rooted convictions.

Drawing on the riches of the monastic tradition in psychological perception and spiritual growth, Wessel Gansfort uses devices and concepts well known in the world of the Modern Devotion, such as *ruminatio* (Dutch: 'gorzelen') about sequences of texts listed in a *rapiarium*; with the aid of *specula* and *scala*, the soul is initiated and guided to respond to the drawing power of God, the great *philanthropos*.⁴³ The true manual for this devotion, however, Wessel Gansfort finds in the Scriptures themselves in which the inflaming rhetoric of God can be discerned, 'ad me, pro me, coram me et propter me'.⁴⁴ God, Himself, beckons one to climb the steps of meditation, leading to an intensity of experience which has no equal in any of the earlier documents of the Modern Devotion.

Hence, if we grant Wessel Gansfort the title *Doctor Devotionis Modernae*, this is appropriate and deserved not because he is to be regarded as the most representative spokesman for the Modern Devotion, but rather because he is the teacher who calls the Modern Devotion to levels of experience and understanding transcending its tradition of moralistic piety and sober spirituality.

Wessel Gansfort and the Northern Renaissance

1. Homo Trilinguis

If we were to follow a recent trend, which reduces 'Renaissance humanism' to the process of latinization, it would be unlikely that Wessel Gansfort could be considered a humanist. As Martin Luther already observed, the style of Wessel is 'trivialis'.⁴⁵ Such a negative judgment from the perspective of a time spoiled by Erasmian latinity is anachronistic. In Wessel there is a full display of the tools of persuasion in the rhetorical tradition of Augustine through Bernard and Bonaventure, as exemplified by the frequency of his beloved particle *immo*.⁴⁶

Three factors make his Latin difficult to read: the often unexpected application of vocabulary drawn from an intensive reading of the Orations of Cicero, a word order which seeks to

⁴² Thomas a Kempis, *De Imitatione Christi*, 5 (lib. IV, ch. 2).

⁴³ Gansfort, *Opera*, 388.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 393.

⁴⁵ Luther, *Werke* X 2, 317, 27; 1522.

⁴⁶ For the place and function of 'immo' in Luther's 'reformation rhetoric, see Oberman, "Immo", *Luthers reformatorische Entdeckungen im Spiegel der Rhetorik*.

imitate Vergil, and a sentence structure which betrays his long years of training as a logician — as, for instance, in the many cases where the *accusativus cum infinitivo* is replaced by the more unwieldy *quod*-construction. The Dutch vernacular version of Wessel's treatise on the Lord's Prayer — which soon circulated together with the *Scala sacre communionis* of Johannes Mombaer (ca. 1460–1501) in circles close to the houses in Zwolle and Deventer⁴⁷ — alerts us to the fact that contemporaries could, apparently, make excellent and lucid translations, which do not betray the level of difficulty which the modern reader encounters.

If we enlarge the scope of our inquiry beyond the limits of latinization to include also the other two languages which mark the true humanist as a *homo trilinguis*, we find ample evidence that it is appropriate to relate Wessel Gansfort to the early Renaissance movement north of the Alps. Merely on the basis of his major works one could not say much more than that he knew key Greek words. From the precious letter written to him by Alexander Hegius (sometime between 1483 and 1489), we know that Alexander is delighted to have found for Wessel the Greek homilies of Chrysostom and also that he asked to borrow Wessel's copy of the New Testament in Greek.⁴⁸ Yet one cannot but confirm the conclusion of Van Rhijn that Wessel's knowledge of Greek was perhaps noteworthy for his time but mediocre from the perspective of Melanchthon.⁴⁹ Whatever his level of competence, Wessel was not able to use his Greek well enough to give key passages in the New Testament a new interpretation.

Quite the opposite is true for his command of Hebrew. Some twenty years before Reuchlin designed his Hebrew grammar (1506) which would initiate a period of intensive study of the Jewish scriptures among Christian Hebraists, Wessel acquired such a profound knowledge of Hebrew, that at a number of crucial points he could advance critical deviations from the Vulgate. This boldness can be compared only with the originality of Erasmus, who thirty years later published the *Annotationes* to the New Testament on the basis of Greek manuscripts. Since this aspect of Wessel's work has gone unnoticed, at least one sample should be presented here in order to document it.

In his commentary on the Lord's Prayer, Wessel points to Ps. 25, 6, where the psalmist prays that God remember his *rechem*

⁴⁷ Cf. Persijn, *Wessel Gansfort, De oratione dominica*, 12f.

⁴⁸ Gansfort, *Opera*, ***4v.

⁴⁹ See Van Rhijn, *Wessel Gansfort*, 65.

(*rahem*) as well as his *chesed* (hased). Wessel points out that the interpreters have passed over the difference between these two forms of love by translating both as 'mercy' (*miserationes*, *miseri-cordiae*). But the Hebrew original makes quite clear that the first word refers to the mother womb and means the typical affection of 'motherly love', whereas *chesed* stands for male affection and fatherly care.⁵⁰ This observation has far-reaching consequences for theology and piety: one should not pray just to God as Father, but with the same biblical validity to God as Mother: '... sicut Deus nobis pater, sic mater est'.⁵¹ Wessel applies this discovery to all three Persons of the Trinity: 'God is my loving father and my loving mother; the Incarnate Word is my brother and my sister; the Holy Spirit is my bridegroom and my bride, my *amicus* and my *amica*'.⁵² As Caroline Bynum has shown, the earlier mystical

⁵⁰ 'Quando ergo Propheta 'Rahem' et 'Hased' conjungit (Ps. 25, 6), et 'Rahem' naturalem, quia aeternum affectum matris, sicut 'Hased' similiter aeternum patris affectum ad filios vere ostendit, quia sicut Deus nobis pater, sic mater est. Sed hoc levius interpretes transierunt, semper 'misericordiam' interpretati'; Gansfort, *Opera*, 60. Cf. Augustine for whom 'miseratio' and 'misericordia' are synonyms. E.g. *Enarratio* in Ps. 24, 6, *Corpus Christianorum* 38, 138. This 'equality in diversity' Wessel notes in *Proverbs* and the *Song of Songs*: 'Salomon in *Proverbiis* aequae matris ut patris meminit ad filium. Et sponsa in *Canticis* domum patris et matris genitricis cubiculum aequae meminit'; Gansfort, *Opera*, 60. More generally, as Wessel argues with an impressive verb — list of 'female' and 'male' care, *both* motherlove and fatherlove go into the formation of all true Christians: 'Universos enim illius civitatis futuros aliquando cives matrice sua concepit, confovit, coagulavit, coaluit, plasmavit, figuravit, formavit, vivificavit, auxit, praegnavit, gravidavit, portavit, parturivit, laboravit, peperit, involvit, reclinavit, gestavit, lactavit, balneavit, nutrit, educavit, duxit, erudit, instituit, docuit, traxit, incitavit, desiderio ignivit, superincendit, amore inflammavit. Quos et paterne, quia pater misericordiarum, amavit condendo, educando, sufferendo, parcendo, exspectando, revocando, ignoscendo, reconciliando, recipiendo, consolando, confortando, promittendo, exaudiendo, defendendo, protegendo, suggerendo, dirigendo, medendo, ducendo'; *ibid.*, 60. This leads Wessel in turn to construct — or, if so preferred: to observe — an *ordo scalaris* in which the *pietas materna* precedes the *pietas paterna*: 'Sunt enim quaedam operativa nostrae salutis ex parte nostri: scilicet fides, spes, et charitas, quo ad nos exercendos. Alia sunt ex parte Dei, ipsum scilicet inducentia quo ad nos salvandos, quorum is est ordo scalaris: Misericordia, et est qua nostra miseria Deum movet ad miserendum nostra mala [*om.*: ad obaudiendum].

Gratia, qua nos benevole vult gratificare sibi [*add.*: ad obaudiendum].

Viscera, seu pietas materna, qua sicut mater super puero uteri sui, ita super nobis afficitur.

Pietas paterna, qua non solum adoptione contentus, sed ingenuos et nobiles filios esse volet. Cor sponsi, quo prorsus se dignos esse volet.' *Ibid.*, 61.

The phrase 'ad obaudiendum', I suggest, is a (marginal?) correction, which the printer (editor?) erroneously inserted after 'nostra mala', but should have been placed, one line lower, after 'gratificare sibi' or after 'dignos esse volet'.

⁵¹ Gansfort, *Opera*, 60.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 721.

tradition had — at times and hesitantly — already dared to look upon 'Jesus as Mother'.⁵³ But now for the first time, this experience is given biblical authentication: ignorance of Hebrew had engendered male supremacy *in* God through male-fication of God.

2. The Art of Memory and the Power of Rhetoric

We know from the few letters preserved that Wessel was part of a considerable circle of friends who roamed from library to library to hunt for manuscripts; they excitedly exchanged news about new finds. But none of these 'new' sources surface in his works. As a matter of fact, Wessel quotes strikingly few authors and this not because of a programmatic humility but because of his effort to guide the listener and reader towards a search for self-finding and inner growth. Wessel does advise reading Vergil in order to evoke emotions⁵⁴ or Cicero so as to learn how to retain complicated clauses:⁵⁵ in fact, however, his own *Scala meditationis* interprets and replaces these Masters in teaching what Frances Yates has called the 'Art of Memory'.⁵⁶

Nowhere in Wessel's work is there so much as a hint that the classical authors could be read for the sheer delight of their prose or poetry. His whole interest is directed towards their psychic yield: the outer rhetoric must be transferred and transformed into an inner rhetoric which stretches the soul. In the same vein, Wessel recommends that children be taught early to count, add, subtract, and multiply; all of this is essential for the growth of the mind. And in a revealing aside aimed against the destructive use of such abilities, Wessel observes: 'One can notice that the Florentines are very good at it [counting money] and the people in Zwolle not at all. I prefer the stupidity of Zwolle to the acuity of Florence, because the purpose for which such an ability is used is decisive.'⁵⁷

No kneefall for that Renaissance center of culture; yet a fine sense of what was central in Renaissance humanism. Wessel grasped why rhetoric had become in Italy such a crucial part of the *studia humanitatis*. In contrasting the lecture hall (*schola*) with the

⁵³ Bynum, *Jesus as Mother*.

⁵⁴ Gansfort, *Opera*, 233.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 237–238.

⁵⁶ Yates, *The Art of Memory*.

⁵⁷ 'Videmus Florentinos posse, Zwollenses non posse. Mallem ego istorum ignaviam, quam illorum acumen, adeo non interest quo ingenio sis, verum quo consilio utaris et dirigas in finem'; Gansfort, *Opera*, 212.

courtroom (*forum*), Wessel points out that scholastic inquiry seeks to establish truth, whereas the courtroom calls for siding with the truth: the oration does not merely establish truth, but it goes beyond teaching in that it wants to move to moral action.⁵⁸ But far from merely comparing the relative value of two professions, Wessel wants the power of oration and the transforming nature of eloquence to be internalized and to lead to the inner quest and erudition of all.

3. Existential Anxiety

Whereas Wessel's basic text is 'Seek and you will find', *qui petit accipit*, his second key text is its adjunct: *pulsanti aperietur* (Mt. 7, 8; cf. Luc. 11, 10). Throughout his work there is an undertone of striking confidence, that this search can be initiated by any human being and can, with selfdiscipline and by the grace of God, lead to the goal of complete selfless sublimation, the ultimate wedding feast of unity with God. This optimism is in a peculiar way balanced by a deep sense of the human condition of *fluctuositas*; without inner schooling every human being is constantly bounced about by fleeting thoughts and continues to float with a miserable lack of orientation, which cries out for spiritual control.

One is strongly reminded of the psychologically sensitive monograph of William Bouwsma on John Calvin, in which the author characterizes one dimension of Calvin as riddled by anxiety, disoriented and thwarted in the search for truth, lost in a confusing 'labyrinth'. It is not surprising that for our Frisian this existential fear is constantly related to the threat of water, to a storm at sea, or to a boat thrown off course. But apart from this water imagery, Wessel addresses exactly the same anxiety which Calvin articulates some fifty years later. Hence, it does not surprise us that the 'labyrinth', which Bouwsma found to be one of the most revealing paradigms for Calvin, proves also for Wessel to be the classic example of human disorientation.⁵⁹

Here I am not intent on questioning Bouwsma's assumption of a unique feature in Calvin's psychology, nor am I inclined to draw far-reaching conclusions about inter-dependencies. But the parallels between Wessel and Calvin are too striking not to be noted. They dwarf, by far, the parallels which Erasmus saw between

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 274.

⁵⁹ Bouwsma, *John Calvin*. See Oberman, *Initia Calvini*, Amsterdam 1991, 30, n. 90.

Wessel and Luther, a misleading theme which continued to preoccupy research throughout the first half of this century. As with Calvin, deliverance from anxiety and fluctuation culminates at the end of the spiritual journey in seeking nothing else but the *gloria Dei*, once even ten times on a single page in Wessel.⁶⁰ But with these references to Calvin we have jumped some fifty years ahead and are, therefore, too far removed from the time of Wessel to allow for compelling conclusions which reach beyond admittedly suggestive parallels in psychology, mentality, and even spirituality.

4. The Ambivalence of the Bonae Literae

Much more to the center of our concern in establishing Wessel's relationship to that third coordinate, the Northern Renaissance, is the test question, how Wessel relates his quest for human growth to the *studia humanitatis*. Wessel insists on the necessity of the single-mindedness of the trek to truth. Since 'I am what I love', married people can only love God with a divided heart; exactly the same applies to those who are the *curiosi in literis*,⁶¹ which stands for those who are enthralled by the world of books. Admittedly, this campaign against 'vain curiosity' is a medieval monastic *topos*, but the idea is pursued by Wessel with an intensity which reveals the specific challenge of the times.

Alexander Hegius records the advice of Wessel to avoid all *literatura* as pernicious insofar as it jeopardizes morality.⁶² In keeping with this sentiment, Wessel can warn against the cult of antiquity as expressed in ravings about classical eloquence. He deflates the Greek boast about the great rhetorical gifts of Demosthenes, who was admired for swaying Philip of Macedonia with one speech: there is much more rhetorical power in the Lord's Prayer.⁶³ Next to the two modes of Northern reaction to the Italian Renaissance — identified by Sem Dresden as 'imitation' and 'emulation'⁶⁴ — we encounter here a third type which I am inclined to regard as equally characteristic, namely, 'deflation' by degrading the significance of classical antiquity in comparison with the biblical

⁶⁰ Gansfort, *Opera*, 361; fourteen times on 483. For an analysis of Calvin's 'Angst', see my discussion of his conversion in the forthcoming Festschrift for Gottfried W. Locher: 'Subita conversio: The "conversion" of John Calvin'.

⁶¹ Gansfort, *Opera*, 205.

⁶² *Ibid.*, ***5r.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 41.

⁶⁴ Dresden, 'The Profile of the Reception of the Italian Renaissance in France', 131f.

heritage. Erasmus would later make the same point, when warning against 'paganism' in the Italian Renaissance.

Behind this stance of Wessel lies the basic conviction that true learning emerges out of true devotion. Therefore, one can only be as learned as one is devout. In the introduction (in Dutch: 'aanhef'!) of humanist letters we often find the opening phrase: 'You are most humane (*humanissimus*) because you are as *doctus* as you are *pius*.' In the course of the sixteenth century, this praise becomes a stereotype and — even more importantly — the characterization of the two independent virtues of being *doctus* in addition to being *pius*. For Wessel it is essential that these two are interdependent: the same flame which warms the heart also dispels the fogs of the mind.

Our assessment of Gansfort's place in Renaissance humanism North of the Alps would be incomplete, if we were not to point to his influence on his first biographer, Gerard Geldenhouwer (†1542) from Nijmegen.⁶⁵ This learned penfriend of Erasmus and Melanchthon is, as a student of Alexander Hegius, a 'grandchild' of Wessel and conscious of standing in the school of Agricola and Gansfort. In his precious and compact treatise *Institutio scholae christianae*, published in Frankfurt in 1534, we find Gansfort's vision of the pursuit of knowledge translated into an educational manifesto. It is the title of this publication which may well provide the long-sought answer to the question what Calvin intended to be the meaning of 'Institutio' in the title of his handbook for Christian faith, *Institutio Christianae religionis*, written in Basel one year later (published 1536).

But Geldenhouwer's tract is primarily helpful as a mirror in which we can discern the impact of Wessel Gansfort. In this revealing manual for a proper classical education, Geldenhouwer points out that it is crucial to find a middle road between the Scylla of paganism and the Charybdis of heresy.⁶⁶ It is perhaps not surprising that Geldenhouwer here invokes the authority of Gansfort to underscore the importance of scriptural studies within a curriculum directed at a broad and solid grasp of the classical authors. Easily overlooked is a precious aside which is particularly helpful for our inquiry. Geldenhouwer acknowledges that the stance against the immoral pagan dimension of classical literature

⁶⁵ Geldenhouwer's *Vita* was published in Frankfurt in 1536 by Fichardus. For the best recent treatment of Geldenhouwer see Augustijn, 'Gerard Geldenhauer und die religiöse Toleranz'.

⁶⁶ *Institutio scholae christianae*, B8v.

may well lead to the (wild) accusation that one reintroduces the old monkery, or, more literally, propounds a *novum monachismum*⁶⁷ — a suspicion which, as we know today, reveals a high degree of perceptiveness.⁶⁸

Wessel: a Historical Profile

When Wessel's call for Christian renewal was translated in terms of a program for Christian education in the Latin school of the sixteenth century, his warning against the *curiosi in literis* was heeded. The conclusion must be that Wessel Gansfort, the convinced nominalist and the effective *Doctor Devotionis Modernae*, through so many personal ties and programmatic tenets related to the Northern Renaissance, could not open the gateway to a comprehensive study of the *studia humanitatis* in their full breadth. The anxious (morose!) pursuit of the growth of the mind through self-knowledge and knowledge of God required a single-mindedness which did not tolerate erudition in the secular sense of the word. Yet, there can be no doubt that the early representatives of the Northern Renaissance regarded Wessel Gansfort as one of their own. In this claim, however, they failed to account for two dimensions in his legacy. First, they could not 'place' Wessel as the fervent new convert to nominalism, who knew that rhetoric had to be reoriented from the speaker to the listener in the light of the central maxim of the *via moderna*: 'Voces nisi ex pacto non significant'.⁶⁹

The resulting transfer from expressed to experienced rhetoric, from the external verbal rhetoric to the internal rhetoric of silence, touches on the second dimension of Wessel, which his grateful humanist disciples ignored. Wessel was an original teacher of the art of memory, finding new ways, deviating from the two medieval schools which Frances Yates has identified as the artificial memory of Aristotelian Thomism and the occult memory of Platonic Lullism.⁷⁰ For Wessel the training of the *memoria* is far more than an educational device to be applied in the Latin schools of

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, B6r.

⁶⁸ To withstand a simplifying contrast between the 'Christian Renaissance' in the North and a 'Pagan Renaissance' south of the Alps, it is beneficial to ponder the 'secular' reaction in Italy during the Quattrocento against the contemplative-ascetic thrust in the legacy of Petrarch and his contemporaries. See Baron, *In Search of Florentine Civic Humanism* II, 36. The attack 'contra novum monachismum' emerges 'phasenverschoben' one hundred years later in the North.

⁶⁹ Gansfort, *Opera*, 270.

⁷⁰ Yates, *The Art of Memory*, 50–81; 173–198.

Geldenhouwer and his contemporaries. It is the growth to maturity of the very soul, which in keeping with the biblical injunction 'Seek and you will find', does far more than merely remember former experiences through the employment of *loci* and *imagines*: it discovers *new* truths and *new* aspects of the real world around us and above us, the world of the senses and the realm of faith.⁷¹

In this grasp of the inner laws of *ruminatio* we constantly encounter expressions and experiences typical of the Modern Devotion but advanced and arranged with a power and profundity far outstripping anything known to us in the tradition from Geert Grote to Thomas a Kempis. The application of the central function of the memory to spiritual communion with God (*manducatio spiritualis*) is only a side-branch which, through Hoen and Zwingli, drew so much attention that the full tree has been lost from sight. It is this impressive tree, rooted in deep psychological insights into the 'ego' and the laws of ego-growth,⁷² which transcends in significance any of the three coordinates we have used for circumscribing Gansfort's place in history: the *via moderna*, the *devotio moderna*, and the first phase of the Renaissance North of the Alps. Drawing on the best of what nominalism and the monastic experience had to offer, Wessel Gansfort developed an educational psychology which was designed to provide more than the Renaissance Latin school could ever offer. His ultimate concern was the path towards maturity and erudition, which gives new meaning to Seneca's dictum: 'Non scholae sed vitae discimus.'⁷³

⁷¹ 'Innata enim ac data facultas, et naturalis facultas meditandi et commemorandi. Immo spontanea facultas cum naturali desiderio commemorandi res novas, insolito singulares genere, praestantes dignitate, proventu copiosas'; Gansfort, *Opera*, 339.

⁷² 'Scire igitur velim, quid sim *ego*. Non volitio, non iudicium meum, non commemoratio mei, non vigilia mea, non somnus meus, cum transeuntibus his nihilominus ego sum; licet non sine horum aliquibus mentaliter dicere possum: *Ego sum*'; *Ibid.*, 259.

⁷³ Seneca, *Epistolae ad Lucilium*, 106, 12.

B.J. SPRUYT

WESSEL GANSFORT AND CORNELIS HOEN'S
EPISTOLA CHRISTIANA:
'THE RING AS A PLEDGE OF MY LOVE'

Late in the summer of the year 1525 an anonymous treatise was published under the title of *Epistola christiana admodum*. According to the title-page it presented the Lord's Supper in a very different fashion than had hitherto been the case.¹ Although the treatise appeared anonymously, several statements by the Reformer of Zürich, Ulrich Zwingli, leave it beyond doubt that the author of this *Epistola* was Cornelis Henrixzoen Hoen.²

Very little is known about Cornelis Hoen's life. Born around 1460, Hoen was a legal consultant, attached till his death in 1524 to the Court of Holland in The Hague.³ This highest provincial

¹ *Epistola christiana admodum ab annis quatuor ad quendam apud quem omne iudicium sacrae scripturae fuit, ex Bathauis missa, sed sprete, longe aliter tractans coenam dominicam quam hactenus tractata est, ad calcem quibusdam adiectis Christiano homini pernecessariis presertim hijs periculosis temporibus*, s.l., MDXXV. It appears from a letter by Erasmus to Petrus Barbirius dated 3 October 1525, that the *Epistola* had already been published by then (see Erasmus, *Opus epistolarum* VI, ep. 1621.18–20: 'Batauis quidam ante annos quatuor aegit idem epistola, sed sine nomine, quae nunc excusa est'); witness a letter of that date written by him to Guillaume Farel, Petrus Tossanus already knew Hoen's *Epistola* on 18 September 1525 (see *Correspondance des réformateurs dans les pays de langue française* I, 1512–1526, Geneva, Paris 1866, 384: 'Inter ea quae hactenus legi de Eucharistia, summe mihi placuit Epistola quaedam, quae incerto prodiit autore, quam vellem transfusam in omnes linguas; paucis multa dicit, et meo iudicio non minus docte quam vere'); the *Epistola* will therefore have been published in August or September 1525. A second edition, of which the title-page communicated neither the name of the printer nor the year of publication, came from the press of the Strasbourg printer Iohann Knobloch in 1525; see Pegg, *A Catalogue of German Reformation Pamphlets*, 108, no. 1229; VD 16: H 4054 and H 4055. A facsimile of the first edition was published in 1917 by Eekhof, *De avondmaalsbrief van Cornelis Hoen*. A critical edition was published by Finsler in Zwingli, *Werke* IV, 512–519. German translations of this treatise were published in 1525 by the Strasbourg printer Wolfgang Köpfel (VD 16: H 4056), and in 1526 by the Augsburg printer Philipp Ulhart (see Schottenloher, *Philipp Ulhart*, 33ff. and 126, no. 136); in the same year, a third German translation (which went unnoticed so far) was published by A. Cratander in Basel (see Pegg, *A Catalogue of German Reformation Pamphlets*, 39, no. 27; this copy, however, now seems lost). On the *Index auctorum, et librorum* . . . , which was printed in 1557, but appeared only in January 1559, the *Epistola* is mentioned under the title of *Epistola christiana de coena Domini*; see Reusch, *Index der verbotenen Bücher* I, 285.

² See Zwingli, *Werke* IV, 560.21–29; V, 738.4–6 and 907.9–908.4; VIII, 568.17–569.22.

³ See *Memorialen van het Hof (den Raad) van Holland* I, xlv.

Court is likely to have been an important social basis of Northern Humanism at this time. During the presidency of Nicolaes Everhardi (Everaerts) — the Court's president from July 1510 till September 1528⁴ and well-known as the father of Janus Secundus, Hadrianus Marius, and Nicolaus Grudius, the *tres fratres Belgae*⁵ — the Court developed into a cultural centre of humanist learning, following in this the example of the Great Council of Mechlen, of which Everhardi had been a member.⁶ Everhardi and other members of the Court also corresponded with Erasmus⁷, while Luther's writings were read by its members as well.⁸ Among other contemporaries, governess Margaret knew Hoen as a scholar trained in the humanities.⁹ His humanist learning is documented by letters written to him in 1524 by Cornelius Aurelius, the probable author of the so-called *Divisiechroniek*.¹⁰ The University Library at Leiden preserves the manuscript of a collection of works by Aurelius, sent to Hoen with the request to have them published in due time by Cornelis Henriczsoon, a printer in Delft. In the letter to Hoen which precedes the collection Aurelius wrote that he knew no person better qualified to deal with the edition of his works than Hoen. Aurelius praised Hoen because he continued his humanist studies in spite of busy activities in public office (*publica munera*); he praised Hoen also for his cultivated diction and his extraordinary knowledge, and he called him a fervent student of the arts (*candidae litteraturae cultor accerimus*). After Hoen had been arrested, Aurelius sent him an *Epistola consolatoria*, in which he calls Hoen one of the most experienced and erudite lawyers attached to the Court of Holland. To this Aurelius adds, that in their times it is especially

⁴ *Ibid.*, xxxiv and xlvi.

⁵ *Poemata et effigies trium fratrum Belgarum* [ed. Bonaventura Vulcanius], Leiden 1612.

⁶ On Everardi, see the extensive article by Ten Raa, 'Everaerts (Nicolaas)', in: *NBW* VII, col. 214–231.

⁷ See for the Everhardi-Erasmus correspondence Erasmus, *Opus epistolarum*, ep. 1092, 1186, 1188, 1238, 1469, 1653; for further indications of their friendship see Huizinga, *Erasmus*, 186. Correspondence between Erasmus and other members of the Court: see Erasmus, *Opus epistolarum*, ep. 2645 (Gerrit of Assendelft), ep. 2734 (Joost Sasbout) and ep. 2800 (Abel of Coulster).

⁸ See the letter by Martinus Dorpius of November 1519 to Erasmus (Erasmus, *Opus epistolarum*, ep. 1044.69): 'Lutherio, quod nuper scripsi tibi, mirifice hic favetur', = *Martini Dorpii Naldiceni Orationes IV cum apologia et litteris adnexis*, ed. Iosephus IJsewijn, Leipzig 1986, 92, 11.1–2.

⁹ Margaret knew Hoen to be a 'homme . . . bien doct, déucieulx, grand aumosnier, dhonneste vie et conversation, aduocat postulant aud. Conseil de Hollande et aultrement tout renommé'; *Corpus documentorum inquisitionis* IV, no. 125, p. 180.

¹⁰ See for this section Tilmans, *Aurelius en de Divisiechroniek*.

his *patientia* that has made him (i.e. Hoen) famous, more than the wisdom and erudition of his exceptional genius.¹¹ In his *Libellus de patientia* Aurelius confessed he felt sorry for the man 'cuius doctrinam et legalem et canonicam omnes predicant, cuius elemosinas et patrocina enarrat omnis ecclesia sanctorum et pauperum Christi'.¹² Aurelius's praise of Hoen is more than a rhetorical exercise in humanist commonplaces. This is clear from the fact that in his *Epistola* Hoen incorporates a philological annotation by Erasmus on the words of institution of the Eucharist.

Besides the humanist environment of the Court of Holland the circle of reform-minded dissidents who had their centre at Delft formed part of Hoen's background. These dissidents as well as the reformed movement as a whole in the Netherlands in the 1520s have been defined in much of the literature as the 'sacramentarian movement'.¹³ This latter term, however, is misleading as a characterization of the dissident climate as a whole. The movement had a much broader base than mere criticism of the doctrine of the Eucharist; some dissidents — for example the author of the *Summa der godliker schrifturen*¹⁴ — did not criticize the mass at all. In the 1520s dissent was an undifferentiated movement which struggled for renewal and which must rather be characterized as striving for evangelical liberty in general. In this it was inspired by Erasmus as well as by Luther.¹⁵

In February 1523, Hoen was arrested 'propter sectam Lutheranam' — a fate he shared with other dissidents from the Delft circle — and in October of the same year he was released on licence together with Gulielmus Gnaphaeus and Fredericus Canirivus. Among other things, Hoen had to promise not to

¹¹ See Molhuysen, 'Cornelius Aurelius', 32–35.

¹² Cornelius Aurelius, *Libellus de patientia*, University Library Leiden, MS. Vulc. 66, 45r–57v; 52v.

¹³ In the Netherlands the term was coined by Laurentius Knappert who dedicated a distinct chapter to 'the era of the sacramentarians' in his monographs on the rise and development of Protestantism in Leiden and in the Netherlands; see *Opkomst van het protestantisme*, 66–123 and *Ontstaan en ontwikkeling van het protestantisme*, 111–161.

¹⁴ Curiously, this treatise is described as typical of the so-called 'Sacramentarianism' or the initial phase of the Reformation in the Netherlands in *Wessel Gansfort en het Noordelijk Humanisme*, 60.

¹⁵ See Trapman, 'Rôle des "sacramentaires"'; Trapman, 'Afscheid van de sacramentariërs?' As early as 1946 J. Lindeboom ascertained that the term 'Sacramentarianism' was not the most recommendable one because the aversion to the Roman Catholic interpretation of the Eucharist was not the only and most principal characteristic of this 'movement': Lindeboom, 'Confessioneele ontwikkeling der reformatie', 34–35.

leave The Hague; probably he died already in the following year.¹⁶

Hoen may have written a treatise *in defensionem Lutheri*, but his name is connected with the treatise on the Eucharist which he wrote after 1519 and which was printed — after his death — in the late summer of 1525. In this treatise Hoen amply enumerated his objections against the Roman-Catholic doctrine of transubstantiation, calling it not only the 'fides romana', but also the 'tyrannis romana'. Hoen's reproach against the 'scholastici romani' is that their doctrine according to which the bread after the consecration is the true body of Christ, teaches the sufficiency of a dead, historical faith. This kind of faith, according to Hoen, cannot justify, because for that living faith is necessary. This living faith imparts Christ, the living bread; only by this faith active in true love do we receive the *res* signified by the Eucharist, not merely its sign.¹⁷ Hoen believed an appeal to the words of Christ 'Hoc est corpus meum' to defend the doctrine of transubstantiation is incorrect. Christ cannot be *in* the bread, because Christ himself had forbidden his disciples to believe those who said 'Here is Christ' or 'There is Christ' (Mt. 24, 23). Thus Christ is not bound to any specific place and so he cannot be present *in* the bread. The words 'Hoc est' should be interpreted as 'Hoc significat'.¹⁸ Hoen refers to many other places in Scripture where 'esse' means 'significare',¹⁹ and argued that *commemoration* is more in order for someone who is corporeally absent than for someone who is present.²⁰

Next, Hoen compared Christ (the bread eaten by the faithful), the manna (eaten by the fathers in the desert), and the Eucharist.²¹ Hoen wrote that just as the manna signified Christ, the living bread, so the bread of the Eucharist signifies the living bread as well. The signs of the Lord's Supper are, moreover, transitory (the consecrated bread can also be eaten by mice) and hence cannot be the body and blood of Christ.²² The traditional exegesis of the words of institution ('Hoc facite in commemorationem meam') leads either to contradictions or to insecurity.²³ Against

¹⁶ The documents relating to Hoen's trial can be found in *Corpus documentorum inquisitionis* IV, nos. 56, 125–127, 130, 149, 151–153, 163, 166, 171, 172; V, no. 640. An extensive description is given in De Hoop Scheffer, *Geschiedenis der kerkhervorming*, 176–199.

¹⁷ Zwingli, *Werke* IV, 512.24–34; 514.44–515.22.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 513.12; see also 517.16ff.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 513.33–514.7.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 513.41–43.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 514.8–515.2.

²² *Ibid.*, 514.8–515.4.

²³ *Ibid.*, 515.12–29.

these obscure and wavering interjections of the Roman scholastics, Hoen posed the *verbum simplicissimum*, the straight saying of Christ in Mt. 24, 23.²⁴ This place, as J.G. de Hoop Scheffer already noted in 1873, constitutes 'as it were the refrain'²⁵ of Hoen's *Epistola*: the interpretation of 'est' as 'significat' was, it is true, the most important fact for Zwingli and has ever since been regarded as the centre of Hoen's *Epistola*, but it was not Hoen's most fundamental argument. The heart of Hoen's *Epistola* is his repeated appeal to this text, which plainly states that Christ is not bound to a certain place and therefore cannot be *in* the bread.²⁶

The old church, Hoen continued, did not know the doctrine of transubstantiation as an article of faith: it is not found in the Apostolic Creed.²⁷ Referring to the Decretals of pope Gregory IX, Hoen argued that this dogma is a papal or, rather, a satanic invention, because Christ taught us that he is served only in Spirit. Christ withdrew his bodily presence to make this easier and to make way for the Comforter; yet Satan, perverting all things, attempts to convince us of the bodily presence of Christ in the form of bread.²⁸ All external *pompa* of the Roman Catholic Church is the reprehensible consequence of this doctrine; when taken away, the entire religion of the pope will collapse.²⁹ Even more, the doctrine of transubstantiation does not come up to the standards of biblical miracles. Christ did not perform miracles contrary to the experience of the senses, but the 'miracle' of transubstantiation is contrary to sense-experience as bread plainly remains bread.³⁰ The *Epistola* ended with an appeal not to worship, like the children of Israel in the desert, as God what is not god, what in itself is only bread.³¹

Although Hoen rejected the catholic doctrine of the Eucharist, he attached great value to that sacrament. In his *Epistola* he uses three judicial figures to interpret the Eucharist. First he argues that Christ instituted the sacrament to give those who are his own a certain pledge (*pignus*) for the forgiveness of their sins. A bridegroom (*sponsus*) gives a ring to his bride saying: 'Take this,

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 516.19–20.

²⁵ De Hoop Scheffer, *Geschiedenis der kerkhervorming*, 98, note 1. See also Trapman, *Summa der godliker scrifturen*, 115–116.

²⁶ Zwingli, *Werke* IV, 513.4; 513.20; 516.20; 518.9; 518.13.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 516.21–23.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 516.24–32.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 516.32–517.5.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 517.24–36.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 517.37–518.10.

I give myself to you', so that the bride knows the bridegroom to be hers and turns her heart from all other suitors to concentrate on her husband (*maritus*); similarly he who receives the sacrament of the Eucharist (the pledge of Christ) steadfastly believes Christ to be his, given for him and his blood shed for him, wherefore he will turn his heart away from all he used to love and will cling to Christ alone. This, according to the gospel of John 6, is truly eating Christ's flesh and drinking his blood.³² Further on in his *Epistola* Hoen uses these figures: just as a man selling some land gives the buyer a staff, straw or stone and says: 'By this token I give you the land', and just as the ownership of a house is transferred by handing over the keys, so the Lord gave himself to us by means of the bread ('sic etiam dominus per panem se ipsum tradit nobis').³³ To be sure, the words 'per panem' should not be interpreted as if the bread of the Eucharist were a *vehiculum* of the body of Christ; but the expression shows that he who receives the bread may be confident of receiving Christ by faith at the same time. The Eucharist is a pledge for the divine promise and it assures forgiveness of sins. Not the believing subject, but the promising and assuring God constitutes the Eucharist.

Hoen's *Epistola* is considered a unique document of Biblical humanism and the early Reformation in the Netherlands, and his conceptions influenced Reformers such as Zwingli and Bucer. For this reason practically all standard treatments of Northern Humanism and handbooks of church history mention Hoen and his *Epistola*. After the epoch of confessional historiography, serious and specific research was done on Hoen and his *Epistola*,³⁴ but many questions remain unanswered. For example, for a long time it was supposed that Hoen's *Epistola* had been edited by Ulrich Zwingli and printed by Christoph Froschauer in Zürich.³⁵ Recent bibliographical investigations by Michael A. Pegg have shown, however, that Hoen's *Epistola* was published by the Worms

³² *Ibid.*, 512.10–24.

³³ *Ibid.*, 517.7–12.

³⁴ For modern documented studies see Clemen, 'Hinne Rode in Wittenberg, Basel; Zurich', 346–372; Clemen, ed., *Vorwort zu Wesseli epistolae 1522*, in Luther, *Werke* X 2, (311–316) 316–317; *De Avondmaalsbrief van Cornelis Hoen*, ed. Eekhof; Köhler, *Zwingli und Luther*, 154ff.; Trapman, 'Rôle des "sacramentaires"', 19–21; Trapman, *Summa der godliker scripture*, 113–117.

³⁵ See Zwingli IV, 509. This was first claimed by Daniel Gerdes, who edited Hoen's *Epistola* from an inaccurate apograph; he stated: 'Zwinglius eandem Epistolam (quae A. 1521 dicebatur scripta fuisse) Tiguri A. 1525 typis imprimendam curavit'. In a note Gerdes added: 'Id quod ex Hardtii Autographis

printer Peter Schöffer the Younger.³⁶ This new fact forces to one revision and opens up three new lines of investigation:

— Zwingli played no part in the edition of Hoen's *Epistola*, as nothing is known of any contacts between him and Schöffer; — the history of the diffusion of Hoen's *Epistola* must be investigated again and supplemented with Worms, which Hinne Rode must have visited as well;

— the question of the original addressee of Hoen's *Epistola* must be taken up again, because all answers given till now were based on the supposition that Zwingli was its editor;³⁷

— all research which has tried to ascertain which part of the *Epistola* was written by Hoen himself and which part was added by the editor — the title of Hoen's *Epistola* includes the phrase: 'ad calcem quibusdam adiectis' — was based on this same supposition; thus this problem must be treated once more as well.³⁸

Another important problem with regard to Hoen's *Epistola* is the question of his sources. Hoen himself mentions only two names: Thomas Aquinas and Erasmus.³⁹ He defends the notion that Christ is not 'corporaliter', but 'sacramentaliter', 'tanquam in signo' in the Eucharist and states that 'temporibus Thomae

Luther T. III p. 127 collegimus'. See Gerdes, *Introductio in historiam evangelii I* (1744), appendix: *Monumenta antiquitatis ad illustrandam historiam reformationis ecclesiasticam facientia*, (228) 231–240; 231.

³⁶ See Pegg, *Catalogue of German Reformation Pamphlets*, 107, no. 1228; not in VD 16. For a copy of the title page of this edition, see Luther, *Titeleinfassungen der Reformationszeit*, I no. 6b. Hoen's *Epistola* is not mentioned in Benzing, 'Peter Schöffer d.J. zu Worms', but Mr M.A. Pegg (Director and University Librarian of The John Rylands University Library of Manchester) informed me in a letter d.d. 26 October 1988 that this attribution of Hoen's *Epistola* to Peter Schöffer of Worms is based entirely 'on the physical aspects of the edition: the woodcut titleborder and the printing types which are almost certainly those used by Schöffer at the time. They are definitely not the product of the press of Froschauer in Zürich.' In a letter d.d. 9 January 1989 Mr Helmut Claus (Director of the Forschungsbibliothek Gotha) confirmed to me this attribution to Schöffer: 'Ich kann die Auffassung von Herrn Dr. Pegg nur bekräftigen, dass dies in der Tat ein Druck von Peter Schöffer d.J. ist.' Mr Pegg informed me in the letter mentioned above that Hoen's *Epistola* 'is one of several [titles] which this distinguished bibliographer [sc. Benzing] was not aware of'. As for this last remark, see also Zorzin, 'Karlstadts *Dialogus vom Tauff der Kinder*', 37.

³⁷ See Köhler, *Zwingli und Luther*, 154–155; Trapman, *Summa der godliker scrijturen*, 114–115.

³⁸ See De Hoop Scheffer, *Geschiedenis der kerkhervorming*, 98; *Avondmaalsbrief van Cornelis Hoen*, ed. Eekhof, xix–xxi; Zwingli, *Werke IV*, 508. The ablative absolute, however, does not oblige us to assume that an anonymous editor has added some lines to Hoen's treatise.

³⁹ Zwingli, *Werke IV*, 513.15–21; 515.16–18.

Aquinatis' this interpretation had already been given.⁴⁰ Hoen appears to derive this knowledge from Erasmus's *annotatio* at 1 Cor. 11, 24 in the second edition of his *Annotationes in Novum Testamentum* (printed in 1519), to which he referred explicitly further on in his *Epistola*.⁴¹ The climate of thought propagated by Erasmus is part of the background of Hoen's *Epistola*.⁴²

Some scholars assume that some of Martin Luther's writings also belong to Hoen's sources. A. Dieckhoff and, in his wake, E.L. Enders have argued that the opening lines of Hoen's *Epistola*, which describe the sacrament as 'pignus' of the 'promissio remissionis peccatorum', show the influence of Luther's doctrine of the Lord's Supper, as expounded in his *Sermon vom Neuen Testament, d.i. von der heiligen Messe*, which appeared in August 1520.⁴³ The specifically Lutheran criticism of the mass as a sacrifice is totally absent in Hoen's account in the *Epistola*. Yet, Hoen's combination of promise, forgiveness of sins, pledge and faith is so typically Lutheran that Luther's influence is more than probable.⁴⁴

Finally, it is thought that Hoen wrote his *Epistola* under the inspiration of Wessel Gansfort's writings. This idea is derived from a passage in a secondary source, the *Vita Wesseli Groningensis*, written by Albert Hardenberg.⁴⁵

⁴⁰ See Thomas Aquinas, *Summa theologiae* III, q. 75, art. 1.

⁴¹ See Erasmus, *In Novum Testamentum ab eodem denuo recognitum, Annotationes*, Basel 1519, *annotatio* in 1 Cor. 11, 24.

⁴² In spite of the fact that Erasmus maintained the *praesentia realis* in the Eucharist, Erasmus and Hoen should be regarded as kindred souls. This is not so much documented by the fact that Hoen is mentioned honourably in Erasmus's correspondence (see Erasmus, *Opus epistolarum*, ep. 1358.26–32; ep. 1394.10–12; ep. 2800.66; see also ep. 1044 and 1166), but especially by a passage in Erasmus's *Enchiridion* (already noted by Trapman, *Summa der godliker scrifturen*, 117), which has an interesting parallel in Hoen's *Epistola*. Writing on Christ's Ascension, Erasmus stated: 'nempe obstat caro Christi, atque inde est quod ille dicit: Nisi ego abiero, paracletus non veniet. Expedit vobis, ut ego vadam. Christi corporea praesentia inutilis ad salutem et in ulla praeterea re corporali audebimus perfectam pietatem statuere?' In his *Epistola* Hoen writes: 'Christus... qui docuit... ipsi... serviendum in spiritu per fidem, et quo hoc facilius fieret, corporealem nobis praesentiam subtraxit, quam obesse discipulis testatus est, dicens: Si non abiero, paracletus non veniet' (Zwingli, *Werke* IV, 516.27–30). This comparison suggests that the spiritualistic climate of thought propagated by Erasmus constitutes one of the backgrounds of Hoen's *Epistola*.

⁴³ Dieckhoff, *Die evangelische Abendmahlslehre* I, 278; *Luthers Briefwechsel* III, 424.

⁴⁴ Trapman, *Summa der godliker scrifturen*, 116.

⁴⁵ Hardenberg's autograph is in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München, Clm 10351, 14r–18v. Hardenberg's *Vita Wesseli* is published in Gansfort, *Opera* 1614, fol. ***.***2v. The variants between Hardenberg's autograph and the edition in Wessel's *Opera* are indicated by Van Rhijn, *Wessel Gansfort*, appendix A, xii–xiv.

According to Hardenberg, who presented what follows as facts — ‘me audivisse memini’ — Cornelis Hoen and some others found an old treatise on the Lord’s Supper (‘vetus scriptum de coena domini’) among the estate of Jacobus Hoeck, Dean of Naaldwijk and Martinus Dorp’s uncle. This treatise seemed to condemn the ‘Capernaitic’ eating of Christ’s body and to establish the Eucharist as a spiritual act. It was discovered among a number of writings by Wessel Gansfort and attributed to him. Hardenberg writes that he neither wants to approve nor deny this inference; according to him, Wessel thought and wrote about the Eucharist in similar terms. But Hardenberg had also heard that this manuscript had circulated among pious men for more than two hundred years. Certain persons, so Hardenberg continued, regarded it as a great treasure, that would enable them to wipe out papal idolatry. Hoen and those others obtained several of Wessel’s writings (some from Hoeck’s estate, some from the convent of the Canons Regular of Mount St. Agnes in Zwolle) and succeeded in interesting Hinne Rode, father of the house of the Brethren in Utrecht. Rode took the treatises with him to Luther to have him judge them. For this purpose he also visited Oecolampadius at Basel and Zwingli at Zürich.⁴⁶

An extensive and critical exposition of Hardenberg’s *Vita Wesseli* cannot be presented here.⁴⁷ It suffices, for the time being, that this *Vita* in general is a disorderly and entangled whole and that it contains many manifest errors, caused by the fact that Hardenberg compiled his life of Wessel towards the end of his own life and based it on information which had reached him orally.⁴⁸ His *Vita*, moreover, turns out to have been drafted in order to defend himself against his opponents; hence these *memorabilia* have an unmistakably apologetic purport.⁴⁹ The extensive *passus* on Hoen and on Wessel’s treatises is introduced by Hardenberg with the remark that he is communicating these facts because they have some bearing on the controversy around the sacrament of the Eucharist between him and the *Gnesio*-Lutheran Johann Timann

⁴⁶ Gansfort, *Opera*, **6v–7v.

⁴⁷ On Jacobus Hoeck, see Van Rhijn, ‘Jacobus Hoeck’; De Vocht, *Collegium Trilingue Lovaniense* I, 143, note 4; De Vocht, *Monumenta Humanistica Lovaniensia*, 291–292.

⁴⁸ See Clemen, ‘Hinne Rode in Wittenberg, Basel, Zürich’; Luther, *Werke* X 2, 311–316.

⁴⁹ Hardenberg wrote, for example, that one of the reasons why he cited from his correspondence with Gosewijn of Halen was ‘ut mei adversarii videant quod fuerit studium adolescentiae meae: cum omnes pseudo-Evangelici tanta obstinatione in me et studia iuventutis meae ferantur’; Gansfort, *Opera*, **5v.

during his stay in Bremen.⁵⁰ Thus, Hardenberg's remarks on the relation between Wessel and Hoen are made within an apologetical framework.

It is most striking that in these memoirs of Hardenberg Hoen is nowhere mentioned as the author of a treatise on the Eucharist. The 'vetus scriptum de coena' was either one of Wessel's writings or, what seems even more probable to Hardenberg, a more than two hundred year old treatise, which had been found by Hoen and certain others.⁵¹ Several of Zwingli's utterances prove, however, that Hoen was the author of the treatise on the Eucharist which was taken to Zwingli by Rode and which appeared in 1525 under the title of *Epistola christiana admodum*. For example, in his *Amica exegesis* of 25 February 1527, Zwingli wrote that Hinne Rode and Georgius Saganus had visited him, that they showed him Hoen's letter and that he learned from this letter that the *tropus* in the words of institution was hidden in the word *est*, and that *est* should therefore be interpreted as *significat*.⁵²

Thus, the *Vita Wesseli* gives no reason to assume a lineage

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, **6v; Spiegel, *Dr. Albert Rizäus Hardenberg*, 354 thought that Hardenberg had inserted this passage in order to demonstrate the similarity between his opinions and those of Luther. Though Hardenberg, however, highly respected Luther, he nevertheless was critical of his attitude towards the Swiss with regard to the discussion on the Lord's Supper; Hardenberg finished his exposition with the conclusion: 'Hic omnium primum cepit controversia de caena Domini, Wittenbergae, non Basileae vel Tiguri' (Gansfort, *Opera*, **7v).

⁵¹ Confused by these entangled facts, Ullmann imputed the *scriptum de coena* to Wessel and argued that this writing was either a compilation of some *Propositiones* (which in the Wittenberg and Basel *Farrago* were printed as a separate work but form also the last three chapters of *De sacramento eucharistiae*) or, even more probably, identical with *De sacramento eucharistiae*. Apart from these writings, Hoen would have written his own treatise on the Eucharist. See Ullmann, *Reformatoren vor der Reformation*, II 564–594, esp. 579–583. In response to Ullmann's theses, Kist in 1843 even denied that Hoen had written a treatise on the Eucharist: 'Nog iets over den Nederlandschen oorsprong der zoogenaamde Zwingliaansche Avondmaalsleer'. Ullmann and Kist only had the inaccurate edition of Hoen's *Epistola* by Daniel Gerdes at their disposal which added incorrectly that the *Epistola* had been sent ('missa') 'per Honnium Batavum', which left room for the denial of Hoen's authorship. But a *scriptum de coena* written by Wessel and Hoen's *Epistola* cannot be identical: Wessel refers to Erasmus's *Annotationes*, printed (thirty years after Wessel's death) in 1519. The *Epistola* was published anonymously and Zwingli was silent about its author because he did not want him to be the worse for it; this cannot apply to Wessel who had died long ago. This second argument should also be advanced against the reasoning of De Vocht, who suspected that Hoen pretended to have found his *Epistola* among Hoek's estate. Hoen himself, however, must have understood that an explicit reference to a writing which appeared in 1519 is not found among the estate of a person who died in 1509. See De Vocht, *Monumenta Humanistica Lovaniensia*, 290–291; De Vocht, *Collegium Trilingue Lovaniense* I, 145.

⁵² Zwingli, *Werke* IV, 560.21–29.

between Wessel and Hoen. Yet, there are some facts which nevertheless *suggest* a relationship, which make a new investigation desirable and necessary. Hinne Rode certainly made a journey along the several centers of the Reformation: during this journey he showed Oecolampadius Wessel's writings and he made clear to Bucer that he was a pupil of Wessel's.⁵³ Besides this, he delivered Hoen's *Epistola* to Zwingli and he must be held responsible for the publication of Wessel's writings on the presses of Simon Corver at Zwolle. Since Hoen himself will have sent his *Epistola* to him and since Rode had both Hoen's *Epistola* and Wessel's writings with him during his journey, it might be supposed that Rode obtained (a part of) Wessel's writings via Hoen and that Hoen therefore owned writings of Wessel's. However, it is impossible to ascertain which of Wessel's writings Hoen may have seen; some of Wessel's writings which Rode took with him on his journey came from the convent of the Canons Regular of Mount St. Agnes. Hardenberg reveals this fact, and this information can be trusted, because Wessel visited this convent regularly. If therefore one wants to investigate the relation between Wessel's ideas and those of Hoen's, it will be necessary to assume that Hoen had all Wessel's writings at his disposal and to search for passages in Wessel's *Opera* which have left their traces in Hoen's *Epistola*. It is only reasonable to look for these themes first in Wessel's *De sacramento eucharistiae et audienda missa*.

The first thing that attracts our attention is the difference in form and tone of the treatises by Wessel and Hoen. Wessel's *De sacramento* is first of all a devotional treatise; it has a mystical ardour and reveals the 'familiarity with holy things' which Johan Huizinga thought typical of late-medieval devotional life. Wessel's argumentation is unsystematic; there is almost no internal coherence and in fact the treatise is a series of edifying effusions. Hoen's *Epistola*, on the other hand, is a clearly structured, intellectual and rational, even scholastic argument.⁵⁴ Besides this relevant stylistic difference, there is a widely divergent point of

⁵³ Staehelin, *Briefe und Akten zum Leben Oekolampads* I, no. 142; *Correspondance de Martin Bucer* II, ep. 109.77–78. On Rode's visit to Bucer, see Spruyt, 'Hinne Rode (c. 1480–c. 1539)', 33–34. After Rode's visit to Bucer, Wessel functions in Bucer's correspondence as a crown witness in favour of a spiritual interpretation of the Eucharist; see *Correspondance de Martin Bucer* II, ep. 107, ep. 114.47–59, ep. 139.70–73.

⁵⁴ Zwingli, *Werke* IV, 515.10–516.20 is a scholastic argument, a reasoning *ad absurdum* to demonstrate that the complicated questions on the Eucharist cannot be solved within the traditional theological framework.

view: that which Hoen attacked, the doctrine of transubstantiation, Wessel confirmed (though he does not use the term).⁵⁵ In chapter XXIII of *De sacramento*, for example, Wessel writes that the confidence of the faithful in the sacrament of the Eucharist should be great:

Is enim ipse adest qui, dum in Iudaea, Galilea, Samaria, clamores et orationes omnium exaudivit, petentium lachrymas miseratus, desideria explevit, quin etiam ultro, non vocatus, saepe miseratus miseros consolabatur.⁵⁶

When we receive the sacrament, we must piously believe, according to Wessel, that Christ is corporeally ('corporaliter') present, in the same way as he is sacramentally ('sacramentaliter') present in several places.⁵⁷ For this reason the bread of the Eucharist lives and makes alive, full of omnipotent strength: under the visible elements of bread and wine the sacred flesh and blood of Christ are truly present.⁵⁸

Besides this realistic line there is a line in Wessel's remarks on the Eucharist which Maarten van Rhijn called 'spiritualistic'.⁵⁹ Wessel emphasizes a 'manducatio spiritualis'. He argues that is is not sufficient to partake only 'corporaliter' and 'sensibiliter', but that the body and blood of Christ ought also to be eaten 'spiritualiter':

Corpus autem et sanguis Domini Iesu, quantumlibet sancta sint, corpora tamen sunt, non spiritus. Vnde si corporaliter tantum sumatur, non solum non spiritualiter reficient manducantem, sed occident.⁶⁰

This 'manducatio spiritualis' is an act of faith and is executed through 'commemoratio': 'Manducare igitur memorari'.⁶¹ He who eats 'spiritualiter' already has the fruits of outward sacramental eating. He who believes in Christ eats his flesh: Christ said that both he who eats his flesh and he who believes in him has eternal life, from whence it must be concluded that he who believes in Christ eats his body.⁶² By faith in Christ his flesh is eaten and

⁵⁵ Trapman supposes that there might not even have been an indirect connection between Hoen's *Epistola* and Wessel's writings and that Hoen's letter may have been an adaptation of the two hundred year old, mysterious 'scriptum' mentioned by Hardenberg: Trapman, *Summa der godliker scrifturen*, 114.

⁵⁶ Gansfort, *Opera*, 695–696.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 700.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 690; 673.

⁵⁹ Van Rhijn, *Wessel Gansfort*, 213–215.

⁶⁰ Gansfort, *Opera*, 673.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 677.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 696. Voolstra, *Het Woord is vlees geworden*, 91 wrongly writes that this combination of Joh. 6, 54 and Joh. 3, 36 also occurs in Hoen's *Epistola*.

his blood is drunk.⁶³ The inner man is spiritual; for this reason the bread must be spiritual and be eaten spiritually.⁶⁴

So far Wessel shows no marked departure from received opinion on the Eucharist. But now he goes a step further to argue that Christ, independent of the sacrament of the altar, can be 'corporeally' present to those who long for him.⁶⁵ For this reason the 'commemoratio' has a central, constitutive significance:

I say that to one who remembers his name, the Lord Jesus is truly present, not only in his deity, but also in his flesh and entire humanity. For who can doubt, that the Lord Jesus is often bodily present with his faithful disciples in their agonies? — though he does not therefore forsake his seat at the right hand of God in heaven. Who can doubt that this may occur simultaneously outside the Eucharist as well as in it?⁶⁶

Accordingly, sacramental eating is of significance but of less value than spiritual eating: sacramental eating without spiritual eating is infertile, even unto death, because it is in violation of Jesus' command to take the bread and the wine 'to his remembrance'.⁶⁷ Spiritual eating, on the other hand, is always fertile and unto life, more fertile than sacramental eating.⁶⁸ To eat truly is to eat spiritually by believing and remembering what Jesus gave us and what he suffered for us.⁶⁹

So, two aspects can be discerned in Wessel's doctrine of the Eucharist, a realistic one and a 'spiritualistic' one. Emphasizing the realistic line, scholarship has distinguished between Wessel's doctrine and Hoen's. Van Rhijn, for example, writes that it is incorrect to make Wessel one of the spiritual fathers of the 'sacramentarians' of the sixteenth century and that Wessel's contemplations 'do not at all entirely correspond to those of Erasmus, Hoen or Zwingli'.⁷⁰ At the same time, however, scholarship fancied to have found in the second 'spiritualistic' aspect the point of contact and the line of communication between Wessel and Hoen: Hoen was thus alleged to have subscribed to Wessel's spiritualistic interpretation of the Eucharist and to have radicalized it.⁷¹ Some considerations might, however, be raised here.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 702.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 673.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 695; 696.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 697.

⁶⁷ See especially *ibid.*, 658–659.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 147–149.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 141; 703ff.

⁷⁰ Van Rhijn, 'De invloed van Wessel Gansfort', 41.

⁷¹ See, e.g., Williams, *The Radical Reformation*, 36; Oberman, *Forerunners of the Reformation*, 253.

In the first place, spiritualistic contemplations on the Eucharist are so little specific of Wessel that it is somewhat far-flung to construct a relation of dependence between Hoen and Wessel on the basis of Wessel's 'spiritualism'. The 'manducatio spiritualis' is a traditional scholastic distinction which is found in both the *veteri doctores* and the *moderni*.⁷² In the late Middle Ages many pious believers did not partake of but only beheld the consecrated host so as not to be found unworthy before the judging Christ.⁷³ This *timor Dei* is found especially in the circles of the Devotio Moderna. Petrus Horn, for example, in his *Vita Gerardi Magni* narrates that Geert Grote often did not commune:

Denique sic se cotidie sub missa preparabat, quasi in sumendo osculum pacis sumeret corpus salvatoris, quatenus saepe eum spiritualiter manducaret quem sacramentaliter sumere frequentius formidabat.⁷⁴

Moreover, in the course of the fourteenth century John Wycliff had already expounded objections against the doctrine of transubstantiation, especially in his *Triologus*. This *Triologus* was published in the same year and by the same press as Hoen's *Epistola*; in Wycliff's writing a number of thoughts were formulated which are also in Hoen's *Epistola*.⁷⁵

Finally, a letter by Zwingli, which has not before been drawn into research of Hoen and his treatise, is of significance in this connection. On 17 April 1526 Zwingli writes Valentin Krautwald, Kaspar Schwenckfeld and the Silezian brothers that

⁷² See Oberman, 'The "Extra" Dimension in the Theology of Calvin', 243.

⁷³ See *Theologische Realenzyklopädie* I, 98.22–99.5; also Staedtke, 'Voraussetzungen der Schweizer Abendmahlslehre', 27–31; Van Rhijn, 'De dogmenhistorische achtergrond van Wessel Gansfort's Avondmaalsleer'; Augustijn, *Godsdienstgesprekken*, 22. For the anxieties of the young Luther to celebrate mass, see Brecht, *Martin Luther* I, 77–82.

⁷⁴ Horn, *Vita Gerardi Magni*, 359. Oberman, 'Die Gelehrten die Verkehrten', 52–53, note 32, argued that the sufficiency of spiritual participation suggested in this revealing passage, is the missing link with Hoen's *Epistola*: 'A new line of investigation is opened up (...) by the "missing link" of the psychological factor in the development of a scholastic distinction to an alternative in the *praxis pietatis*: the religious experience of "anxiety".' Though it seems that this *timor Dei* is also documented by Hoen's *Epistola* itself when Hoen writes: 'sed esto, quod per illa verba consecravit "Hoc est" etc., qui iam *audebit* (my italics) corpus Christi ore sumere et comedere (...)?' (Zwingli, *Werke* IV, 515.19–20), it will be demonstrated below that Hoen's denial of the doctrine of transubstantiation did not bring him to propagate a spiritual communication which led away from partaking.

⁷⁵ See Benzing, 'Peter Schöffler d.J. zu Worms', 111, no. 21. Some (but not all) parallels between Wycliff's *Triologus* and Hoen's *Epistola* have been indicated by Hilgenfeld, *Mittelalterlich-traditionelle Elemente*, 50.

this interpretation of the words of institution as 'Hoc significat corpus meum' was not Hoen's invention:

Vos autem, optimi fratres, nolite isto sermone [*sc. significat*] offendi; trivialis est ac de vulgo sumptus, sed ideo assumptus est tam ab Honnio quam a nobis, ut omnibus esset expositissimus.⁷⁶

The widespread denial of transubstantiation and *praesentia realis* in the Low Countries at an early time is documented by a letter by the papal nuntius Hieronymus Aleander of 28 February 1521:

In the Emperor's county of Artois and at Lille in Flanders many heretics were discovered and arrested who deny the presence of the true body and blood of Christ in the sacrament of the altar and consider it merely as a sign, just as Wycliff and Berengar of Tours taught.⁷⁷

It is clear that a spiritualistic interpretation of the Eucharist — which may also in a certain form be imputed to Wessel — was so generally diffused on the eve of the Reformation, that it is impossible on its basis to draw a line of influence from Wessel to Hoen. Moreover, Wessel's and Hoen's spiritualism must be distinguished. Wessel argues that the 'commemoratio' causes the bodily *presence* of Christ with the faithful; but Hoen states that 'commemoratio' implies the bodily *absence* of him who is commemorated.⁷⁸ Wessel's contemplations lead away from taking part in the mass. Whereas the remarks of Petrus Horn on the communion-practice of Geert Grote suggest the sufficiency of spiritual participation, Wessel developed a *doctrine* of this sufficiency which tones down the value of the outward use of the elements of the Eucharist and almost denies their value. Hoen, however, did not impugn outward participation; what he wanted was a different way or mode of that participation. In Hoen's opinion, the sacrament of the Eucharist is the pledge of the forgiveness of sins and hence it is of great value. His criticism is launched against transubstantiation and the doctrine of the sufficiency of a dead, historical faith. This criticism does not tone down or underrate the value of the sacrament. Hoen introduces Christ as saying:

Take and eat. Do not regard the bread as unimportant; that which I give you signifies my body which I give you by giving you this bread. When it has been delivered and hung on the cross it will be for you; indeed, everything I have done or shall do is yours.

⁷⁶ Zwingli, *Werke* VIII 568.21–22.

⁷⁷ See Kalkoff, *Die Depeschen des Nuntius Aleander*, 77; Brieger, *Aleander und Luther 1521*, 80.26–81.2; Kalkoff, *Die Anfänge der Gegenreformation in den Niederlanden*, I 27.

⁷⁸ Gansfort, *Opera*, 695, 697; Hoen: Zwingli, *Werke* IV, 513.42–43.

'These words', Hoen adds, 'are a great consolation and of exceeding sweetness if they are properly considered'.⁷⁹

That Hoen, against Wessel, highly valued the 'communio' — where faithful believers receive the pledge of Christ's promise — also becomes clear when one considers that the solemnization of marriage on the one hand, and the pronouncement of a promise and the giving of a ring on the other, was to Hoen and his contemporaries more than merely symbolic. In Roman and Canon Law the pronouncement of the promise is regarded as the solemnization of marriage itself, not as a sign or foretaste of it. The mere presentation of a ring could already be sufficient for an official marriage, as is shown by the thirteenth-century formula: 'de isto annulo te sponso'.⁸⁰ This is reflected in Hoen's *Epistola*, when he speaks initially of a *sponsus*, but later, after the *sponsus* has given a ring to his *sponsa*, calls him *maritus*.⁸¹

This image of the ring is found in both Wessel and Hoen. According to Wessel, God, during the Eucharist, contracts a marriage with the souls of the faithful and leaves behind a pledge of his love ('pignus amoris'); the soul of the faithful contracts this marriage by 'commemoratio'.⁸² In the *Scala meditationis* Wessel calls the cup ('calyx') a pledge ('pignus') of the inheritance which will one day be possessed.⁸³ At other places Wessel connects these statements on the pledge of Christ with the image of the ring. He regarded God's promise as reliable as a ring which one receives from a king.⁸⁴ Later in this same text Wessel prayed:

In this exercise let me serve you, until I am betrothed to you, the blood-bridegroom, in faithful love, as through a ring, in a lasting bond of marriage.⁸⁵

Elsewhere, in *De magnitudine passionis* Wessel explains the love between Christ and the faithful by means of a parable about the love between a king's daughter and a farmer's son. The king's daughter tries to win the farmer's son by sending him gifts, without, however, making herself known to him. The farmer's son does not know to whom he owes these benefits and becomes

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 517.12–16.

⁸⁰ See Chénon, 'Recherches historiques sur quelques rites nuptiaux', 607, note 2. See also Brundage, *Law, Sex and Christian Society in Medieval Europe*, 352, 412 note 463, and 502; Klapisch-Zuber, *Women, Family and Ritual in Renaissance Italy*, 196–197.

⁸¹ Zwingli, *Werke* IV, 512.12–15.

⁸² Gansfort, *Opera*, 668.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, 380.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 359.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 383.

distressed and impatient. After some time he begins to suspect that these gifts come from the king's daughter and he expresses his wish to speak with her in private. This is not allowed, but the king's daughter lets him know from behind a wall that one day he will not only see her but also embrace and kiss her. Till then she gives him a security ('arrha'): a precious ring which she describes as a pledge of her love ('amoris pignus'). With this gift she dispels his confusion and uncertainty.⁸⁶ Also in a letter to the nun Gertrude Reyniers, Wessel describes the love of Jesus in terms of a wedding ring, an 'annulus nuptialis'.⁸⁷

Hartmut Hilgenfeld has demonstrated that the concept of *pignus* was regularly used in medieval devotional literature. In this connection a passage from one of St Jerome's writings is important: Christ has left behind a 'pignus' so that one who loves him can remember him as often as he looks upon this pledge. This passage was known in circles of the Modern Devotion; it was cited, for example, by Gerard Zerbolt of Zutphen in his *De reformatione virium animae*.⁸⁸ The image of the ring is of course a traditional christian symbol. The bridegroom's custom of giving a ring to his bride dates to Roman Antiquity; the ring (*annulus sponsalitiis*) was regarded as a pledge (*pignus*) added to the promise (*sponsio*) to enforce it.⁸⁹ This ring symbolism was adopted by Christian theology. For Tertullian the ring was a symbol of baptism;⁹⁰ in other places the image of the ring is used as a symbol of the mystical marriage between God and the faithful soul,⁹¹ while in the Middle Ages the bishop's ring symbolized the bond between him and the church.⁹² In Wessel's writings the parable of the king's daughter and the farmer's son is presented in a context with a direct bearing on the Eucharist. This passage may therefore have inspired Hoen when at the beginning of his *Epistola* he describes the Eucharist as a pledge of the promise of Christ and compares this pledge to the ring which a bridegroom gives his bride to indicate that he gives himself

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 602–603.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 917; cf. 687.

⁸⁸ Hilgenfeld, *Mittelalterlich-traditionelle Elemente*, 251.

⁸⁹ See Chénon, 'Recherches historiques sur quelques rites nuptiaux', 574–587.

⁹⁰ *De pudicitia* (CSEL 20), 9. See also Claesson, *Index Tertullianus*, 116. It is suggestive but improbable that Hoen, as Williams, *The Radical Reformation*, 36 writes, 'may well have been influenced at this point by the lawyer-theologian of ancient North Africa'.

⁹¹ See Blaise, *Le vocabulaire latin des principaux thèmes liturgiques*, 515. See also Ferguson, *Signs and Symbols in Christian Art*, 111–112, 159, 178–179.

⁹² See Blaise, *Vocabulaire latin*, 521, and Ferguson, *Signs and Symbols*, 111–112, 159, 178–179.

to her, and to assure her thus of his love. In addition it must be remembered that Hoen was a lawyer and as such familiar with the symbol of the wedding ring as a pledge and assurance of a given promise. In any case, the symbol of the ring is the only motif in Wessel's *Opera* that is specifically found again in Hoen's *Epistola*.

Admittedly, in Wessel's writings God's promises and the pledge given by him relate to a future unity of love, to which one climbs up by a mystical *scala*; to Wessel the pledge is 'pignus futurae gloriae'.⁹³ For Hoen, on the other hand, promise and pledge relate to the forgiveness of sins in the present. In other words, the image of the ring was filled up by Hoen with notions on the forgiveness of sins which he can have derived only from Luther's writings.⁹⁴ But Hoen did not derive the image of the ring from Luther's writings. In his *Von der Freiheit eines Christenmenschen* (September 1520) Luther also used this symbol, but in a completely different sense: more subjectively than Hoen, Luther speaks of an 'annulus fidei' which Christ receives from the faithful and which causes the unity between him and the souls of the faithful.⁹⁵

Finally, with the help of this symbol of the ring a short excursion can be made on the influence of Hoen's *Epistola*. The symbol of the ring in connection with the Lord's Supper was also used by Zwingli, but very differently than Hoen. In a letter to Martin Bucer of 31 August 1531 Zwingli calls the symbol of the ring 'symbolum omnium symbolorum' and referred to a passage on this symbol in his *De convitiis Eckii Epistola* of 1530.⁹⁶ Zwingli writes:

⁹³ Gansfort, *Opera*, 676. In late medieval theology the Eucharist was also interpreted as 'pignus' of the future Supper in heaven and hence the bread was seen as 'pignus futurae gloriae'; see, for example, Gabriel Biel's: 'Hinc de pane sacramentali canit ecclesia: "O sacrum convivium in quo Christus sumitur . . . future glorie nobis pignus datur"', cited after Oberman, *Harvest of Medieval Theology*, 277, note 109.

⁹⁴ See, for example, the interesting parallel with a passage from Luther's *De captivitate Babylonica*: '... his verbis (sc. 1 Cor. 11, 24) promitto tibi, ante omne meritum et votum tuum, remissionem omnium peccatorum tuorum et vitam aeternam, et ut certissimus de hac mea promissione irrevocabili sis, corpus meum tradam et sanguinem fundam, morte ipsa hanc promissionem confirmaturus et utrumque tibi in signum et memoriale eiusdem promissionis relicturus' (italics mine); Luther, *Studienausgabe* II, 196.20–24. Oberman, *Forerunners of the Reformation*, 277, note 2 thinks that the word 'pignus' in Hoen's *Epistola* should be interpreted as 'pignus futurae gloriae'. Cf. also Krüger, *Bucer und Erasmus*, 186, note 14.

⁹⁵ Luther, *Studienausgabe* II, 276.13–18 and 277.1–6.

⁹⁶ The letter is not found in Zwingli, but was published by Rott, 'Martin Bucer und die Schweiz: Drei unbekannte Briefe von Zwingli, Bucer und Vadian'.

When a family man at his departure to a foreign country hands his precious ring, in which his image has been engraved, to his wife, saying: "Therefore you have me, your husband; hold it also during my absence and rejoice in him" . . . then he gives much more in that way than when he were only to say: "there you have my ring" . . . It is as if he has said: "Be sure that I am entirely yours" . . .⁹⁷

In another place Zwingli speaks about a widow who is reminded of her husband by the ring which he has left her.⁹⁸ Zwingli's use of the image of the ring to this effect explains his interpretation of the Lord's Supper as a doctrine of the *absentia realis*. For him the Lord's Supper is only a commemoration of Christ's sufferings and death, a confession of faith and an exercise in fraternal love. The discontinuity between Zwingli's ideas and those of Hoen is sufficiently indicated with this.⁹⁹

Remarkably enough, the image of the ring was used in Hoen's sense by the notorious Anabaptist Melchior Hoffman in his *Die Ordonnantie Godts* of 1530, in which he expounded that the bridegroom Christ comes to his bride, takes the bread — just as a bridegroom takes a ring or a piece of gold — and thus gives himself with the bread to his bride, just as a bridegroom gives himself to his bride with a ring.¹⁰⁰ The symbol of the ring in this sense returns in the treatise *Dat Avontmael ons Heeren* which probably appeared around 1540 in the circle of the so-called Louvain 'sacramentarians'.¹⁰¹ Here we read:

When a man gives his faith to his bride, he gives her a ring or a coin and she receives his faith and holds it. You receive the Lord's Supper in the same way, believing the Lord Jesus Christ and doing this in order to commemorate that he died for you, you receive the same gift and salvation as the bride when receiving the faith together with the ring.¹⁰²

The leader of this Louvain circle was the priest and chaplain of St Peter's Church, the university trained Paul de Roovere. From January 1543 onwards he was suspected of heresy and later

⁹⁷ Zwingli, *Werke*, VI iii 278.19–282.7.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 856.12–19; 858.1–4.

⁹⁹ *Contra Köhler: Luther und Zwingli*, 309, who argued that Zwingli elaborated the image of the ring 'in Anlehnung an den Brief des Cornelius Hoen'.

¹⁰⁰ *Bibliotheca Reformatoria Neerlandica* V, 156.

¹⁰¹ On this circle, see Bax, *Het protestantisme in het bisdom Luik*, 170–216, and Van Uytven, 'Bijdrage tot de sociale geschiedenis van de protestanten te Leuven in de eerste helft der XVIe eeuw', 3–38. Already De Bruin, 'Beschouwingen rondom het Leuvense ketterproces van 1543', 256, noticed Hoen's influence within the circle of the Louvain dissidents.

¹⁰² *Dat Avontmael ons Heeren*, 157–158. The author of this anonymous treatise also appealed to Mt. 24, 23 to dispute the dogma of transubstantiation.

prosecuted by the Inquisition.¹⁰³ Jean Beyaerts, also charged and later beheaded, during his interrogation on 28 May 1543 avowed that he had heard De Roovere say during Lent of the preceding year

that the Holy Sacrament was only a sign and that Christ left it behind to us as a weddingring so that we would remember his sufferings as a firmly established testament, just as a man marries his wife.¹⁰⁴

Here we can trace the influence of Cornelis Hoen.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰³ See Van Santbergen, *Un proces de religion à Louvain: Paul de Roovere 1542–1546*.

¹⁰⁴ See *Mémoires de Francisco de Enzinas*, I 430.

¹⁰⁵ Trapman, 'Rôle des "sacramentaires"', 20, argued that it was by Zwingli's writings that 'le message du juriste hollandais a pu parvenir plus tard aux habitants des Pays-Bas'. Zwingli's direct relationship with the Netherlands, however, can only be documented by the letter written to him by Johannes Cousardus of Gent, whereas Hoen's direct influence on the Louvain circle is proven by the use of the image of the ring in the same sense as Hoen used it, and the appeal to Mt. 24, 23.

Dr. J. Trapman calls my attention to Bernardus of Clairvaux' *Sermo prima in coena Domini*, in which the image of the ring is also presented in connection with the eucharist. The passage reads: 'Sacramentum dicitur sacrum signum siue sacrum secretum; multa siquidem fiunt propter se tantum, alia vero propter alia designanda, et ipsa dicuntur signa et sunt. Vt enim de vsualibus sumamus exemplum, datur anulus absolute propter anulum, et nulla est significatio; datur anulus ad inuestiendum de hereditate aliqua et signum est, ita vt iam dicere possit qui accipit: anulus non valet quidquam, sed hereditas est quam quaerebam. In hunc itaque modum appropinquans passioni Dominus, de gratia sua inuestire curauit suos, vt inuisibilis gratia signo aliquo visibili praestaretur. Ad hoc instituta sunt omnia sacramenta, ad hoc eucharistiae participatio, ad hoc pedum ablutio, ad hoc denique ipse baptismus' (Bernardus of Clairvaux, *Opera V = Sermones II*, 6). This reference to Bernardus' *sermo* is also found in sixteenth-century texts by Sebastian Franck, Philip of Marnix, Wolfgang Musculus and Albert Hardenberg and for this reason must have been widely spread in the era of the Reformation.

D. VISSER

AMONG THE GOOD TEACHERS:
MELANCHTHON ON WESSEL GANSFORT

It is not the purpose of this paper to reopen the question whether Gansfort was a forerunner of the Reformation. Rather it examines the educational and polemical use to which Wittenberg — and Melanchthon in particular — put him, while it indicates the context of Gansfort's thought, much of which is firmly rooted in medieval *topoi*.¹

Both Luther and Melanchthon — and also Albert Hardenberg, friend and correspondent of Melanchthon — considered Gansfort as one of the good teachers among the community of saints that for all of them was the visible and — always forming — church on earth. Melanchthon expressed his respect for Gansfort's theology only in a general way as we shall see. He placed Gansfort in a series of good teachers that includes St Bernard and Hugh of St Victor, sources used by Gansfort as well. Gansfort himself was close to the several strands of mystical meditations exemplified by St Bonaventure, John de Caulibus and Ludolf of Saxony, in addition to Thomas a Kempis.² Like Ludolf (and who cannot sympathise?) Gansfort abandoned the sterility of the polemical dialectics of the university to retire to a life of contemplation, thus incidentally avoiding inclusion among the 'Monks and Schoolmen' so scathingly dismissed by humanists and reformers alike.

¹ On the 'forerunner' debate see the most recent summary by McGrath, *The Intellectual Origins of the European Reformation*, 28ff. Evidently *humility* was important in Luther's theology, but it was a concomitant of his doctrine of the enslaved will which in turn was a main ingredient of his *sola fide* and *sola gratia* theology. On the medieval *topoi* see below notes 2, 21, 26–27.

² [John de Caulibus], *Meditations on the Life of Christ*; Ludolf of Saxony, *Vita Jesu Christi*. The *Meditations* were long thought to be by St Bonaventure and indeed there are striking similarities as can be seen in his commentary on Luke in S. Bonaventurae *Opera* VII: on Mary Magdalene's (and Mary of Bethany's) great love for Christ, also in vol. IX, c. 559b (*passim*), or 452a: 'Fides operat per dilectionem' which parallels the *Meditations*, 172–173; 304; and Ludolf's 'love of God must not and cannot be [without works]', III, 357. To a considerable extent these meditations 'harvested' those of the twelfth and earlier centuries. Thomas a Kempis, *The Imitation of Christ*, Sherley-Price transl., 150 and *passim*.

Melanchthon marshalled Gansfort primarily in defense of *bonae literae* as a tool in the study of the Scriptures and the teachings of the Church. This defense of *bonae literae* had been a concern of Melanchthon's from his earliest days in Wittenberg when he had held up Luther as restoring theology and Erasmus as restoring the study of letters and languages.³ Melanchthon uses Gansfort to parallel this pair in his *Oration on Rudolph Agricola* (1539) — and his letter to Alard of Amsterdam — and in his *Oration on Johann Reuchlin* (1552), making much of Gansfort's influence on both Agricola and Reuchlin.⁴

The origin of Melanchthon's interest in Agricola remains obscure. Heinz Scheible, the editor of Melanchthon's correspondence, has found no references that permit identification of Goswin van Halen's intermediary or a determination of the date of Goswin's Agricola 'biography'.⁵ We may assume that Melanchthon's interest in the Aduard Circle was stimulated by the discussions — reported by Hardenberg — occasioned by Rode's visit to Luther and Luther's endorsement of some of Gansfort's works.⁶

In the 1530s several Northern Netherlanders were in Wittenberg and Melanchthon also became acquainted with John à Lasco and through him eventually with Albert Hardenberg. Among the Netherlanders were Gerard Geldenhouwer Noviomagus and Bernard Frisius from Groningen. The latter, a *magister artium*, worked on Agricola in the late 1530s and may earlier have been Goswin van Halen's letter carrier.⁷ However that may be, it seems to me that Melanchthon's interest in Gansfort derived from the emergence of Agricola's reputation as the one who '... primum in Germania emendaverit genus Sermonis et Dialecticam'⁸

³ *Corpus Reformatorum* XX, col. 699 and 703.

⁴ These *Orations*, and the one on Luther (1548) referred to below are printed in chronological order in *Corpus Reformatorum* XI. It should be noted that the *Oration* in praise of Agricola is meant as an *exemplum* of the usefulness of studying linguistics. In February 1530 he wrote in a letter that his own *Dialectics* is better than earlier ones: *Corpus Reformatorum* I, col. 1084f.; II, col. 542 and other places.

⁵ Oral communication from Dr. H. Scheible who will include Goswin's letter in the final volume of the *Briefwechsel* (below, note 7) containing non-datable materials.

⁶ The visit is discussed by Hardenberg in Gansfort, *Opera*, **7r. The works included in the *Farrago* were no doubt issued because of their relevance to the arguments against indulgences and papal supremacy. In comparison with the *Scala Meditationis* in the *Opera*, the *Farrago* rather illustrates Gansfort as a 'contradicting Doctor'. The precise sequence of these events is the subject of Professor Augustijn's paper in this volume.

⁷ On this Frisius see Melanchthon, *Briefwechsel* II, nos. 1623, 1670, 1719, 1958, esp. 1804.

⁸ See Melanchthon's *Life of Agricola* in *Corpus Reformatorum* XI, col. 439.

Johann Saxo, the East Frisian who delivered the *Oration on Agricola*, was not merely engaged in that favorite humanist *topos* of praising one's patria. Rather, his point was that Agricola 'in Philosophia emendabat ineptas persuasiones scholae' '... scripsit libros dialecticos, ut artem repurgaret, eamque e tenebris in lucem et in aciem educeret.'⁹ Agricola had also defended the conciliar decrees condemning the heresies of Paul of Samosata and Arius while, wrote Melanchthon, he had also rejected the need for human ceremonies: 'tales ritus saepe sine ullo peccato omitti posse.'¹⁰ These insights — so useful for Melanchthon who was at this very time concerned both with the teachings of Servetus and with preparations for the Colloquies of Hagenau, Worms and Regensburg — Agricola had received from Wessel Gansfort. Goswin van Halen, as quoted by Melanchthon, reported that Agricola and Gansfort discussed 'justification by faith' as taught by the Apostle Paul and they 'aperte' rejected the opinion of the Monks 'quae fingit homines operibus justos esse.' And those insights obviously were the result of Wessel's 'very great erudition in all disciplines and his knowledge of Greek and Hebrew.'

The memory of such men, wrote Melanchthon, must be preserved. For the benefits of the studies which these men had pursued, schools had been established in the service of both the Church and the Commonwealth. God protects these churches and the schools — which are the 'praecipua pars Ecclesiae'.

If the historical context of the *Oration on Agricola* gives additional poignancy to the work of Agricola and Gansfort as comilitants for God's Church against the ignorance of the 'schools' and the errors of the 'monks', Melanchthon's *Oration on Reuchlin* was written at a yet more critical period in the history of a church which constantly strove better to define its teachings.

Although he spent a great part of his life in discussion with representatives of pope and emperor, Melanchthon always expressed scepticism about achieving true reconciliation between Rome and the reformers. In early 1539, just before the colloquies of 1539–1541, he had warned in his will against 'Vermittlungstheologen'.¹¹ When he wrote the Reuchlin *Oration* in 1552, he realized that the opportunity for reunification with Rome appeared lost after the Smalkaldic War and the Augsburg *Interim*. Worse yet, the aftermath of the *Interim* had brought into the open doctrinal differences — among the Lutherans themselves

⁹ *Corpus Reformatorum* XI, col. 442.

¹⁰ *Corpus Reformatorum* XI, col. 443.

¹¹ Melanchthon, *Briefwechsel* II, no. 2302.

— which during Luther's life had been more or less contained.¹²

The urgency of this situation he had already expressed in a Declamation of 8 November 1548 called: *On Luther and the Ages of the Church*. In it Melanchthon once again stressed the need for the maintenance of good studies and drew a parallel between 'philosophy' — which had been correctly established by Aristotle but had been corrupted by the teachings of Epicurus and Zeno — and the 'promise of Divine doctrine' — i.e. justification by faith — established by Paul, which was corrupted by Origen's Platonic additions and restored again by St Augustine. After the Gothic and Vandal wars the 'promise of Divine Doctrine' had been obscured once more by the monks, namely Thomas Aquinas and Duns Scotus. So we come to the Fifth Age 'in which God once again recalls the Church to its sources' through Luther. But (in the *Interim*) new attempts at corrupting true doctrine had been made. '[His listeners], skilled in theology, are the guardians of the heavenly doctrine and must be mindful of what God entrusted to [them] through the prophets, the Apostles and newly through Luther.' In this *Oration* Melanchthon treats the 'fifth age' as the last in a series of renovations in the history of a church that constantly struggles to retain correct doctrine. No doubt the 'five ages' were readily suggested by Nebuchadnezzar's dream, but a parallel periodisation was developed by Hugo of St Victor, one of whose *topoi* was also the 'opus restaurationis'.¹³

The theme is taken up again in the Reuchlin *Oration* of 1552 which opens with references to the Smalkaldic War and the outbreak of the plague. Melanchthon prays that God will preserve 'among us' the remnants of the Church and not permit the destruction of 'disciplinam et doctrinae studia'. Therefore, as an instructive reminder of the need for scholars to do the work of the Lord, Melanchthon had decided to discuss the career of Reuchlin whose life illustrates the age in which the study of languages revived in Italy, France and Germany.

¹² Manschreck, *Melanchthon. The Quiet Reformer*, 244–245, 294–302 *passim*.

¹³ See note 4, above. The 'restoration of *bonae literae*' notwithstanding, Hardenberg indicates that Gansfort received his first knowledge of Greek and Hebrew from itinerant scholars some of whom were 'monks': Gansfort, *Opera*, **2rv. Beryl Smalley (see below, note 34) shows that, however occasional, Greek scholarship was not unknown among the glossators and that they consulted frequently with Hebrew scholars on points of interpretation. On Hugo see Ehlers, *Hugo von St Viktor*: 'Opus restaurationis' in ch. 3; 'periodisation', 141ff. The 'five ages' of Nebuchadnezzar's dream, a commonplace, were familiar to Melanchthon at least since 1542 when he worked on his commentary on *Daniel, Corpus Reformatorum* XIII, col. 823–980.

When Reuchlin began to teach in Basel he met Wessel 'the Frisian', who had been forced to leave Paris, because he had criticized 'the errors of certain theologians.' It was in Basel that Reuchlin learned to understand what Wessel had written — 'prorsus congruere eius sententias cum voce Lutheri' — on grace, on justification by faith, on penance and the power of bishops. These are incidentally the topics of Wessel Gansfort's writings for which Luther wrote his prefatory letter in 1522. Whatever Reuchlin may have thought of Wessel's teachings on these subjects Melanchthon does not reveal. Perhaps the agitation on indulgences and the power of the keys did not strike Reuchlin as too radical in part because of its topicality. In the *Oration* of 1552 Melanchthon highlights Reuchlin's contributions to the study of languages, most important among which was Hebrew, for — says Melanchthon — 'chief among the gifts God gave the church is the knowledge of languages which are necessary to understand the sources.' The vehement polemics in which Reuchlin became engaged are briefly referred to because 'nostra aetas abundat exemplis' of controversies which cause great storms in the Commonwealth. One such storm — the debate on the real presence — was raging at the very moment that Melanchthon composed this *Oration* and therefore he does not hesitate to point out that among the manuscripts Reuchlin left to the school in Pforzheim was a history of the Council of Ephesus with its definitions of the union of the human and divine natures of Christ and of the union of the persons. This debate on the doctrine of the real presence of Christ in the Lord's Supper, which Melanchthon's Lutheran opponents based on the doctrine of ubiquity, was just then beginning to disrupt the peace in Bremen where Hardenberg had become preacher at the Cathedral.¹⁴

Two main points emerge from these *Orations*. They are that ignorance of the languages of the Bible leads to error and that Gansfort, who was familiar with these languages, had already taught in total agreement with Luther.

No doubt Melanchthon's reference here is to Luther's own words: 'If I had read [Wessel's] work earlier, my enemies would have thought that [I] had absorbed everything from Wessel, so

¹⁴ On Melanchthon and Hardenberg see Melanchthon, *Briefwechsel* VI. The arguments of their opponents in Timann, *Farrago Sententiarum... de Coena Domini*, 225, 234, 261, where Timann seeks to defeat Hardenberg's position by quoting Melanchthon. See also below, note 20.

is his spirit in accord with mine.'¹⁵ And while Melanchthon's 'May God save the remnants of the Church' was an obvious phrase to describe the condition of the Church in 1552, the term is also used by Luther in the same prefatory letter to Wessel's works when he exclaims that 'the Lord has saved a remnant even at this time' of which 'Wessel, the Frisian from Groningen whom they call Basil' is the proof.

Among the accusations his opponents addressed to Melanchthon in the 1550s were his willingness to leave out the word *sola* in the phrase 'justification by faith *alone*' — provided it was correctly understood — and his teaching the necessity of works for salvation.¹⁶ Without the *sola* the phrase 'salvation by faith' echoes the *justicia fidei* which Gansfort had discussed with Agricola and the writings which he postulated to Reuchlin. Melanchthon did not abandon the *sola*-principle, and by 1557 — symbolically enough at Worms — he even assented to omit the phrase 'good works are necessary for salvation after conversion' to avoid confusion and to smooth at least one path towards reconciliation among the Lutherans.¹⁷ Though, of course, good works as works of gratitude and as bearing witness were nevertheless required. Such works parallel Gansfort's 'love for God' which the believer cultivates having been provoked through the love demonstrated by God, or in the words of the medieval *topos* 'Amor Dei non debet nec potest esse otiosus.' According to Gansfort, God's love is made credible by Scriptural testimonies and the believer's love for God, without which faith is dead, is kindled by God's love of which the Eucharist is the seal.¹⁸

Melanchthon apparently found no difference between himself and Gansfort on *justification*. Perhaps, once one rejects the utility

¹⁵ Luther's letter in Gansfort, *Opera*, 854; also in Scudder and Miller, *Wessel Gansfort* I, 231–233.

¹⁶ Manschreck, *Melanchthon. The Quiet Reformer*, 294–302; Melanchthon, *Briefwechsel* III, nos. 2376, 2411, 2567 (on the Fall and Works), and esp. nos. 2949 and 2950 on *gratis* vs *sola* (in 1542); the article on *faith* in the *Examen Examinandorum* (1552) and the final edition of the *Loci* (1559), both in Melanchthon, *Studienausgabe*: the *Examen* in vol. VI, the 1559 *Loci* in vol. II.

¹⁷ On the necessity of works for salvation after conversion, called Majorism after Georg Major, Melanchthon's colleague: Kolb, *Nikolaus von Amsdorf*, 123ff.; also Preger, *Matthias Flacius Illyricus* I, ch. 9. On Melanchthon's abandoning the phrase 'for the sake of clarity' see *Responsiones ad Articulos Bavaricae Inquisitionis* (1558) in Melanchthon, *Studienausgabe* VI, 334: 'Non utor his verbis: Bona opera sunt necessaria ad salutem, quia hac additione AD SALUTEM, intellegitur meritum'. On the 1557 Colloquy of Worms see the documents in *Corpus Reformatorum* IX for September and October.

¹⁸ See above, note 2; Gansfort's view in *Opera*, 658ff.

of indulgences and one limits the 'power of the keys' to preaching and the maintenance of Christian discipline, the doctrine of works loses its merit.¹⁹

Interestingly enough, Hardenberg at Louvain — before Lasco talked him out of his monastery — ran into trouble for teaching justification by faith as taught by St Paul in the Epistle to the Romans.²⁰ If Hardenberg had told Melanchthon any of the stories he later recorded in his biographical remarks on Wessel, Melanchthon would have had little to worry about in the latter's view on works. When still a student, Gansfort had questioned the value of fasting and of devotions to Mary rather than to Christ 'who invites those heavily burdened.'²¹

One would have liked to know what other excerpts from Gansfort's *Mare Magnum* Hardenberg might have recorded if he himself had not been so absorbed in the struggle over the 'real presence of Christ' at Communion. It certainly is remarkable how he records Gansfort's notes — taken from Rupert of Deutz — that Hardenberg might use in combating the ubiquitarians. Hardenberg, who wrote Gansfort's biography after his own troubles in Bremen, is nevertheless uninformative about what Gansfort may have written about the 'real presence' or about a connection between the famous letter of Cornelius Hoen and Gansfort's teaching. Hardenberg is careful to leave Gansfort's alleged authorship of the treatise that inspired Hoen undetermined. He makes it clear that Luther refused to endorse Hoen's letter. He also cites with apparent approval Luther's rejection of Carlstadt's interpretation of *this*, in the phrase 'this is my body', as referring to Christ himself.²² Melanchthon, of course — and Hardenberg in the Bremen controversies — did not deny the 'real presence' during communion. But they rejected 'ubiquity' as the doctrinal foundation for that presence.

As is ably presented by Mr Spruyt, Gansfort's writings imply acceptance of the 'real presence' and a corporal eating and thus

¹⁹ Gansfort's writings on the power of the keys *Ibid.*, 48–309, where they are identified as the *Farrago*, published by Petri in Basel.

²⁰ On the career of Hardenberg, see Spiegel, *Dr. Albert Rizäus Hardenberg*, also Rottländer, *Der Bürgemeister Daniel von Büren*.

²¹ Wessel as quoted by Hardenberg in Gansfort, *Opera*, **1r. The text from Mt. 11, 28 is one of Melanchthon's favorites, e.g. 'De vocabulo gratia' in *Loci* 1559. Melanchthon, *Studienausgabe* II 2, 420. The same text opens Book IV of Thomas a Kempis's *Imitation*. It is an obvious text for anyone's collection of quotes on *grace* and *consolation*.

²² Hardenberg in Gansfort, *Opera*, **7r.

they do not support Hoen's conclusions.²³ When Hardenberg says that Gansfort taught things that were similar, he probably was thinking about 'spiritual eating' as eating 'with faith'. In any case, Gansfort's letter to the nun which speaks of spiritual communion refers to the situation in which the Sacrament was infrequently celebrated for practical reasons.²⁴ Too easily the historian overlooks the reality of those days — clearly expressed by Gansfort — when no woman could celebrate the Lord's Supper and no member of the laity could drink from the cup. Thus the 'work' was the priest's alone and the full participation of the laity could only be spiritually, i.e. with faith. Gansfort's letter to the nun and his essay on the Eucharist were in part an admonition and in part a consolation. The essay is mostly an example of the sort of meditations on the Lord's Supper and Passion he suggested to the nun.

Gansfort's letter to the nun on communion and the treatise that follows it in the *Opera* are better not read in the context of subsequent Protestant polemics but rather only in the medieval context of such meditations on the Lord's Passion as those by St Bonaventure, John de Caulibus, Ludolf of Saxony, Thomas a Kempis and the writers referred to by them, among which of course and particularly St Bernard and also Hugo of St Victor.²⁵

Gansfort consoles the nun saying that if she meditates, ruminates, reflects with sincere intention on the Lord Jesus she in fact participates in communion. 'Ruminate' is a nice word. It reminds one of the second chewing cows do or of the 'chewing over of someone's words'. The eating of God's words occurs in St Chrysostom and it is not a big step from eating God's word to eating the 'word made flesh'.²⁶ The letter to the nun recalls the paintings by El Greco, done a short time before Gansfort's *Opera* were published, of Mary Magdalene — one among five — and of St Francis, contemplating Christ on a crucifix, with a skull

²³ See B.J. Spruyt in this volume.

²⁴ The letter in Gansfort, *Opera*, 656–657, the *De sacramento eucharistiae* follows on 658–708.

²⁵ This ambience is further highlighted in R.Th.M. van Dijk's contribution to this volume.

²⁶ Gansfort, *Opera*, 656–657; and see John de Caulibus, *Meditationes*, 314ff.; Ludolf of Saxony, *Vita Jesu Christi* II: lvi, 348; lviii; Thomas a Kempis, *De imitatione Christi*, Book IV. The editors refer to Chrysostom in St Bonaventure, *Opera* VII, 362 ll. 14–18. It is from *Hom.* 41 on Mt. 22, 3: 'quae omnia mandens homo, id est audiens, acquisit sibi vitam aeternam . . . Sicut enim qui mittit in eos suum fragmentum panis . . . primum molit eum dentibus . . . et ita dimittit in stomachum . . .'; these words would have warmed Luther's heart.

in the corner below the cross. The iconography of the two paintings is interchangeable. In this painting Magdalene is not as much the penitent as a religious in devotion. The parallels between these paintings and De Caulibus's (a Franciscan) *Meditations* — also written to a nun — and Gansfort's advice are remarkable.²⁷

This excursus on communion — and the real presence — occasioned by Hardenberg's biography of Gansfort is of interest mostly as illustrating how the second generation of reformers became sidetracked by the frequently intra-protestant polemics on the nature of the Lord's Supper. But a recent study by Trapman leaves the impression that early in the sixteenth century critics of the Church were led by their inquisitors to deny the real presence as if their criticism of clergy and ceremony was not enough to convict them as heretics.²⁸

Melanchthon himself names Gansfort, together with some Fathers and other medieval theologians in support of his own exposition on free will in his 1555 German *Loci*.²⁹ It comes at the end of the chapter and immediately follows on a rejection of Manicheism and Stoicism. Melanchthon says that humans are capable of doing outward works that are pleasing to God while spiritual good works are only possible with the Grace of God. He continues: 'Ever since the time of the apostles there have been holy men who have known and preached this truth, some more clearly and purely, some more obscurely than others — Basil, Ambrose, Augustine, Prosper, Maximus, Hugo, Bernard, Tauler, Wessel, and Luther.'³⁰ The list of teachers who taught correctly on grace against the doctrine of good works appears also in the *Confessio Saxonica* of 1551 in a context of the 'ages of the Church' which Melanchthon had already used in the Luther *Oration* of 1548.³¹

The series of good teachers was not yet included in the original

²⁷ *El Greco of Toledo*, 80, plates 39 and 40. Magdalene's love for Christ is a commonplace in St Bonaventure, John de Caulibus as well as in Gansfort, e.g. *De sacramento poenitentiae* in Gansfort, *Opera* 1614. See also Ogilvie, 'Wessel Gansfort's Theology of Church Government'.

²⁸ Trapman, 'Le rôle des "sacramentaires"'.
²⁹ Manschreck, *Melanchthon on Christian Doctrine*, the German version in *Corpus Reformatorum* XXII.

³⁰ *Corpus Reformatorum* XXII, col. 166; the 'testes veritatis' concept earlier in Melanchthon's correspondence, e.g. Melanchthon, *Briefwechsel* II, no. 1880, March 1537. He used it again in the preface to the first volume of Luther's collected works, Melanchthon, *Briefwechsel* IV, no. 3829, March 1544.

³¹ *Corpus Reformatorum* XI.

1521 Latin version of the *Loci*, nor was it retained in the final (1559) Latin version. Similarly the inclusion of the parable of the Prodigal Son in the German version of the *Loci* as an example of God's readiness to accept the contrite to illustrate St Basil's dictum 'God draws the willing', does not occur in the 1559 version. The German language *Loci*'s use of Luke 15 parallels that of Gansfort. Gansfort, of course, cites the father's readiness as an argument against the judicial nature of confession in his discussion of the 'power of the keys' in *De sacramento poenitentiae*, and it is a common *topos* in the explanation of that parable.³² The series of good teachers as evidence of the 'visible church' is used again in Melanchthon's response to the Bavarian inquisitors in 1558 in a rejection of the claims of the pope and 'his Satellites'.³³

In the *Confessio Saxonica* Melanchthon added a Gilbert between Bernard and Hugo. Of Gilbert Porretanus there is an anecdote in which he converted some Jews by his teaching of God's grace as superior to the judgments of the Law.³⁴ Whether Melanchthon actually read St Bernard or Hugo of St Victor may be difficult to establish.³⁵ Because of the *Glossa*, their *dicta* abound in the writings of the 'Monks' as in those of the mystics.³⁶ Though Melanchthon criticized the opinion of the 'Monks' (*quae fingit homines operibus justos esse*), Ludolf of Saxony — a former Dominican teacher — whatever else he wrote on the need for (the) works (of love), repeatedly makes it clear that the ability to do these works results from the gift of the Holy Spirit.³⁷

Melanchthon's series of good teachers is echoed by the appreciation of Gansfort expressed in the *Chronicle of Urssperg*: 'Ita habuit quaelibet aetas suos θεοδίδακτους et in fide electorum Dei agnitioneque veritatis iudicio sano praeditos.'³⁸ The phrase also recalls Melanchthon's discussion of the visible church in his exposition of *Predestination*: 'Hic visibilis coetus est Ecclesia, in

³² Gansfort, *Opera*, 796.

³³ Melanchthon, *Studienausgabe*, 288.

³⁴ Smalley, *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages*, 78.

³⁵ See Meijering, *Melanchthon and Patristic Thought*, 94ff.; see also: Goy, *Die Überlieferung der Werke Hugos von St Viktor*, 224ff. Hugo of St Victor's meditational works were widely read in the fifteenth century.

³⁶ On the *Glossa* see Smalley, *The Study of the Bible*, 46ff.; on Hugo of St Victor, *ibid.*, 83ff.

³⁷ E.g. Ludolf of Saxony on the gifts of the Holy Spirit: *Vita Jesu Christi* I: xlvii and xci. One of the sources for the *Glossa*, Drogo of Paris (11th c.), commented approvingly St Paul's 'man is justified not by works, but by faith in Christ' (Gal. 11, 16).

³⁸ Gansfort, *Opera*, **6r.

qua semper necesse est aliquos esse electos et haeredes vitae aeternae.³⁹ This follows immediately on: 'Called are those only who hear.'⁴⁰ As no one could be perfect on earth, according to both Gansfort and Melanchthon, it was logical that there would be differences of opinion which could be tolerated if they were caused by degrees of understanding. But errors were to be rejected. A similar view emerges in a letter of Goswin van Halen to Hardenberg in which he charges Hardenberg to write to him about 'sects and heresies' by which he did not mean 'the various kinds of monks, for there are many different ways of living under the cross of Christ, provided we use them rightly, but such as the Arians, Manicheans and the like.'⁴¹

One wonders whether Hardenberg chose to include this particular request of Goswin's because Melanchthon, his other mentor and friend, was in his last years so preoccupied with the concepts of the Trinity and Free Will. However that may be, there seems little doubt that Hardenberg wrote Gansfort's biography in Emden not simply because he had returned to Frisia and the city where Rode had settled after his alleged travels with Hoen's letter to Wittenberg and Switzerland. The selection of material indicates that Gansfort afforded Hardenberg a sort of *apologia pro opinionibus suis* for which he used Gansfort in the medieval tradition of biographical exempla.

In the case of both Luther and Melanchthon a similar use is made of Gansfort's career and writings, the selection of which in the *Farrago* represents Gansfort's spirit of contemplation, devotion, and humility only in a limited measure. Melanchthon, moreover, was as skilled in using the *topos* of 'descent' as Erasmus who had claimed Agricola as his intellectual ancestor through Alexander Hegius, a claim borrowed by Vadian who had been taught by Celtis, who in turn had sought out Agricola.⁴² As Melanchthon was most involved in theology, an 'intellectual descent' from Gansfort by way of Reuchlin was still more attractive than one from Agricola. Both Luther and Melanchthon, in placing Gansfort among the good teachers that God sends to preserve his Church, may have incidentally established as it were a concept that parallels Rome's 'apostolic succession' and that could be supported by Gansfort's argument that a man of wisdom should be followed rather than a prelate in error.⁴³

³⁹ Melanchthon, *Loci Communes*, Gg 5ff.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, Hh7.

⁴¹ Gansfort, *Opera*, **4v.

⁴² Waterbolk, 'Een hond in het bad'.

⁴³ Gansfort, *Opera*, 766: 'De potestate ecclesiastica'.

Perhaps the appeal Gansfort had for Melanchthon was simply like that expressed by Luther, i.e. he was so similar *in spirit* at least in his views on indulgences, the function of prelates and the power of the keys.⁴⁴

In the whole exposition on justification and its subcategories of free will, Melanchthon stressed the inability of the human being to obey God's spiritual commands. Without the sacrifice of Christ and his redeeming mediation every person would be lost. Melanchthon would have understood Luther's 'last words' which echo Gansfort's 'we are all beggars from one who is rich, we are restored by the merit of one, we are reconciled by the obedience of one . . .'⁴⁵

⁴⁴ See above, note 15.

⁴⁵ Gansfort, 'De communione sanctorum', *Opera*, 816, thesis 18. See also Oberman, 'Wir sind pettler. Hoc est verum'. Gansfort has a rather more joyous view of humility than Oberman's 'Brownesque' Luther, and he described the contemplative eating of the eucharist as a *convivium* offered by the Lord who made the poor hovel of the invitee into a noble house: *ibid.*, 661. On the alleged scatology of Luther's 'psyche' see Brown, *Life Against Death*. Gansfort's humility is also expressed by Mary Magdalene — and other converted sinners — at the foot of the cross. Such images are commonplace, but nevertheless poignant reminders of a penitent and humble mendicancy of God's mercy. Did Rudolph Agricola have this in mind when he had himself buried in a Franciscan robe? Magdalene's embracing the foot of the cross was seen in popular literature as true penitent begging:

... Who hangs there so piteously
For my sins done outrageously!
mercy, Lord, I beg.

In 'Christ's Burial' in *The Digby Mysteries*, ed. F.J. Furnivall, London 1882, 179.

PART TWO

THE DEVOTIO MODERNA AND ITS INFLUENCE

R.TH.M. VAN DIJK

DIE FRAGE EINER NÖRDLICHEN VARIANTE DER
DEVOTIO MODERNA:
ZUR INTERFERENZ ZWISCHEN DEN
SPÄTMITTELALTERLICHEN REFORMBEWEGUNGEN

1. *Wessel Gansfort und die Rezeption der Devotio Moderna*

Von Johannes Wessel Gansfort (Groningen c. 1419–1489) gilt als hinreichend bewiesen, dass er entscheidende Impulse durch die Devotio Moderna empfangen hat.¹ Wessel Gansfort hat zuerst als Schüler bei den Brüdern vom gemeinsamen Leben in Groningen (?) und Zwolle gelebt.² Von 1432 bis 1439 ist er an der berühmten, vom Geist der Devotio Moderna weitgehend geprägten, Stadtschule zu Zwolle als Lehrer tätig gewesen.³ Zum Windesheimer Kloster Sint-Agnietenberg bei Zwolle hat er in ständiger Verbindung gestanden, und besonders zu Thomas Hemerken von Kempen, dem berühmten Endredaktor des Buches *Von der Nachfolge Christi*, tiefgreifende Kontakte unterhalten.⁴ Er verdankte, wie er selbst bezeugt hat, der Lektüre dieser Spruchsammlung seine ersten Anregungen zur Gottesfurcht.⁵

Inwieweit sich die Prägung durch die Devotio Moderna in seinem Schrifttum nachweisen liess, muss hier unbeachtet bleiben.⁶ Nur im allgemeinen sei gesagt, dass überhaupt die

¹ Van Rhijn, *Wessel Gansfort*, bes. 28–46; id., *Studiën over Wessel Gansfort*. Zur wissenschaftlichen Forschungslage hinsichtlich der Devotio Moderna siehe vor allem: Post, *The Modern Devotion*; De Bruin, Persoons und Weiler, *Geert Grote en de Moderne Devotie*; Geert Grote & Moderne Devotie; *Moderne Devotie. Figuren en facetten*; *De doorwerking van de Moderne Devotie*. Als bibliographische Hilfsmitteln sind zu erwähnen: Dols, *Bibliographie der Moderne Devotie*; Debongnie, 'Dévotion moderne'; Ditsche, 'Zur Herkunft und Bedeutung des Begriffes devotio moderna'; Alberts, 'Zur Historiographie der Devotio Moderna und ihrer Erforschung'; Persoons, *Recente Publicaties over de Moderne Devotie (1959–1972)*; Van Dijk, 'De Moderne Devotie'; Weiler, 'Recent Historiography on the Modern Devotion'.

² Van Rhijn, *Wessel Gansfort*, 29–30.

³ *Ibid.*, 38. Vgl. Schoengen, *Die Schule von Zwolle*; Post, *Scholen en onderwijs in Nederland gedurende de middeleeuwen*, 136; *Moderne Devotie. Figuren en facetten*, 168–170.

⁴ *Monasticon Windeshemense* III, 15–49, bes. 43. Vgl. *Moderne Devotie. Figuren en facetten*, 335–339. Über Thomas a Kempis siehe *Petri Trudonensis Catalogus scriptorum Windeshemensium*, 202–211 (Nr. 138); *Bijdragen over Thomas a Kempis en de Moderne Devotie*; *Thomas von Kempen. Beiträge zum 500. Todesjahr*; Van Dijk, 'Thomas Hemerken a Kempis'.

⁵ '... prima incitamenta pietatis...' (Van Rhijn, *Wessel Gansfort*, XIII).

⁶ *Ibid.*, LI–LXX; Cristiani, 'Wessel'. Prof. Dr. H.A. Oberman (Tucson) wird in

eigentliche Spiritualität dieser Reformbewegung in ihrer theologischen und geschichtlichen Darstellung bisher zu wenig beobachtet oder zu Klischees verengt wird. Berührt ist in dieser Hinsicht wohl die leider lange für zutreffend gehaltene Kennzeichnung der *Devotio Moderna* von Johan Huizinga in seinem *Herbst des Mittelalters*:

Wie in jedem pietistischen Kreis lieferte hier die Religion nicht nur die Lebensform, sondern auch die Gesellschaftsform: die gemütliche geistige Gemeinschaft in stiller Intimität zwischen einfachen Männern und Frauen, deren grosser Himmel sich über einer winzig kleinen Welt wölbte, an der das ganze Rauschen der Zeit vorüberstrich. Die Freunde bewunderten in Thomas a Kempis seine Unkenntnis der gewöhnlichen weltlichen Dinge; ein Prior von Windesheim hiess mit ehrvollem Beinamen Jan Ich-weiss-nicht. Sie können keine andere Welt als nur eine vereinfachte brauchen; sie reinigen sie dadurch, dass sie das Böse von ihrer Sphäre ausschliessen. Innerhalb der engen Konventikel leben sie in der Freude eines empfindsamen gegenseitigen Zugetanseins: der Blick des einen ruht unaufhörlich auf dem andern, um alle Anzeichen der Gnade wahrzunehmen; sich gegenseitig zu besuchen, ist ihr Vergnügen. Daher ihre besondere Neigung zur Lebensbeschreibung, der wir die genaue Kenntnis dieses geistigen Zustandes zu verdanken haben.⁷

Die Geschichtsschreibung hat sich bisher weitgehend um die nördliche Variante des christlichen oder biblischen Humanismus gekümmert, die Frage aber zu einer nördlichen Variante der *Devotio Moderna* fast genauso weitgehend vernachlässigt. Für Mediävisten gilt das 15. Jahrhundert als ein weniger bedeutsamer Zeitraum zur Neuen Zeit, während im Durchschnitt Forscher des Humanismus und der Reformation das selbe Jahrhundert als eine uninteressante Vorstufe der neueren Geistesströmungen anzusehen pflegen. Von daher ist es zu verstehen, dass mancher Wissenschaftler auch heute noch nicht weiter kommen als Verallgemeinerungen, wie diese: 'The intellectual climate in monasteries belonging to the congregations of Windesheim and Sion, was not very favourable to humanist studies.'⁸

Eine solche Aussage erscheint als streitig mit bestimmten Forschungsergebnissen.⁹ Wenn man die *Devotio Moderna* und andere, gleichzeitig in Europa wirksamen Reformbewegungen des

Kürze ein Buch über Wessel Gansfort und seinen Platz in der *Devotio Moderna* herausbringen.

⁷ Huizinga, *Herbst des Mittelalters*, (Deutsche Übersetzung, München 1928) 276. Originaltext: Huizinga, *Verzamelde werken* III, 232–233.

⁸ Tilmans, 'Cornelius Aurelius (c. 1460–1531), praeceptor Erasmi?', 202.

⁹ Zum Beispiel: Lourdaux, *Moderne Devotie en Christelijk Humanisme*; Lourdaux and Haverals, *Bibliotheca Vallis Sancti Martini in Lovanio*.

14. und 15. Jahrhunderts als eine zweite Welle kräftiger Impulse zur Reform von Kirche und Gesellschaft betrachtet, die geschichtlich nicht ohne die erste Welle mittelalterlicher Reformbewegungen des 12. und 13. Jahrhunderts zu verstehen sind, steht die Devotio Moderna in einem ganz anderen Kontext.¹⁰ Die von Huizinga angemerkte Individualisierung des religiösen Lebens ist nicht einem wachsenden Individualismus zu verdanken, sondern dem zunehmenden Selbstbewusstsein des Christen, das in der Devotio Moderna und im biblischen und christlichen Frühhumanismus erst richtig zu Entfaltung kam. Johannes Wessel Gansfort ist ein Beispiel dieser spätmittelalterlichen Geisteshaltung.¹¹

Obwohl ihn sein unruhiger und kritischer Geist immer wieder zu Umzügen innerhalb Europas und Verbleiben in wichtigen Universitätsstädten anregte, kehrte Wessel Gansfort in seine Heimat zurück, weilte einige Jahre im Kloster Sint-Agnietenberg (1477–1482) und verbrachte seine letzten Jahre in Aduard und Groningen (1482–1489), dem Studium und der frommen Betrachtung im Sine der Devotio Moderna hingegeben.¹² Was er von Jugend an, während seiner Arbeit als Theologe und im Verkehr mit Devoten an Spiritualität rezipiert hat, schlug sich zum Schluss nieder in mehreren aszetisch-beschaulichen Schriften, so wie *Scala meditationis* (1483/86) und *Exempla scalae meditationis* (1486/89).¹³

Durch das Gedankengut in diesen Schriften ist in der Herbstzeit der Devotio Moderna besonders der Windesheimer Regularkanoniker vom Kloster Sint-Agnietenberg, Johannes Mauburnus (Brüssel ca. 1460 — Livry 1501), geprägt worden.¹⁴ Vor allem in seinem *Rosetum exercitiorum spiritualium et sacrarum meditationum* ist das Erbe der Devotio Moderna mehr oder weniger in die Neuzeit, bei Garcia de Cisneros und Ignatius von Loyola, gelangt.¹⁵ Zu bemerken ist aber, dass wir mit Mauburnus schon mehr als ein Jahrhundert von den Anfängen der Devotio Moderna

¹⁰ Elm, 'Reform- und Observanzbestrebungen im spätmittelalterlichen Ordenswesen'; Van Dijk, 'Leben nach der Devotio moderna'.

¹¹ 'De geest en invloed van de Moderne Devotie is echter voelbaar gebleven, mede omdat een aantal humanisten, zoals Wessel Gansfort en Erasmus, hun opvoeding in deze sfeer genoten heeft.' (Hermans and Lem, *Middeleeuwse Handschriften en Oude Drukken in de collectie Emmanuelshuizen*, 10). Vgl. Augustijn, *Erasmus*, 19, 22, 27.

¹² Van Rhijn, *Wessel Gansfort*, 111–155. Vgl. Franzen, 'Johannes Wessel Gansfort'.

¹³ Van Rhijn, *Wessel Gansfort*, LVII; Gansfort, *Opera* (1614). Vgl. *Wessel Gansfort en het Noordelijk Humanisme*, 13–23.

¹⁴ Debongnie, *Jean Mombaer de Bruxelles*; Petri Trudonensis *Catalogus*, 118–125 (Nr. 82). Siehe auch *Moderne Devotie. Figuren en facetten*, 343–348.

¹⁵ Steggink, 'De Moderne Devotie in het Montserrat van Ignatius van Loyola'.

und deren Grundwerten entfernt sind, und mit ernstem Nachlassen der ursprünglichen Ideale zu rechnen haben. Bei Wessel Gansfort war das noch nicht der Fall.

So hat Wessel Gansfort die *Devotio Moderna* nicht nur passiv, sondern auch aktiv rezipiert. Um seiner aszetisch-beschaulichen Schriften willen hat man ihn, obwohl er weder Bruder vom gemeinsamen Leben noch Windesheimer Regularkanoniker war, sondern Laie, als *Doctor Devotionis Modernae* zu den Lehrern der *Devotio Moderna* gezählt. Ihn auf Grund seiner theologischen Auffassungen über bestimmte Themen, wie der Unfehlbarkeit der Konzilien, der Binde- und Lösegewalt, der priesterlichen Absolution, der Lehre vom Abendmahl, vom Ablass, vom Fegfeuer, von der Busse und von der Wirksamkeit der Sakramente *ex opere operato*, zu den Vorreformatoren zu zählen, ist heutzutage ebenso wiederruflich als der häufige Versuch, die *Devotio Moderna* an sich als eine Art 'Vorreformation' in die lutherische Reformation hineinzustufen.¹⁶ Wessel Gansfort wollte, wie so viele devoten Schriftsteller, nur die juristische Entartung der Kirche bestreiten und ihre Heilswirkung als Liebe- und Geistesgemeinschaft aller Christgläubigen betonen. Die *Devotio Moderna* war ebenso wie die lutherische Reformation eine Reformbewegung, die auf die Gesundung der ungeteilten aber erkrankten und reformbedürftigen Kirche bedacht war. Eher komme Rom die zweifelhafte Ehre zu, durch ständiges undiplomatisches Vorgehen aus einer gesunden Reform ein direktes Schisma in der Kirche geschaffen zu haben.

2. Die Spiritualität der *Devotio Moderna*

Wessel Gansfort hat von Jugend an die *Devotio Moderna* als geistliches und religiöses Klima erlebt. Welche Grundwerte haben seine Umwelt geprägt? Wir wollen uns hier nur mit der Spiritualität der eigentlichen *Devotio Moderna* befassen, und die Frage, in wieweit sie in der Spiritualität des Kartäuserordens gewurzelt ist, unbeachtet lassen.¹⁷

Im 22. Kapitel der Vitenversammlung aus dem Kreis der devoten Schwestern vom gemeinsamen Leben zu Deventer lesen wir:

¹⁶ Delprat, *Verhandeling over de Broederschap van Geert Grootte*; Ullmann, *Reformatoren vor der Reformation I*; Van Slee, *De kloostervereeniging van Windesheim*; Bonet-Maury, *Gérard de Grootte un précurseur de La Réforme*.

¹⁷ Rüthing, 'Die Kartäuser und die spätmittelalterlichen Ordensreformen'.

Siet, aldus hebben onse lieve oelde zusteren int gemyene geweest, daer hiervoer van gescreven is, ende oec hierna volgen: Goddienstich ende ingekiert tot Gode, stichtich ende rijpe in oere wanderinge, soedat een mensche tot ynnicheit ende totten love Gods verwecket mochte worde, die oer zeden ende wanderinge sach.¹⁸

Es handelt sich um eine Darstellung des Selbstbildes der Devotio Moderna aus eigener Anschauung und Erfahrung. Laut dieser authentischen Beschreibung kennzeichnet sich der devote Mensch durch eine religiöse, auf Schauung des Gottesmysteriums gezielte Lebenshaltung, durch Erbauung und Lebensreife und durch ein persönliches Verhalten, das Mitmenschen zu *ynnicheit* und Gotteslob anregt.

Zentral in diesem Selbstbild steht die *ynnicheit*, nur unzulänglich mit niederländisch *innigheid*, deutsch *Innigkeit*, neulatein *interioritas* zu übersetzen. Was heisst *ynnicheit*? 'Dit is waerachtige ynnicheit: een oetmoedighe, vuerighe begheerte tot Gode ende tot allen dingen, die Gods sijn.'¹⁹ Der *ynnighe* Mensch ist zuerst *oetmoedich* (demütig), das heisst: er will nicht mehr und nicht weniger sein als was er ist. Demütig ist der Mensch, der seine blossen Wirklichkeit vor dem Angesicht der ewigen und unveränderlichen Wahrheit ohne jegliche Fehlzeichnung anerkennt. Er beharrt auf innerlichem Frieden und geistlichem Gleichgewicht. Ohne Überheblichkeit schaut er in sich selbst das Bild Gottes, wie er aus Gottes Hand erschaffen ist, wie er dem Mächtigen gegenüber der Niedere ist, wie die Niedrigkeit die Grundgegebenheit des menschlichen und irdischen Daseins überhaupt ist. Aus der Grunderfahrung dieses Daseins ergibt sich in ihm eine *vuerighe begheerte tot Gode* (glühende Begierde nach Gott), nach seinem Ursprung, der sein Endziel, nach seinem Endziel, das sein Ursprung ist. Es ist die Begierde des sich Spiegelnden, sich mit dem unnahbaren Bild im Spiegel zu vereinigen. Diese Begierde heisst *ynnicheit*. Sie ist wesentlich Bewegung, kein Zustand. Vereinigung mit der göttlichen Liebe ist die wesentstiefe Absicht des liebenden Herzen. Das von sich aus leere Herz ruft um die Vollheit der Liebe, ein ganzes Leben lang. Leben ist: unstillbar begehren. Woher kommt diese Unruhe der Liebe?

In der dritten Nocturne der Totenvigilie hat Geert Grote eine wichtige Glosse zum Psalm 41, Vers 8, geschrieben, der lautet: *Abyssus abyssum invocat, in voce cataractarum tuarum* (Eine Flut ruft

¹⁸ Hier beginnen sommige stichtige punten van onsen oelden zusteren, 60.

¹⁹ Ibid., 60, Anm.

es der anderen zu beim Tosen deiner Wildbäche).²⁰ Es handelt sich um den Begriff *cataracta* (Katarakt), der wohl als *Schleuse* zu verstehen ist.

*Cataracten dat sin alle dinghe die yenich dinc besluten ende holden, die dan wtuloyen of wtspringhen wan die dinghe sich op doen of opluken.*²¹ Ein Katarakt ist zum Beispiel ein Fenster. So lange es geschlossen bleibt, umfasst es die Luft. Wenn es aber geöffnet wird, so tritt die Luft ein und aus. Es zieht, sagen wir. Woher kommt die Bewegung der Luft? Gibt es ein Vacuum, das die Luft an sich zieht? Oder wird irgendwie die Luft eher angestaut? Ein Katarakt ist zum Beispiel auch ein Wasserfall. Ist es die Tiefe, die die Wassermasse an sich zieht? Oder wird eher die Höhe überströmen und sich herunterstürzen? *Eine Flut ruft es der anderen zu beim Tosen deiner Wildbäche.* Das leere Herz des Menschen ruft die Vollheit der göttlichen Liebe herab und die überströmende göttliche Liebe sucht den Raum des entledigten Herzen. *So inroepet afgront den afgront, die diepheit inropet diepheit, ende hoeheit die hoeheit, ende diepheit die hoeheit ende hoeheit die diepheit. Dat schiet al inder stemmen der catharacten Godes.*²² Es ist die Gegenseitigkeit der Liebe, die sich zuerst schenkt und sich aus der eben geschenkten Begierde heraus suchen lässt.

Katarakte sind die Apostel, die Propheten, die Heiligen, *want doer si vloyet die ewighe waerheit ende die gront oetmoedicheit in horen leuen ende in horen leren.*²³ Sie sind Fenster, durch die das Göttliche auf uns herabstrahlt.

Einmaliger Katarakt ist Jesus Christus. Denn im Mysterium der Menschwerdung erscheint uns Gott als der Mitmensch und offenbart der Mitmensch Gott. *Ghene diepe gherechte oetmoedicheit en mach men viinden anders dan inder stemmen des leuens ende der lere Christi.*²⁴ Die Nachfolge Christi ist deshalb der einzig sichere Weg zum Endziel, in dem der devote Mensch mit seinem Ursprung wiedervereinigt wird. Nachfolge ist hier nicht als Nachahmung, sondern als persönliche Nachvollziehung zu verstehen.²⁵ Die Nachfolge Christi ist zugleich der einzig sichere Weg zum Mitmenschen, denn sie gehören an erster Stelle *tot allen dingen die Gods sijn*. Die *ynnicheit* ist die Treibkraft, die mich

²⁰ Übersetzung von Kraus, *Psalmen* I, 471.

²¹ Van Wijk, *Het Getijdenboek van Geert Grote*, 180.

²² *Ibid.*, 182.

²³ *Ibid.*, 183.

²⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁵ Sudbrack, 'Existentielles Christentum'; ders., 'Das geistliche Gesicht der vier Bücher der Nachfolge Christi'; ders., *Personale Meditation*.

zu meinem Selbst, zu meinem Ursprung und Endziel und zu meinem Mitmenschen führt. *Ynnicheit* macht enig, so dass mir alles *inne* wird: mein Ich, Gott, der Mitmensch. Das *ghemeine leven* (Jan van Ruusbroec) oder die *vita ambidextra* (Geert Grote) ist die Lebenshaltung, aus der der Mensch in einer einzigen Liebesbewegung Gott und den Mitmenschen, den Mitmenschen und Gott ohne jegliche Konkurrenz wie sichselbst liebt.²⁶ *Vita communis* ist also nicht zuerst die Praxis des täglichen gemeinsamen Lebens in Brüderlichkeit und Schwesterlichkeit, wie sie schon in der Apostelzeit eingeübt worden ist, sondern der eigentliche spirituelle Grund dieser *praxis pietatis*.²⁷

3. Die typologische Entfaltung der Devotio Moderna

Das 12. Jahrhundert war ein Zeitraum erheblicher Erneuerung und frühes Humanismus, der in der apostolischen Armutbewegung der *pauperes Christi* vor allem durch Frauen geprägt wurde.²⁸ Diese Bewegung wurde auf Anregung des Papstes im 13. Jahrhundert zum Teil in die neuentstandenen Mendikantenorden eingestuft.²⁹ Als im 14. Jahrhundert das kirchliche Leben durch die Einwirkung der babylonischen Gefangenschaft der Päpste und des unheilsamen grossen Schismas abflaute, kamen viele Reformbewegungen auf, die der Gesundung der innerlich zerspaltenen Kirche beitragen wollten.³⁰ Sie atmeten eine Atmosphäre, die man in gewisser Hinsicht die 'Devotio Moderna im breiteren Sinn' nennen könnte.³¹ Die im engeren Sinn zu verstehende niederländisch-deutsche Devotio Moderna war nur eine der vielen damaligen innerkirchlichen, religiösen Reformbewegungen. Sie ist aber ohnehin als die wichtigste Reformbewegung des späten 14. und des 15. Jahrhunderts zu betrachten, weil sie, obwohl im Semireligiosentum entstanden, die innere und äussere Reform des kanonikalen und sogar monastischen Vollreligiosentums in seinem Expansionsgebiet weitgehend geprägt, wenn nicht vollzogen hat.³²

²⁶ Epiney-Burgard, *Gérard Grote (1350–1384)*, 294–296; Fraling, *Mystik und Geschichte*.

²⁷ Lk. 2, 40–47 und 4, 32–35.

²⁸ Southern, *Western Society and the Church in the Middle Ages*; Dalarun, *Robert d'Arbrissel*. Siehe auch Anm. 29.

²⁹ Grundmann, *Religiöse Bewegungen im Mittelalter*, passim.

³⁰ Milis, 'Reformatory Attempts within the Ordo canonicus'; Van den Bosch, 'Die Kreuzherrenreform des 15. Jahrhunderts'.

³¹ Van Dijk, 'Leben nach der Devotio moderna'.

³² Kohl, 'Die Windesheimer Kongregation', mit Angabe von wichtiger Literatur.

In Brabant hat es schon früher die Propstei Groenendaal mit Johannes Ruusbroec und seiner Schule der brabantischen Mystik gegeben.³³ Im Rheinland waren es die Dominikaner, die Dominikanerinnen und die Gottesfreunde, die eine eigene Schule der rheinländischen Mystik bildeten.³⁴ Aus beiden hat die niederländisch-deutsche *Devotio Moderna* geschöpft. Geert Grote hat Ruusbroec besucht und bewundert und einige seiner Schriften übersetzt.³⁵ Hat er mit der Überarbeitung und Übersetzung von Heinrich Seuses *Horologium Sapientiae* nicht auch versucht, das Wesen der rheinländischen Mystik heranzuziehen und in eigenem Kreis zu verbreiten?³⁶ Schon im Jahre 1365 entschlossen sich in Goch einige Männer, eine *societas*, ein brüderliches Zusammenleben als *virī devoti* in *obedientia voluntaria* anzufangen.³⁷ Wenigstens zehn Jahre vor der Gründung der ersten Deventer Schwestern vom gemeinsamen Leben erklingt hier fast die selbe Terminologie, der wir später auch in den Akten und Schriften der modernen Devoten begegnen.³⁸

Schon aus diesen wenigen Beispielen wird klar, dass die *Devotio Moderna* auch an andern Reformbewegungen Impulse zu verdanken hat. Dass die niederländisch-deutsche *Devotio Moderna* denn auch in der Geschichtsschreibung bisher nicht immer präzise von benachbarten und verwandten Reformbewegungen abzugrenzen war, darf nicht verwundern. Johannes Brugman ist zu den modernen Devoten gezählt worden, so lange man die eigene Identität und Wirkungskraft der gleichzeitigen franziskanischen Observantenbewegung unterschätzt hat.³⁹ Ähnliche Urteile treffen auf die holländische Kongregation des Predigerordens und verwandte Reformbewegungen bei den Karmeliten und den Augustinern, die Sibculoer Kolligation des Zisterzienserordens und die Bursfelder Union des Benediktinerordens zu: sie haben alle ihre eigene Identität, die sich nicht schlechthin als *die Devotio Moderna* aufweisen lässt, mit ihr aber zahlreiche personelle,

³³ Jan van Ruusbroec 1293–1381. Angabe von wichtiger Literatur.

³⁴ Ancelet-Hustache, *Eckhart en de mystiek van zijn tijd*; *Altdeutsche und altniederländische Mystik*; Cognet, *Introduction aux mystiques rhéno-flamands*.

³⁵ Epiney-Burgard, *Gérard Grote (1350–1384)*, 104–141.

³⁶ *Getijden van de Eeuwige Wijsheid*, 19–21.

³⁷ *Moderne Devotie. Figuren en facetten*, 121–122 (nr. 32).

³⁸ Lourdaux, 'De Broeders van het gemene leven'.

³⁹ Moll, *Johannes Brugman*; Van den Hombergh, *Leven en werk van Jan Brugman O.F.M.*; Van den Hombergh, 'Brugman en de broeders'. Vgl. Manselli, 'L'osservanza francescana: dinamica della sua formazione e fenomenologia'; Nimmo, 'The Franciscan Regular Observance'; Nyhus, 'The Franciscan Observant Reform in Germany'.

geistige und institutionelle Bindungen aufweist.⁴⁰ Auch in Ostmitteleuropa gab es Reformbewegungen, die der niederländisch-deutschen Devotio Moderna sehr ähnlich sind, obwohl sie von geringerer Ausstrahlungskraft waren.⁴¹

Die Erscheinung dieser Reformbewegungen braucht nicht ohnehin zur Annahme von unmittelbaren Einflüssen aus der niederländisch-deutschen Devotio Moderna zu veranlassen, wie öfter versucht worden ist.⁴² Eher ist von einem gemeinsamen reformbegierigen Klima innerhalb Europas die Rede, in dem sogar Neugründungen wie der Birgittenorden entstehen konnten.⁴³ Die verschiedenen Reformbewegungen weisen sich folglich als Varianten einer grundsätzlichen und allgemeinen Reformbegierde auf. Ein solches Klima lässt sich nun einmal schneller und klarer in internationalen Kreisen, wie eben Universitätsstädten wie Prag, Bologna und Paris, nachweisen. Dadurch sind die Grenzen zwischen den verschiedenen Reformbewegungen unscharf und liegt gegenseitige Wiedererkennung des gleichen oder ähnlichen Anliegens mehr auf der Hand als direkter Einfluss. Deshalb betrachten wir die niederländisch-deutsche Devotio Moderna lieber als eine Variante der allgemeinen innerkirchlichen Reformbegierde und als eine Komponente des europäischen Netzes der spätmittelalterlichen Reformbewegungen. Wohl darf betont werden, dass die niederländisch-deutsche Devotio Moderna als die kräftigste der damaligen Reformbewegungen anzusehen ist. Sie hat, besonders in der zweiten Hälfte des fünfzehnten Jahrhunderts, der Vollziehung des zentralkirchlichen Reformprogramms gedient.⁴⁴

Das Anliegen, die niederländisch-deutsche Devotio Moderna näher abzugrenzen, ist inzwischen legitim. Dazu lässt sie sich, von den jüngsten Untersuchungen ausgehend, wie folgt definieren:

⁴⁰ Hillenbrand, 'Die Observantenbewegung in der deutschen Ordensprovinz der Dominikaner'; Wolfs, 'Dominikanische Observanzbestrebungen: Die Congregatio Hollandiae'; Smet, 'Pre-Tridentine Reform in the Carmelite Order'; Martin, 'The Augustinian Observant Movement'; Elm, 'Reformen und Kongregationsbildungen der Zisterzienser'; Engelbert, 'Die Bursfelder Benediktinerkongregation und die spätmittelalterlichen Reformbewegungen'; Becker, 'Erstrebte und erreichte Ziele benediktinischer Reformen im Spätmittelalter'.

⁴¹ Elm, 'Reformen und Kongregationsbildungen der Zisterzienser', 6, und Anm. 5. Siehe auch Sarbak, 'Appunti al Decalogus di Gergely Gyöngyösi'; ders., 'Entstehung und Frühgeschichte des Ordens der Pauliner'; Gyöngyösi, *Vitae Fratrum Eremitarum Ordinis Sancti Pauli*. Siehe auch den Beitrag von Dr. Sarbak in diesem Band.

⁴² Vgl. Post, *Modern Devotion*, 1–49.

⁴³ Nyberg, 'Der Birgittenorden im Zeitalter der Ordensreformen'.

⁴⁴ Schimmelpfennig, 'Das Papsttum und die Reform des Zisterzienserordens';

Die niederländisch-deutsche Devotio Moderna ist eine innerkirchliche religiöse Erneuerungsbewegung, die

1. die Person und die Arbeit des Deventer Diakons Geert Grote als *pater et origo omnis devotionis Modernae* (Vater und Ursprung der gesamten Devotio Moderna) anerkennt;
2. die Nachfolge Christi als persönlichen Weg zu Gott in Brüderlichkeit, bzw. Schwesterlichkeit, in *ynnicheit ende stillicheit*, in *aendachticheit ende eenvoldicheit*, in *oetmoedicheit ende armoede* übt;
3. einen noch nicht völlig erforschten Einfluss der Kartäuserspiritualität aufweist;
4. in verschiedenen, im Ideal der apostolischen *vita communis* (gemeinsames Leben) gewurzelten, mit einander zusammenhängenden, institutionellen Formen des Semi- und Vollreligiosentums erscheint;
5. sich vom letzten Viertel des 14. Jahrhunderts bis ins zweite Viertel des 16. Jahrhunderts über die nördlichen und südlichen Niederlande, Westfalen, Württemberg und im ganzen Rheinland verbreitet hat;
6. mit anderen kirchlichen Reformbewegungen und Institutionen eine noch nicht völlig erforschte Interferenz aufweist und besonders in der zweiten Hälfte des fünfzehnten Jahrhunderts im Rahmen der kirchlichen Reformkonzilien als eine dritte und, vor der lutherischen Reformation, letzte Welle innerkirchlicher Reform gewirkt hat.

Besonders der Berliner Historiker K. Elm hat auf das Merkmal des *status medius* oder des Semireligiosentums in der Devotio Moderna hingewiesen.⁴⁵ Sein Lehrling Gerhard Rehm hat, den gewonnenen Einsichten entsprechend, in seiner wichtigen Dissertation über *Die Schwestern vom gemeinsamen Leben im nordwestlichen Deutschland* bemerkenswerte *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der Devotio Moderna und des weiblichen Religiosentums* beigetragen.⁴⁶ Zwar zeigt sich die Devotio Moderna klar und typologisch umschreibbar in ihrer institutionellen Entfaltung, wie bei den Brüdern vom gemeinsamen Leben in ihren Kolloquien von Zwolle und Münster, den Kanonikern vom gemeinsamen Leben im Kapitel von Mariental, den Augustiner Chorherren und Chorfrauen in den Kapiteln von Windesheim, Sion (Holland) und

Walsh, 'Papsttum und Ordensreform im Spätmittelalter und Renaissance'; Mertens, 'Reformkonzilien und Ordensreform im 15. Jahrhundert'; Zumkeller, 'Die Beteiligung der Mendikanten an der Arbeit der Reformkonzilien von Konstanz und Basel'.

⁴⁵ Elm, 'Die Bruderschaft vom gemeinsamen Leben'.

⁴⁶ Rehm, *Die Schwestern vom gemeinsamen Leben im nordwestlichen Deutschland*.

Venlo, den Tertiaren und Tertiariessen in den Kapiteln von Utrecht, Köln und Zepperen.⁴⁷ Festzustellen aber ist, wie die Hunderte von Frauengemeinschaften einzustufen sind, die nicht einem Verband angegliedert waren, oft nur vorübergehend bestanden haben und im Dämmergebiet der nicht endgültig identifizierten *mulieres religiosae*, *sorores*, *moniales*, *susteren*, *nonnen*, *virgines*, *beginnae*, *devotae* in irgendeiner *domus sororum*, *susterhuis*, oder in irgendeiner *vergaderinghe*, *samelynghe*, *convent*, *congregatio* verweilt haben. Zu schweigen von 'Laien', wie Johannes Cele, Nikolaus von Kues und Johannes Wessel Gansfort, die keinem Kloster, Haus oder Verband angeschlossen waren und nachweisbar unter dem Einfluss der Devotio Moderna gewirkt haben.

Rehm hat sich der weiteren Forschung der Devotio Moderna dadurch verdient gemacht, indem er für die Einstufung von im Dämmergebiet der Devotio Moderna zurückgebliebenen Häusern und Klöstern regionalgeographische und institutionstypologische Kriterien ausgearbeitet hat.⁴⁸ Selbst habe ich in meiner Dissertation neue Wege gewiesen zur näheren Identifizierung der nach dem Windesheimer Kapitel modellierten Chorfrauenklöster.⁴⁹ Nur andeutend sei gesagt, wieviel Forschungsarbeit uns noch bevorsteht, bevor wir ein, der geschichtlichen Wirklichkeit entsprechendes Bild der chronologischen, geographischen und typologischen Entfaltung der Devotio Moderna und damit der verschiedenen regionalgeographischen und institutionstypologischen Varianten erhalten werden.

4. Die Frage einer nördlichen Variante

Es darf dann auch nicht verwundern, dass im Lichte der heutigen Forschungslage die Frage nach einer nördlichen Variante in der niederländisch-deutschen Devotio Moderna kaum beantwortet werden kann. Ist die Devotio Moderna als ein Vorläufer des christlichen Humanismus zu betrachten, wie von G.H.M. Delprat versucht worden ist?⁵⁰ Oder ist sie die Heimat

⁴⁷ Acquoy, *Het klooster te Windesheim* III, 12–232; Van Heel, 'De Tertiariessen van het Utrechtsche Kapittel'; Kohl, *Die Schwesternhäuser nach der Augustinusregel*; Kohl, *Die Klöster der Augustiner-Chorherren*; *Monasticon Fratrum Vitae Communis*; *Monasticon Windeshemense*; Hommes, *Het Kapittel van Venlo*, 50–75; Vanhoof, 'De turbulente verhouding tussen het Kapittel van Sion en zijn kloosters te Ekeren en Heindonk'.

⁴⁸ Rehm, *Die Schwestern vom gemeinsamen Leben im nordwestlichen Deutschland*, 26–58.

⁴⁹ Van Dijk, *De constituties der Windesheimse vrouwenkloosters*, 649–661.

⁵⁰ Siehe Anm. 16.

der nördlichen Variante eines neuen christlichen Humanismus um die Person des Desiderius Erasmus, wie P. Mestwerdt behauptet hat?⁵¹ Ebensowenig wie die *Devotio Moderna* ist der christliche Humanismus in Europa als eine einheitliche Erscheinung zu betrachten. Es gibt unterschiedliche Varianten, die ein gemeinsames Netzwerk bilden. Die Zusammenhänge von *Devotio Moderna* und christlichem Humanismus sind besonders von L.W. Spitz, H.A. Oberman und W. Lourdaux erforscht worden.⁵² So ist die intellektuelle Tätigkeit und Wirkung des Windesheimer Chorherrenkloster Sint-Maartensdal zu Löwen von Lourdaux als eine eigene südliche Variante der späteren *Devotio Moderna* und des christlichen Frühhumanismus nachgewiesen worden.⁵³ Aber in den südlichen Niederlanden ist das Erbe der *Devotio Moderna* und des christlichen Frühhumanismus von jenen stürmischen Entwicklungen verschont geblieben, die eben in den nördlichen Niederlanden, sowie in Groningen und Friesland, vernichtend gewirkt haben. Ausserdem ist, wie schon erwähnt, die Forschung des biblischen und christlichen Humanismus bisher überbetont, und scheint erst seit kurzem von einem erneuten Interesse an die *Devotio Moderna* als mögliche Heimat des nördlichen Frühhumanismus die Rede zu sein.

Wer aber die geographische Verbreitung von Klöstern, Konventen und Schulen eben in Groningen und Friesland beobachtet, der entkommt nicht dem gewissen Eindruck, dass vor dem Ende des sechzehnten Jahrhunderts wohl ein, von der *Devotio Moderna* und dem christlichen Frühhumanismus geprägtes Klima geherrscht haben muss.⁵⁴ Könnte so zum Beispiel ein Windesheimer Kloster wie Thabor bei Sneek als Sitz einer nördlichen Variante dieses Gesamtkomplexes gelten?⁵⁵ Steensma hat jedenfalls mit seinen Forschungsarbeiten Vermutungen in diese Richtung geäußert und das Kloster Thabor im Friesland des sechzehnten Jahrhundert 'ein Kulturzentrum ersten Ranges' genannt.⁵⁶ Es gibt zwar noch zu wenig Anweisungen, die im Norden den Ansatz zu gleichartigen Arbeiten, wie über Sint-Maartensdal und sonstige Windesheimer Klöster in den südlichen Niederlanden, rechtfer-

⁵¹ Mestwerdt, *Die Anfänge des Erasmus*, 78–174.

⁵² Spitz, *The Religious Renaissance of the German Humanists*; Oberman, *Werden und Wertung der Reformation*. Siehe auch Anm. 9.

⁵³ Lourdaux, *Moderne Devotie en Christelijk Humanisme*, 237–288.

⁵⁴ Post, *Scholen en onderwijs*, 17–30 und anliegende Karte; Akkerman, 'Onderwijs en geleerdheid in Groningen tussen 1469 en 1614'.

⁵⁵ Steensma, *Het klooster Thabor; Monasticon Windeshemense*, III 415–426.

⁵⁶ Steensma, *Het klooster Thabor*, 270.

tigen könnten. Aber ist dies nicht eine Frage der Zeit und der ständigen Fortsetzung von kulturhistorischen Forschungsarbeiten, wie sie im Groninger Bereich schon vorbildlich angefangen worden sind?⁵⁷ Die Frage einer nördlichen Variante der Devotio Moderna kann erst dann hinreichend beantwortet werden, wenn auf Grund eines gezielten Forschungsprogramms etliche Forschungsergebnisse vorliegen.

⁵⁷ Hermans, *Middeleeuwse handschriften uit Groningse kloosters*, ders., *Boeken in Groningen voor 1600*; ders., 'Laatmiddeleeuwse boekdecoratie en penwerk in Noordnederland', bes. 41–44. Vgl. Wielema, 'Wessel Gansfort, Rudolf Agricola en het noordelijk humanisme'.

G. SARBAK

DIE UNGARISCHEN PAULINER UND DIE DEVOTIO MODERNA

In dem allgemeinen Nachlassen der Disziplin und des geistigen Niveaus der religiösen Orden im Spätmittelalter sowie in anderen Krisenerscheinungen bildete auch das Ungarn des 15. und des frühen 16. Jahrhunderts keine Ausnahme. Der Import des italienischen Humanismus und der Renaissance trat während der Regierung von Matthias Corvinus ein. Zahlreiche schriftliche und künstlerische Zeugen dieses Einflusses sind festzustellen. Auf dem Gebiet der Spiritualität ist jedoch die Lage anders: zur Feststellung und Bewertung der verschiedenen Einflüsse stehen uns nur wenige schriftliche Quellen zur Verfügung und auch diese geben uns nur ein undeutliches Bild.¹

Auch die Wirkung der bedeutenden geistigen Strömung der Devotio Moderna lässt sich in Ungarn aus einem relativ geringen Quellenmaterial feststellen. Die Fraterherren hatten in Ungarn keine Häuser, die Kenntnis der Bewegung lässt sich nur in ihren spirituellen Wirkungen feststellen.² Der Mangel an Quellen schränkt das Untersuchungsgebiet noch mehr ein: unter den geistlichen Orden des Mittelalters, die in Ungarn heimisch waren, bietet die Geschichte des Paulinerordens die meisten Anhaltspunkte zu einer solchen Untersuchung.³ Die geistige Haltung der Devotio Moderna meldete sich in lateinischen Werken, die innerhalb des Ordens entstanden sind, im 15. und im angehenden 16. Jahrhundert.⁴ Die ersten Jahrzehnte des 16. Jahrhunderts bis zur verlorenen Schlacht gegen die Türken bei Mohács (1526) bzw. bis zur Eroberung von Buda durch die Türken (1541)

¹ Vgl. *Matthias Corvinus und die Renaissance in Ungarn*.

² Vgl. Mezey, 'Die Devotio Moderna der Donauländer Böhmen, Österreich und Ungarn'; Mezey, 'Maestro Agostino da Vicenza'.

³ Über die Mönchsorden im mittelalterlichen Ungarn, vgl. Fügedi, 'Koldulórendek és városfejlődés Magyarországon' (Die Bettelorden und die Entwicklung der Städte in Ungarn); Elm, 'Elias, Paulus von Theben und Augustinus als Ordensgründer'.

⁴ Wichtig für die Beziehung zwischen Devotio Moderna und den Paulinern: Mályusz, *Egyházi társadalom a középkori Magyarországon* (Kirchliche Gesellschaft im mittelalterlichen Ungarn); Tarnai, 'A magyar nyelvet írni kezdik'. ('Das Ungarische wird von nun an geschrieben').

bildeten zugleich die erste Glanzperiode der ungarischsprachigen Kodexliteratur: ausser den lateinisch gebildeten Klerikern und Ordenspriestern gehören nun auch die Nonnen und die Laienbrüder zu den Konsumenten dieser Literatur.⁵

Zunächst soll der Paulinerorden kurz vorgestellt werden.⁶ Die in verschiedenen — zumeist bewaldeten und gebirgigen — Gebieten Ungarns entstandenen, zerstreuten Eremitenniederlassungen vereinigten sich im Laufe des 13. Jahrhunderts. Der päpstliche Legat Kardinal Gentilis, der 1308 in Ungarn weilte, erlaubte ihnen die Annahme der Augustinerregel. Eine kirchenrechtlich vollgültige Anerkennung erhielten sie auf die Fürbitte König Ludwigs des I. vom Papst Urban dem III. in der Form einer Approbation im Jahre 1368. Sie wurden damals 'Ordo Sancti Pauli primi heremitae sub regula Sancti Augustini' genannt. Der Orden wurde sehr populär, entwickelte sich dynamisch; nicht nur Könige und Magnaten, sondern auch die einfache Bevölkerung hatte Vertrauen zu dem neuen Orden, wie das von vielen Urkunden bezeugt wird. Als Eremitenorden hatten die Mönche ihre Niederlassungen — ausser einer — nicht in den Städten; das Zentrum des Ordens lag aber in der Nähe von Buda. Eine enge, zentralisierte Organisation umfasste den Orden, der sich bald über die Landesgrenzen hinaus verbreitete.

Zur Spiritualität des Ordens stehen uns insbesondere zwei Quellen zur Verfügung. Beide sind schriftliche Zeugen der Tätigkeit des Generalpriors. Die erste Quelle, Werk des Generalpriors Thomas de Sabaria (ung. Tamás Szombathelyi) aus der zweiten Hälfte des 15. Jahrhunderts, ist in einer Handschrift der Budapester Universitätsbibliothek erhalten, die zweite ist die Ordensgeschichte des Gregorius Gyöngyösi (ung. Gergely Gyöngyösi) aus dem dritten Jahrzehnt des 16. Jahrhunderts, die *Vitae fratrum eremitarum ordinis sancti Pauli primi eremitae*.

In der ungarischen Rezeption der Devotio Moderna muss besonders Thomas de Sabaria gewürdigt werden.⁷ Er war übrigens Novizmagister von Gregorius Gyöngyösi in dem letzten Jahrzehnt des 15. Jahrhunderts, zweimal selbst Generalprior, ein Mann von hoher Bildung. Sein Werk, die *Expositio regulae beati Augustini*

⁵ Vgl. Klaniczay, *Histoire de la littérature hongroise des origines à nos jours*.

⁶ Gregorius Gyöngyösi — Generalprior 1520–1522 — hat die Geschichte des Paulinerordens in den zwanziger Jahren des 16. Jahrhunderts geschrieben: *Vitae fratrum eremitarum ordinis Sancti Pauli primi eremitae*.

⁷ Thomas de Sabaria war zweimal Generalprior des Ordens: 1476–1480 und 1484–1488. Vgl. *Vitae fratrum*, cc. 62 und 66. 'Habeat scientiam omnium liberalium artium cum multiplici sacrarum literarum notitia': *ibid.*, c. 62, 127.

episcopi,⁸ ist eigentlich eine Kompilation aus Schriften des Hugo von St. Viktor und Humbertus de Romanis. Charakteristisch ist, dass Thomas de Sabaria die Partien bei Humbertus über die Bücher und das Studium beinahe gänzlich ausgeklammert hat; stattdessen brachte er nur einige wenige Sätze über die Lectio und über das Handwerk.⁹ Gewiss kann ein Orden nicht nur aus solchen Persönlichkeiten bestehen, die eine wissenschaftliche Ausbildung genossen haben, selbst dann, wenn es sich um den Dominikanerorden handelt, der auf das Studium ein grosses Gewicht legte. Die Dominikaner hatten sich nämlich Ziele gestellt, die eine hohe Bildung forderten, die Pauliner jedoch nicht. Der Eremitenorden verwirklichte sich in der Kontemplation, in Einsamkeit, in Abgeschiedenheit von der Welt und nicht im Kampf gegen die Herätiker. Diese Überlegungen machen es verständlich, warum Thomas de Sabaria hinsichtlich der Studien Zugeständnisse machte, obwohl er selbst, wie Gregorius Gyöngyösi, sein Schüler, der es wissen musste, bezeugt, gerne in der Bibel las, leidenschaftlich Bücher sammelte, und sich in ihren Inhalt vertiefte.¹⁰ Auf Bitten einiger Mitbrüder stellte er ein Florileg aus den Werken der Kirchenväter zusammen, und in seinem *Exhortatorium* sammelte er Hinweise und Mahnungen zur geistlichen Lebensführung. Leider sind uns seine ungarischen *Sermones*, über die ebenfalls Gregorius Gyöngyösi berichtet, nicht erhalten geblieben.¹¹

Die Gewandtheit in den Studien und die Betonung der geistigen Anspruchslosigkeit konnte auch zu Konflikten innerhalb des

⁸ Budapest, Universitätsbibliothek Cod. lat. 114, ff. 1–97.

⁹ Nach der Feststellung von Mályusz, *Egyházi társadalom a középkori Magyarországon*, 261.

¹⁰ Bemerkenswert ist, dass Gyöngyösi in dem von Thomas a Kempis übernommenen Zitat die Worte aus dem Prolog des Hieronymus zu Hiob unverändert stehen liess: 'Magisque volebat cum sancto Hieronymo habere codices emendatos in vilibus membranis, quam pulchros incorrectos': *Vitae fratrum*, c. 62, 128. 'De aviditate legendi Scripturas: Magnus sibi inerat amor legendi Scripturas et infatigabilis aestus colligendorum librorum plus quam thesaurorum. Nec desistebat semel lecta saepius repetere et obscura diligentius investigare, ut in dies fieret industrius et melior ad secretiora capessenda': *ibid.* Die Quelle ist Thomas a Kempis, *Dialogus noviciorum* II, c. 13, 66; vgl. Tarnai, 'A magyar nyelvet írni kezdik', 132–133.

¹¹ 'Quomodo libros dictabat et scribebat: Ex autenticis sanctorum dictis, maxime Augustini, Gregorii, Hieronymi, Ambrosii et Scoti rogatu nonnullorum fratrum flagitatus plura opuscula pro utilitate praesertim iuvenum, qui in ordine heremitico proficere videbantur, comportavit; edidit et propriis manibus scripsit sermones populares, expositionem regulae professae, tractatum de recognitione professionis et exhortationes': *Vitae fratrum*, c. 62, 129. Seine Quelle: *Dialogus noviciorum* II, c. 13, 66.

Ordens führen. Zwei Beispiele möchte ich dazu kurz erwähnen.

Der Fall des Michael Pannonius¹² ist kein Beispiel einer ambivalenten Beurteilung der Bildung, sondern ihrer eindeutigen Ablehnung. Michael studierte in Paris, errang die Doktorwürde, kehrte dann in seine Heimat zurück, jedoch sein hiesiges Benehmen, seine Verbindungen zum Königshof und zu anderen Weltlichen, seine — wie man behauptete — laxen Lebensweise missfielen den Brüdern, nicht zuletzt deshalb, weil er und die anderen Magister und Doctores des Ordens einen grösseren Einfluss auf die Ordensregierung gewinnen wollten. Die Situation hat sich erst beruhigt, als Michael nach Paris zurückkehrte, um dort Hebräisch zu lernen. Er ist dort auch gestorben, seine Bücher kehrten nicht in seine Heimat zurück.

Der ebenfalls gelehrte Mönch Ladislaus Báthori (ung. László Báthori)¹³ und seine Mitbrüder lebten in der Nähe des Mutterklosters Budaszentlőrinc in einer Höhle irgendwo am Hang des Lindengebirges (ung. Hárshegy) gegen 1460. Báthori hat die Bibel — zum Teil oder ganz, man weiss es nicht genau — und ein Legendar auf ungarisch abgeschrieben.¹⁴ In dem Legendar standen vermutlich auch die *Vitae* der ungarischen Heiligen. Das zeigt, dass sich geistige Ansprüche nicht nur bei den studierten Ordensmitgliedern, sondern auch bei den einfacheren, ungebildeten, des Lateinischen kaum mächtigen Eremitenbrüdern meldeten. Für sie kopierte Báthori die Heilige Schrift wahrscheinlich aufgrund eines Exemplars des Budaszentlőrincer Klosters. Gregorius Gyöngyösi zitiert übrigens in dem Abschnitt seiner Ordensgeschichte, der Ladislaus Báthori vorstellt, aus der Biographie Johannes Kessel in der Fassung Thomas a Kempis.¹⁵

In den *Vitae fratrum* stehen viele Beispiele dafür, dass nicht nur die ungebildeten, niedrigeren Gesellschaftsschichten von der Anziehungskraft des Paulinerordens erfasst wurden. Bereits aus

¹² *Vitae fratrum*, c. 49, 101–102.

¹³ *Ibid.*, c. 53, 110–111. Báthori war 'exemplum vitae et doctrinae': *ibid.*, 110.

¹⁴ Es handelt sich hier nicht um eine alte ungarische Übersetzung der gesamten Bibel, sondern — wie Mezey behauptete — vielmehr um eine Kopie einer schon vorhandenen ungarischen Übersetzung, vgl. Mezey, 'A Báthory-Biblia' körül. A mű és szerzője' (Um die sogenannte Báthory-Bibel. Das Werk und sein Verfasser). Jechová ignoriert die Lösung von Mezey, vgl. 'La diffusion de la connaissance de la Bible', 242. Nach der ordensgeschichtlichen Tradition im 18. Jahrhundert hat Báthori auch Bibelkommentare zusammengestellt. Die *Vitae fratrum* ist die einzige Quelle für seine Person und für die gegensätzliche Beurteilung seines Wirkens im Orden; übrigens sind alle seine Werke verschollen.

¹⁵ *Vitae fratrum*, c. 53, 110 = *Dialogus noviciorum* IV, c. 12, 294. Vgl. Tarnai, 'A magyar nyelvét írni kezdik', 114.

der zweiten Hälfte des 14. Jahrhunderts haben wir Nachrichten von mehreren gebildeten Klerikern, die Pauliner geworden sind, und die Reihe lässt sich bis Gregorius Gyöngyösi fortsetzen.¹⁶

Der offizielle Widerstand den Studien gegenüber, oder eher die Abneigung des Ordens gegen die Bildung, ist im geistigen Leben des 15. Jahrhunderts eine seltsame, dem Trend der Epoche zuwiderlaufende Erscheinung. Es scheint jedoch, dass eben diese widersprüchliche, teilweise ungeklärte Lage den Boden zum Empfang der neuen religiösen Praxis, der *Devotio Moderna*, in Ungarn vorbereitet hat, zumindest für einen engeren kirchlichen Kreis und für spärliche, mit diesem Kreis im Kontakt lebende Laienschichten. Anders formuliert: das gelehrte lateinische Schrifttum musste die Rolle der für breitere Schichten zugänglichen Muttersprache anerkennen. Auf der Ebene der Spiritualität, im innigen Verhältnis zu Gott, konnte ein Laienbruder, eine Nonne oder ein weltlicher Gläubiger sich für ein gleichberechtigtes Mitglied der geweihten Würdenträger der *Ecclesia Christi* halten.

Zwei weitere Beispiele können die Rezeption, die Verbreitung und die Wirkung der *Devotio Moderna* im 16. Jahrhundert illustrieren. Das eine ist die schriftstellerische Tätigkeit des — schon erwähnten — Gregorius Gyöngyösi, das andere ist das grössere Volumen der ungarischsprachigen Kodexliteratur, die zum Teil unabhängig vom Paulinerorden aufblühte.

Gyöngyösi,¹⁷ der Krakauer Baccalaureus, der römische Prior und spätere Generalprior des Ordens, wurde stets vom *zelus ordinis* geleitet, wie das den Schriften des Ordens zu entnehmen ist. Besonders zeigt sich diese Sorgfalt um das Wohl des Ordens in den *Vitae fratrum*, da er in der Darstellung der Generalvikare oder anderer hervorragender Mitglieder des Ordens die Auswahl des überlieferten biographischen Materials nach seiner eigenen Auffassung traf, welche der *Devotio Moderna* verwandt war. Die Idee, eine Ordensgeschichte zu schreiben, tauchte bereits gegen Ende des 15. Jahrhunderts auf; mehrere Mitbrüder haben auch die Daten aufgezeichnet, das Ordnen und die schriftliche Fassung des Materials wurde jedoch erst von Gyöngyösi

¹⁶ Zum Beispiel Jacobus, Propst zu Bács, ca. 1350; Nicolaus Ferkel, Domherr zu Pozsega, 1393; Blasius Egidii de Pest, Domherr zu Kalocsa, 1390; Martinus, Propst der *ecclesia collegiata* St Nikolaus zu Székesfehérvár, 1392; Antonius de Tata, ehemaliger Student an der Wiener Universität, zweite Hälfte des 15. Jahrhunderts usw. Vgl. Tarnai, 'A magyar nyelvet írni kezdik', 106.

¹⁷ Vgl. die Einleitung der Edition der Ordensgeschichte des Gregorius Gyöngyösi, *Vitae fratrum*.

unternommen. Ihm war durchaus bewusst, dass eine Ordensgeschichte ein geeignetes Mittel ist Aussenstehende zu gewinnen, indem sie ein glaubwürdiges Bild des Ordens entwirft, oder um innerhalb des Ordens bestimmte Richtungen zu betonen, ihr ehrwürdiges Alter hervorzuheben, oder die zerstörerische Wirkung eines fehlerhaften Usus oder eines Irrtums darzustellen. In der uns überlieferten Fassung der *Vitae fratrum* sind übrigens nur die ersten 73 Kapitel Gyöngyösis Werk, die bis zur Wende des 15.–16. Jahrhunderts reichen. Der Grund dieser Unvollständigkeit ist uns nicht bekannt, in der Kenntnis des ganzen Oeuvres können wir aber mit Sicherheit behaupten, dass Gyöngyösi sein Werk vollenden wollte. Die Berichte über den Geist des Ordens und über die hervorragenden Vertreter dieses Geistes haben wir jedenfalls ihm zu verdanken.¹⁸ Wir müssen auch sein Bestreben um Vollständigkeit betonen: seine Urkunden und Privilegsammlungen weisen Aspekte der ökonomischen und juristischen Grundlagen auf, seine vor kurzem herausgegebene Ordensgeschichte und die anderen noch zu seinen Lebzeiten im Druck erschienenen Werke stellen den vorhandenen oder wünschenswerten Geist des Ordens dar.¹⁹

Einige Beispiele mögen das enge Verhältnis, ja wörtliche Zitate bezeugen, die Gyöngyösi aus dem *Dialogus noviciorum* des Thomas a Kempis übernommen hat. Sie sprechen dafür, wie wichtig es Gyöngyösi war, mehrere Generalprieore des Ordens, die gegen Mitte des 15. Jahrhunderts tätig waren, im Geist der Devotio Moderna zu charakterisieren. Diese Umstilisierung war wohl auch deshalb leicht möglich, weil über die Tätigkeit der erwähnten Ordensgeneräle nur wenige glaubwürdige Quellen vorhanden waren.

Generalprior Franciscus liess etwa den 'Rost seines alten Lebens' hinter sich und versuchte sein inneres Leben zu erneuern,²⁰ weshalb er 'formam vivendi sibi statuit et multa devota exercitia

¹⁸ Die Themen zur Charakterisierung des Thomas de Sabaria sind: 'de devotis orationibus, de aviditate legendi scripturas, Curiositati non insistebat, quomodo libros dictabat et scribebat, de spiritu prophetico, domini Hungari valde confidebant in orationibus eius, de eius exercitiis, de negotiis capituli, de eius abstinentia, de eius vigilantia': *Vitae fratrum*, c. 62; und bei Petrus de Zalonkemen: 'de eius sapientia, de eius gestis in praelatione, de cura domestica': *ibid.*, c. 68.

¹⁹ Vgl. Sarbak, 'A pálos Liber viridis' (Der sog. Liber viridis der Pauliner). Der *Liber viridis* — Cod. lat. 115 der Universitätsbibliothek Budapest — enthält Urkundenregesten und verschiedene Privilegien der Pauliner im Mittelalter.

²⁰ 'Frequenter colligebat cordis sui dispersiones, ut vitae veteris detergeret rubigines atque interioris hominis imaginem reformaret': *Vitae fratrum*, c. 44, 90.

compilando conscripsit'.²¹ Diese 'forma vivendi' ist uns leider nicht erhalten geblieben, auch nicht in der Form eines Zitats; dürfen wir aber in ihr nicht vielleicht die Thesen der niederländischen Meditationen oder die ungarischen Entsprechungen der *rapiarium*-Notizen vermuten?²² Eines ist sicher: um einen spätscholastischen theologischen Traktat oder Kommentar konnte es sich dabei nicht handeln. Der zweite Teil des zitierten Satzes ist aber dem *Dialogus noviciorum* entnommen.

Generalprior Benedictus hat ebenfalls diese Welt besonders verachtet und hat sich 'per devota verba et exempla' sowie 'imitationes humilis vitae Jesu Christi'²³ um die Erneuerung seines Ordens bemüht.

Briccius²⁴ hat infolge seiner Bekehrung eine kirchliche Karriere und einen bedeutenden Wohlstand gegen den einfachen Eremitenhabit getauscht. Gyöngyösi zitiert in den *Vitae fratrum* aus einigen Exhortationen²⁵ des Briccius, die vom gleichen Geist erfüllt zu sein scheinen wie die Devotio Moderna, und formal sind sie den Meditationsthesen der Niederländer verwandt. Auch die Bücher, die Gyöngyösi mit der Überschrift 'de studio vano vitando' aufzählt, sind vielsagend: 'Radix autem studii et speculum vitae sint evangelium Christi, vitae et collationes patrum, epistoliae Pauli et canonicae ac actus apostolorum'; der Satz wurde aus dem *Dialogus noviciorum* des Thomas a Kempis wörtlich zitiert. Dann fährt Gyöngyösi fort: 'deinde libri devoti, de quibus habes in Directorio meo circa normam noviciorum'.²⁶ Das *Directorium* war als Handbuch für die Würdenträger des Ordens konzipiert, und enthielt praktische Hinweise zur Leitung der Brüder und der Verwaltungsgeschäfte, aber selbst anspruchsvolle Novizen konnten das Büchlein zu ihrem Nutzen lesen. Gyöngyösi stützte sich in diesem Werk stark auf Humbertus de Romanis. Er empfahl folgende Bücher:

²¹ *Ibid.*

²² Das Wort 'rapiarium' kommt in der Latinität des ungarischen Mittelalters nicht vor. Benedictus — Generalprior vom Jahre 1434 — hat ein Buch, 'Eruditionale' genannt, in ein anderes Kloster mitgebracht, vielleicht dürfen wir in dieser Schrift das vermuten, was wir uns unter dem 'rapiarium' vorstellen.

²³ '... sed maior extitit in contemptu saeculi et imitatione humilis vitae Jesu Christi. In memoria igitur aeterna erit vir iste, qui sanctae religionis heremiicae statum per devota verba et exempla reparavit': *Vitae fratrum*, c. 46.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, c. 48.

²⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁶ *Ibid.*, c. 48, 99: vgl. *Dialogus noviciorum* II, c. 18, 97–98, und *Vitae fratrum*, c. 48, 98: vgl. *Dialogus noviciorum* II, c. 18, 91–92. Vgl. Tarnai, 'A magyar nyelvvel írti kezdek', 136.

liber de clauistro animae, meditationes b. Bernardi, orationes Anselmi, liber confessionum Augustini, collationes patrum, passiones et legenda sanctorum, vitae patrum, Bernardus de gradibus superbiae et de diligendo Deum, tractatus de vitiis et virtutibus, Prosper de vita contemplativa, Thomas Kempis, antidotarius.²⁷

In diesem als traditionell zu bezeichnenden Schriftenverzeichnis bezeugen nur zwei moderne Autoren die Auffassung und die Orientierung Gyöngyösis. Der Verfasser des *Antidotarius*, der Zisterzienser Nicolaus Salicetus, starb ja erst 1493 und die Erstausgabe seines opus erschien 1489 in Strassburg. Wir nehmen an, dass Gyöngyösi das Werk bereits in Druckform kennengelernt hatte, da uns heute kein handschriftliches Exemplar aus mittelalterlichen ungarischen Beständen bekannt ist, obwohl in ungarischen Handschriften das Werk oft zitiert wurde.

Der Generalprior Vincentius 'versabat devotos libros libentius'.²⁸

Thomas a Kempis-Zitaten begegnen wir auch in dem Abschnitt, der den 1472 zum General gewählten Gregorius I. vorstellt. Es sind Worte, die Thomas a Kempis über Geert Grote schrieb. Es ist kein Zufall, dass Gyöngyösi auch den Terminus 'religionis instaurator'²⁹ übernahm, womit er die Tätigkeit des Gregorius charakterisiert. Bereits die älteren ordensgeschichtlichen Forschungen haben betont, dass die Reformbestrebungen des mit solchen Worten gewürdigten Generalpriors in der zweiten Hälfte des 15. Jahrhunderts hauptsächlich in der Übernahme und im Propagieren der Devotio Moderna bestanden.

Da taucht die Frage auf: warum griff Gyöngyösi so häufig nach Thomas a Kempis? Er suchte in seinem Orden die Wurzeln, die Ansätze zur Devotio Moderna aufzudecken und diese konnte er mit den Zitaten in den *Vitae* der Ordensgeneräle besser formulieren. Die Autorität des Niederländers verlieh diesen Ansichten, diesen Bestrebungen des ungarischen Ordenshistorikers Gewicht und Würde. Gewiss konnte nur ein enger, gelehrter Leserkreis diesen Zusammenhang und diese Unterstützung wahrnehmen und würdigen. Aus dem auf uns gekommenen Pauliner-Schrifttum können wir nicht ersehen, welche Wirkung dem Werk Gyöngyösis beschieden war. Die politischen Ereignisse am Anfang des 16. Jahrhunderts in Ungarn, d. h. die Präsenz der türkischen Macht an den südlichen Grenzen, dann die Dreiteilung des Landes —

²⁷ *Directorium, norma noviciorum, quarto circa devotionem*: Budapest, UB, RMK III 191, f. 18r.

²⁸ *Vitae fratrum*, c. 53.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, c. 60, 121: vgl. *Dialogus noviciorum* II, c. 16, 83. Vgl. Tarnai, 'A magyar nyelvét írni kezdik', 130.

in einen durch die Türken besetzten, einen königlichen Teil und Siebenbürgen — begünstigten religiöse Reformbestrebungen nicht. Dass aber Gyöngyösi mit seinen 'devotionellen' Zitaten keinen unbekannten Weg abgesteckt hat, zeigen die in der ungarischen Kodexliteratur hie und da auftauchenden *Imitatio*-Partien. Wir müssen natürlich den Einwand gelten lassen, dass Gyöngyösi für die *Vitae fratrum* die Möglichkeiten wahrnahm, die ihm der *Dialogus noviciorum* geboten hat, das ungarische Schrifttum aber seinem Ziel entsprechend — sie war für Laien bestimmt — ausschliesslich nach der *Imitatio Christi* griff. Über die vorausgesetzte Kenntnis der *Imitatio* durch Gyöngyösi können wir nur aussagen, dass wörtliche Entsprechungen bei Gyöngyösi nicht aufzufinden sind, inhaltlich entsprechen aber die *Vitae fratrum* dem Geist der *Imitatio*. Ausserdem können wir kaum bezweifeln, dass Gyöngyösi solche Handschriften zur Verfügung hatte, die — wenn auch nicht das ganze Werk — doch ausführliche Teile der *Imitatio* in ungarischer Übersetzung enthielten. Das Werk wurde übrigens in den ungarischen Handschriften zumeist Bernhard, seltener Johannes Gerson zugesprochen.³⁰ Gyöngyösi konnte es also keineswegs für das Werk Thomas a Kempis halten. Zum Beweis können wir leider keine solche Handschrift von Pauliner Provenienz anführen. Teile der *Imitatio* stehen in einigen Handschriften des frühen 16. Jahrhunderts, die im Franziskaner-Umkreis entstanden sind. Die beiden ungarischen Kodizes, die im Scriptorium des Paulinerklosters zu Nagyvázsöny für auswärtige Auftraggeber geschrieben wurden — der Festetics-Kodex und der Czech-Kodex — enthalten lediglich das Officium parvum und das Samstagoffizium Mariä.

Zusammenfassend können wir feststellen, dass die beiden Geistesströmungen, der Humanismus und die Devotio Moderna, im Ungarn des späten 15. und des frühen 16. Jahrhunderts zur gleichen Zeit gewirkt haben, die Berührungspunkte waren jedoch wohl nicht besonders zahlreich. Der Hof des Matthias Corvinus und später der Jagellonen sowie die königliche Kanzlei blieben Zentren des Humanismus. Seine besten Vertreter in Ungarn waren Kirchenfürsten. Demgegenüber, oder besser daneben, blieb das alte, die Traditionen der spätmittelalterlichen Mentalität pflegende Erziehungswesen bestehen, dem auch die Ordensstudien verpflichtet waren. Eine Änderung trat zunächst bei den

³⁰ Vgl. Miklós, *A Krisztus követése magyar fordításai* (Die ungarischen Übersetzungen des Buches *Die Nachfolge Christi*), 18–28.

Orden ein. In der zweiten Hälfte des 15. Jahrhunderts haben die Dominikaner und die Franziskaner für modernere Studienmöglichkeiten Sorge getragen; für die Erneuerung der inneren Geisteshaltung, der Spritualität, haben wir nur bei einem einzigen ungarischen Orden des Mittelalters, bei den Paulinern, Beispiele.

G.A. PIEBENGA

GOZEWIJN COMHAER — CARTHUSIAN AND
MODERN DEVOUT¹

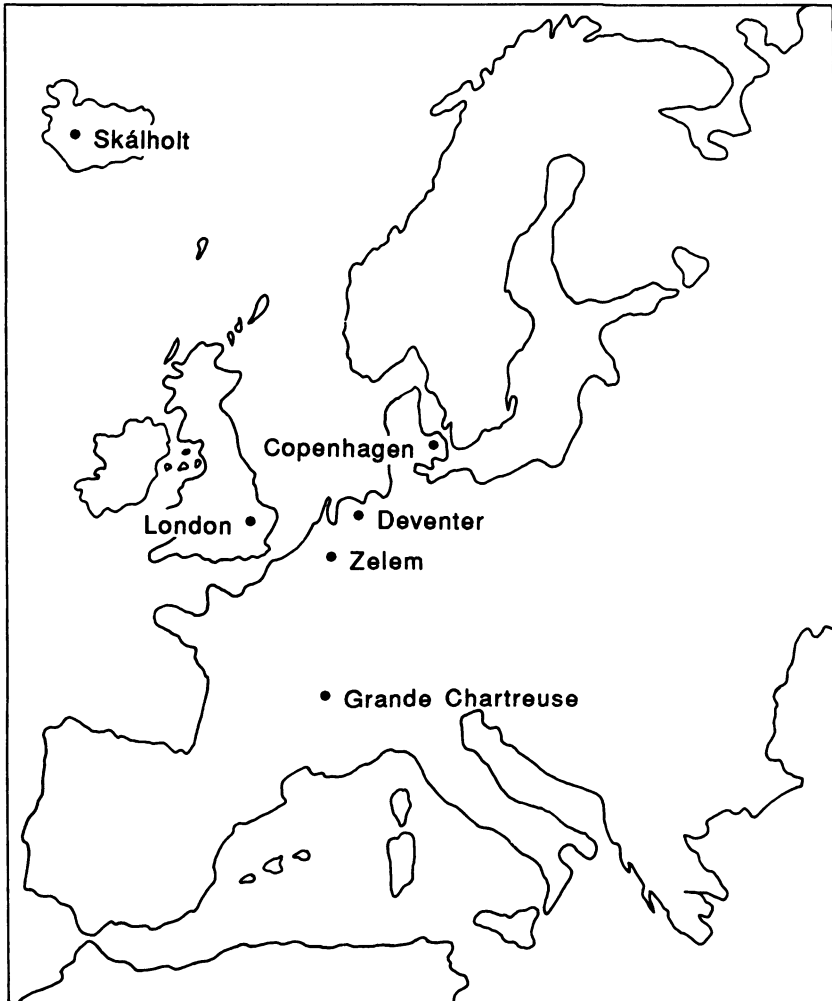
Some years ago the writer of this article was astonished to read in a book on the history of Iceland in the late Middle Ages, that one of the bishops on this remote island in the fifteenth century, Gozewijn Comhaer, was of Dutch origin. That the two sees of Iceland — Skálholt in the south and Hólar in the north — were not always occupied by Icelanders but often by Danes or Norwegians and occasionally by a Swede or an Englishman was well-known. New, however, was the fact that a Dutchman had filled the post of bishop. It was unexpected moreover, because in Gozewijn Comhaer's time — the first half of the fifteenth century — there was surely no contact between Iceland and the Low Countries worth mentioning.

Amazement generally breeds curiosity, and in turn curiosity provides a motive to set up an investigation. The investigation uncovered the fact that there was no question of a discovery. It appeared that others had been surprised before that the Carthusian monk Gozewijn Comhaer from Deventer had been bishop of Skálholt for about nine years. Some, to wit W. Moll, a well-known church historian, and H.J.J. Scholtens, an expert on the Carthusian order, had even made a study of him.²

This did not necessarily mean that things could be left as they were and that Gozewijn need not be brought into the limelight once more. After all, articles are like so many other things: as time passes they age and require a face-lift. Certain errors can be corrected and newly acquired knowledge can be added. Moreover, there can be a shift of emphasis and subjects of secondary importance in previous studies can be highlighted. This article will give special consideration to the question of how it happened that Gozewijn — judging by a letter of indulgence that he granted in the later years of his life — felt such a strong sympathy for the ideas of the Modern Devotion.

¹ I wish to thank Mieke van der Leij for the English translation of this paper.

² Moll, 'Gozewijn Comhaer' (1880); Scholtens, 'Gozewijn Comhair' (1926).



II. Gozewijn Comhaer's Europe.

Deventer, ca. 1375–1400

Gozewijn Comhaer was born in about 1375 in Deventer.³ His father, Gerrit Comhaer, was a goldsmith and banker by profession, and he ranked as one of the leading citizens of Deventer. This Gerrit Comhaer also had municipal duties for a while. At the end of the fourteenth century he had been commissioned by the bishop of Utrecht, Frederik van Blankenheim, to handle the financial administration of Salland, the region to the north of the river IJssel.

We do not know how Gozewijn spent his boyhood, but we may assume that as a child of wealthy parents he was given a good education. In his spare time he certainly must have played with friends in the inner city of Deventer and wandered about on the banks of the IJssel river. He will have watched the ships sailing by with interest. Deventer was in his youth a major junction on both the east-west and the south-north trade routes. There was a brisk trade especially with Germany and the Scandinavian countries, so the boy Gozewijn will have heard several other languages spoken besides his native tongue.

Deventer in the fourteenth century was a flourishing city not only in the material sense but also in the cultural. Young men came from far and wide to the city on the IJssel to be educated at the Latin school. One of them was Thomas a Kempis, who, we assume, was the author of *De imitatione Christi*. He was born in 1379 or 1380 and so was about the same age as Gozewijn, but there is no record that the two were acquainted.

Gozewijn was growing up as the movement of the Modern Devotion appeared on the scene. Geert Grote, who was most effective in getting the movement going, died in 1384, but his ideas were further propagated by his followers. These followers, the so-called Devouts, pursued a devout and virtuous life. Some of them — the Brothers and Sisters of the Common Life — lived in communal houses. Others led a more contemplative life in the monastery at Windesheim which was intended for men or in the one at Diepenveen for women.

Gozewijn must have often seen the Brothers and Sisters walking about in their simple and rather sober clothing, and at his parents' house he certainly met Johan ter Poerten, one of their leaders. This man, a prominent figure in Deventer society, was a friend

³ The Comhaer family came from Zaltbommel originally, but they were probably already living in Deventer around 1375.

of Gozewijn's father, Gerrit Comhaer. Gerrit himself, however, was not a member of the movement, but he was sympathetic to it and several times gave it financial assistance.

Besides meeting Johan ter Poerten, Gozewijn certainly came into contact with other followers of the Modern Devotion. He may have attended the Brothers' meetings on Sundays or on weekday evenings. These edifying meetings were especially intended for the students who stayed at the boarding schools run by the Brothers, but others were welcome. It was of course the Brothers' concern to spread the message.⁴

The movement must have influenced Gozewijn considerably. This we can conclude from the fact that he chose to apply for a place in the monastery at Windesheim instead of continuing his studies or taking over his father's business. So it must have been a disappointment for him to have had his application turned down. The reason why Gozewijn was refused admittance was his wealthy background. There was nothing left for him to do but to return home!

Zelem, 1400–1415

Gozewijn did not stay long in Deventer, for in 1400 we meet him again in a monastery of the Carthusian order in Zelem near Diest in Belgian Limburg. He may have tried to apply for a place in a monastery closer to home first, but it is possible that he went directly to Zelem. It was common knowledge that the monastery there accommodated monks from well-to-do families. So Gozewijn had no reason to fear a rejection of the kind he had undergone at Windesheim.

There is another reason why Gozewijn turned to a Carthusian monastery, when the possibility of entering Windesheim was no longer open. This was the close affinity the Carthusians had to the Modern Devouts. Geert Grote had developed the ideas that became characteristic of the Modern Devotion during a stay in a Carthusian monastery. When his followers founded the monastery at Windesheim, they based their code of order on the Carthusian one.

In the years following his profession, Gozewijn led a secluded life. He spent most of the day in his cell or apartment. Generally he only went out to sing matins or to attend mass with the other monks. The rest of the day he spent in prayer or work. That work

⁴ Persoons, 'Verspreiding der moderne devotie', 77–78.

consisted mainly in copying manuscripts or occasionally writing something himself. Although nothing has been preserved from this period, we know from the chronicler of the monastery that Gozewijn's work included a treatise on the Lord's prayer.⁵

The year 1407 brought a change to Gozewijn's life. He was elected prior and that position entailed a number of tasks not only within the monastery but also outside it. For example, he had to visit and inspect some convents in the area. Also he had to attend the meetings of the order, which were referred to as the General Chapter. These meetings were usually held in the Carthusian mother convent at La Grande Chartreuse, in the east of France, just to the north of Grenoble. However, in the first years of his priorship, Gozewijn went to Seiz in Stiermarken to attend these meetings. The order had been split as a result of the Western Schism and therefore the meetings of the General Chapter were also held in two places. After 1410, La Grande Chartreuse again became the general meeting place.

Despite his full agenda as prior, Gozewijn did find time to visit his father, who meanwhile had moved to Denmark, due to a conflict with Frederik van Blankenheim, the bishop of Utrecht, at the beginning of the fifteenth century. He had lent money to Frederik and had fallen into disfavour after his request for repayment some years later. He fled to Denmark, a country with which Deventer, as a member of the Hanseatic League, had close connections; there he resumed his old profession of goldsmith. Without doubt he must have been a skilled craftsman, for here too his business flourished. Soon he was appointed master of the mint by Erik of Pomerania, king of Denmark, Norway and Sweden from 1412 to 1439.

During this visit Gozewijn must have met his step-mother, Aleid ter Poerten. She was the daughter of the Johan ter Poerten mentioned above and it is possible that Gozewijn had already made her acquaintance in Deventer. We do not know this for certain, because Aleid was much younger than Gozewijn. Gerrit Comhaer had married Aleid soon after the death of his first wife, Gozewijn's mother. The married couple first made a home for themselves in a town south of Copenhagen and later in Lund in southern Sweden, and it was here that Gerrit Comhaer in 1415 was overtaken by death. Aleid, hardly seventeen years old, was fetched back to Deventer by her father and rejoined the family circle. In 1432 she entered the convent at Diepenveen where she

⁵ *De kartuizers en hun klooster te Zelem*, 100.

died in 1452. One of her fellow sisters wrote about her life in a work titled *Vanden doecheden der vuriger ende stichtiger susteren van diepen veen*, which was printed with footnotes by D.A. Brinkerink (1904).⁶

The author devotes some six pages to Aleid ter Poerten in which information is also given about Gerrit Comhaer and his son. Gozewijn is described as a devout and sensible man who tried to imitate Christ in his life and work. Wherever he travelled, so the writer tells us, and however superior his function, he remained humble and modest. Even more so than his father, he was dedicated to the movement of the Modern Devotion. To prove this, the writer reproduces the conversation Gozewijn had with his father during his visit to Denmark. The conversation arose when Gozewijn saw his father staring in front of him, pen in hand. He then asked what his father was doing. 'I am making a note of my loan of a hundred nobles (coins) to the convent at Diepenveen', Gerrit Comhaer answered. 'Why don't you record it as a gift?' Gozewijn said. His father insisted that it had been a loan but finally gave in to Gozewijn's persuasive powers and wrote down 'gift'.⁷

Besides the visit to his father, Gozewijn probably had another objective in travelling to the north and this was to attend the opening of a new monastery of the Carthusian order in Pommerania. Possibly he met king Erik at this ceremony. After all, the monastery had been founded mainly at the insistence of this monarch. But it is also possible that Gozewijn met king Erik through his father. We know that the king was on friendly terms with the master of the mint and his wife. In any case, Gozewijn certainly met him on this visit to Denmark.⁸

After his return from Denmark, Gozewijn was involved in a dispute between Anthony of Burgundy, the duke of Brabant and Limburg, and the Roman German king, Sigismund. The duke and his wife asked Gozewijn to act as an intermediary, and so early in 1414 he set off for northern Italy to the king. Negotiations proceeded slowly, but were finally successful, and consequently Gozewijn was showered with tokens of appreciation by the ducal pair on his return to Zelem in the autumn of 1414. According to the chronicler of the order, it was to escape these honours that Gozewijn applied for a transfer from Zelem to La

⁶ Cf. Van der Toorn-Piebenga, 'Over een vrouwenleven uit de 15de eeuw'.

⁷ Brinkerink, *Van den doecheden*, 268.

⁸ Scholtens, 'Gozewijn Comhair', 138-139.

Grande Chartreuse.⁹ We may assume, however, that Gozewijn also made this choice of going to La Grande Chartreuse because he wanted to catch up with his original intention of leading a secluded and contemplative life.

La Grande Chartreuse, 1415–1436

Gozewijn left for La Grande Chartreuse in 1415. Again a mere monk, he lived like he had in Zelem. But in La Grande Chartreuse, too, he was soon called from his cell and given an administrative task. First he was elected 'procurator', and as such one of his duties was to prepare the meetings of the General Chapter. Later he became 'definitor', whose main task was to advise the prior-general of the order.

Occasionally absent, Gozewijn stayed at the mother convent for about twenty years. For one thing, he had to sort out his father's inheritance. Gerrit Comhaer had outlined what should be done with his estate, but he had left the details to Gozewijn who was his sole offspring. In connection with this business, Gozewijn travelled to Deventer in 1417 to see to his stepmother's financial affairs. Some years later he was in Zelem where he announced how much of the income from the estate was to be conferred on this monastery. Before that he had granted a sum to La Grande Chartreuse and had arranged for new woollen shirts to be bought for the monks each year from the interest; the old shirts were to be divided among the poor, who were to pray for Gozewijn's father's soul.¹⁰

Besides arranging his father's inheritance, Gozewijn assisted the Carthusian mother convent in the foundation of a new establishment in Denmark. The Danish king had asked the Carthusian order to consider establishing a monastery in his country. The answer was affirmative and around 1427 the order sent a delegation commissioned to make the necessary preparations. Gozewijn was chosen as one of the delegates, probably because he had been to Denmark before and knew the circumstances. Also he may have had a working knowledge of the Danish language.¹¹

During this visit to Denmark, Gozewijn renewed his acquaintance with King Erik. As remarked, they had met on his first visit

⁹ *Ibid.*, 128–133.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 134–135; 163–169.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 136; Le Vasseur, *Ephemerides Ordinis Carthus.* II, 508.

in 1412. During this second visit there was close contact between the two. Gozewijn is mentioned in an official document as *confessor regis Daniae*, that is, confessor of the king of Denmark,¹² and he can hardly have acquired the title without talking to the king on a regular basis. In any case Gozewijn must have impressed King Erik, because around 1435 — eight years later — the king requested him to become head of the bishopric of Skálholt in Iceland.

It is surprising that Gozewijn agreed to king Erik's request. In 1435 he was about sixty years old and generally speaking that is no age to rush into perilous adventures. Indeed, this may be called a perilous undertaking. It was common knowledge also in Gozewijn's days that Iceland was a desolate place, where travel was difficult, where no grain would grow, let alone vegetables!

That Gozewijn took on the post may be seen as a sign of courage. Perhaps Gozewijn himself simply regarded it as his duty. He will have known that bishops' seats in Iceland were often vacant for years on end, and that more often than not the appointed bishop remained abroad, while a representative dealt with the affairs. This naturally gave rise to abuse. Gozewijn knew that his character and experience made him suitable for restoring order, and that is perhaps the reason why he accepted this appointment.

Iceland, 1436–1445

So Gozewijn set course for Iceland, a long way from La Grande Chartreuse, certainly in Gozewijn's time. More or less by accident we know the date of his journey and the route he took. As it happens there is a surviving document, dated 22 November 1436, drawn up in Westminster (London), stating that Henry VI, king of England, grants Gozewijn Comhaer, bishop of Skálholt, permission to travel to Iceland on a ship with a cargo of provisions and other goods.¹³ This information makes it likely that Gozewijn left La Grande Chartreuse in the course of 1436 and sailed to London via the Rhine and the North Sea.

In a sense it is surprising that Gozewijn travelled by way of England. He had been asked by King Erik of Denmark to become bishop, so the most obvious course of action would have been to travel via Copenhagen and to have asked the Danish, not the

¹² *Foedera, conventiones, literae, . . .*, V 1, 75.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 36.

English king for permission to travel with a supply ship. Clearly he could have travelled from Copenhagen to Trondheim in Norway. Iceland's two bishoprics came under the jurisdiction of the archbishop of Trondheim, from whom Gozewijn should have received the official insignia of his office — the staff and mitre. That this did not take place is connected to the fact that it was King Erik and not the pope who conferred this office on Gozewijn. As far as we can gather, the pope seems to have been left out of the appointment altogether.

Evidently Gozewijn himself did not make an issue of the fact that the appointment took place irregularly. His life coincides roughly with the time of the Western Schism (1378–1449) and he must have been accustomed to unconventional methods of decision-making. He had enough to worry about anyway. Even before he began his real task, there was the problem of what to take with him. Not so much what he needed himself — as a monk Gozewijn was used to austerity — but rather the requirements for the church service.

For example, Gozewijn took into account beforehand that there was a shortage of wheat — necessary for the preparation of the communion wafers — and of altar wine. So while in England he stocked up on these products. Besides he took along with him silver chalices and cloth for mass vestments. It was after all Gozewijn's concern to see that holy communion in the churches of his bishopric took place properly.

Obviously the supplies he brought did not last indefinitely and just over a year after his arrival Gozewijn was obliged to sail back to England and to charter a cargo boat. Some time later again — it is 1440 by then — Gozewijn himself does not go, but he asks that two ships loaded with grain, wine, salt and other products be sent to Iceland. The letter of request has not been preserved, but from King Henry's answer it is clear that Gozewijn had complained of his dire straits. On Iceland there is a shortage of food and woollen cloth so that he cannot properly feed and clothe himself and his monks and priests. Besides, mass cannot be celebrated because there is no wine. The king realises the severity of the situation and grants his permission. As on previous occasions, he does this on the condition that the ship sail back with a cargo of Icelandic products including stockfish and wool.¹⁴

Gozewijn's worry about spiritual things was even greater. It can be deduced from chronicles of Gozewijn's time as a bishop, that

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 45, 75.

he took his task seriously. During his stay on Iceland he visited many of the churches and monasteries of the bishoprics of Skálholt and Hólar. For about five of the nine years of Gozewijn's tenure in Iceland the see of Hólar was vacant, and so Gozewijn was responsible for it too. This meant that he was in fact bishop of the whole of Iceland, an area about three times the size of the Netherlands.

During his travels on Iceland, Gozewijn sometimes had to solve difficult problems. One of these was settling a dispute between an abbot and a priest who both laid claim to a stranded whale. He also had to take steps against priests who lived with women and who did not observe the rule of celibacy. This was not the only canonical law that was being broken, so Gozewijn was obliged to arrange a synod for all the priests in the country. Several decisions came down from this synod, for example, that consecrated wafers and altar wine had to be bought in Skálholt unless exemption was granted. This regulation is not surprising. From the foregoing it is clear that Gozewijn was apprehensive about using substitute products for the celebration of mass.¹⁵

Only isolated facts are known about Gozewijn's years as bishop. There is no description that provides us with a coherent picture. The eighteenth-century Icelandic church historian Finnur Jónsson, the first to take notice of Gozewijn, collected details from chronicles and annals and then concluded that the bishop 'was neither a bad man nor did he neglect his duties'.¹⁶ He obviously regarded the facts too scarce to warrant a more positive conclusion. Jónsson does not mention the fact that Gozewijn's name as bishop was remembered on Iceland, which goes to prove that Gozewijn was popular during his period of office: The name Gozewijn itself was unknown on Iceland before his own time, but afterwards it appears as 'Gottsvein' and in the shortened form of 'Gosi'.¹⁷

In 1445 Gozewijn returned from Iceland to the continent. The date is known thanks to another document issued by King Henry VI; it is dated 4 December 1445, and like the others mentioned above, it was written at Westminster.¹⁸ It records the king's

¹⁵ See for further information about Gozewijn's activities on Iceland: Moll, 'Gozewijn Comhaer', 169–177.

¹⁶ Finni Johannaei *Historia Ecclesiae Islandiae* II, 476. The original text reads as follows: 'Gotsvinnus, Skalholti episcopus, vir fuit nec malus nec officii omnino negligens'.

¹⁷ Moll, 'Gozewijn Comhaer', 178.

¹⁸ *Foedera, conventiones, literae*, . . . , V 1, 151.

permission for Gozewijn to leave England with his retainers and goods and to return within the year.

Deventer and La Grande Chartreuse, 1445–1447

After crossing the North Sea, Gozewijn first visited the monastery at Zelem. Here he made the final arrangements for his father's estate. He then went northwards to Deventer; although he had not been in his native city for a long time, he felt at home at once. This impression is given by what contemporaries write about him. One of these is a woman, who describes in a book, called *Leven der eerwaardige Moeder Andries Yserens*, the life of a nun in one of the convents in Deventer. She relates how the convent was visited a few times by the bishop of Iceland. Evidently she does not think it necessary to mention the name of this bishop; after all, everyone knew she meant Gozewijn. She does say, however, that the bishop's visits were greatly appreciated.¹⁹

Gozewijn is also mentioned in *Van den doechden der vuriger ende stichtiger susteren van diepen veen*, the book which describes the life of a number of nuns in the convent at Diepenveen. One of these is Aleid ter Poerten, whom Gerrit Comhaer had married after the death of his first wife; she had returned from Denmark after her husband's death there and entered the convent at Diepenveen. Gozewijn visited her there several times. The writer of *Van den doechden* describes him favourably. Despite his high office, she notices, he has not lost his simplicity. Neither does he let his travels come in the way of his devotion to prayer.²⁰

Besides the convents mentioned here, Gozewijn visited other communities as well. Sometimes he left them letters of indulgence. One of these is remarkably different from the customary letters of indulgence of the time, for besides the usual conditions such as attending mass, regular prayer and gifts of money, this letter in particular mentions quite other conditions for securing indulgences. It makes clear how a person should lead his life, according to Gozewijn's precepts. For not pursuing gossip Gozewijn grants a certain number of days of indulgence. He does the same for those who accept admonitions, for those who, either by admonition or example, keep a fellow human being from straying, for those who help the sick or cheer an angry or miserable person, for those who perform difficult tasks in a cheerful and

¹⁹ Spitzzen, 'Leven der eerwaardige Moeder Andries Yserens', 183–184, 193–194.

²⁰ Brinkerink, *Van den doechden*, 269.

patient manner, for those who suppress feelings of impatience and dissatisfaction, for those who act, or refrain from acting for the sake of another, and for those who are in general modest and obedient. These regulations are written entirely in the spirit of that which the Modern Devouts advocated: to be subservient and helpful to others.²¹

The letter also discloses that Gozewijn still stood by the principles of the Modern Devotion, even though he had been away for a long time. Obviously it had played an influential role in his younger years, and we must not forget that during his time as a Carthusian monk he had lived in a similar style. In any case, this congeniality meant that Gozewijn immediately felt at home again in Deventer. It must have been pleasant for him, anyway, to once more speak his native language, and to be surrounded by familiar faces. However, although he felt very much at home in the city on the IJssel, he did not stay there. His real home, La Grande Chartreuse, was waiting. We do not know when he went there but it must have been before the onset of winter. It was to be his last journey. On 20 June 1447 he died in the mother convent of the Carthusians.

Conclusion

The title of this article is 'Gozewijn Comhaer — Carthusian and Modern Devout'. Now that Gozewijn's life-story has been told, we can conclude that both epithets, 'Carthusian' and 'Modern Devout', are indeed applicable. Gozewijn was a dedicated Carthusian and was active in expanding the order. And he was a Modern Devout as well. Particular proof of this is the letter of indulgence which he wrote shortly before his death. This letter provides regulations that are characteristic for the movement of the Modern Devotion and thus proves that the influence the movement had on Gozewijn in his youth was strong — so strong, in fact, that he still felt the effects of it in his old age.

As far as his spiritual kinship with the Modern Devotion is concerned, Gozewijn can be compared to Wessel Gansfort, the man to whom this volume is dedicated, who was born almost half a century after Gozewijn. Wessel Gansfort was also influenced by the Modern Devotion in his youth, and he preserved for the rest of his life the spirit of the 'imitation of Christ', which was so characteristic of it. His letters and books, written after he

²¹ Cf. Van der Toorn-Piebenga, 'Over de aflaatbrieven van Gozewijn Comhaer'.

returned from abroad while living in the abbey of Aduard and the monastery of Agnietenberg, bear witness to this. Further evidence is also found in what his contemporaries say about him.²²

That the baker's son from Groningen remained loyal to the ideas of the Modern Devotion is less self-evident than that the jeweller's son from Deventer did so. The latter entered a monastic order that was closely related to the Modern Devotion and kept in touch with the order even in the years he spent outside the walls of the monastery. Wessel Gansfort, on the other hand, travelled abroad after his years in Zwolle, where he had been educated by the Brothers, and he studied at several universities. He therefore came into contact with all kinds of 'modern' schools of thought and could easily have given up his original principles. This was not the case, however. Wessel Gansfort knew how to combine his Biblical piety with his scientific work just as Gozewijn combined his devotion with practical work.

²² Van Rhijn, *Studiën over Wessel Gansfort*, 63.

PART THREE

NORTHERN HUMANISM

TH. ELSMANN

ALBERT RIZÄUS HARDENBERG UND JOHANNES
MOLANUS IN BREMEN:
ZWEI HUMANISTEN IM KONFESSIONELLEN ZEITALTER¹

Der hier zur Diskussion stehende Zeitraum ist für Bremen in manchem eine Übergangsperiode.² Übergangsperiode zwischen der Reformation (1527 abgeschlossen)³ und der Konvertierung der Stadt zum reformierten Bekenntnis⁴ im letzten Viertel des 16. Jahrhunderts. Übergangsperiode aber auch zwischen der 1528 gegründeten Lateinschule, die 1584 Erweiterung durch eine *prima* oder *publica classis* erfuhr, und dem Gymnasium Illustre (1610), das universitätsmässig organisiert, als norddeutsche Hochburg calvinischer Gelehrsamkeit und eines reformiert geprägten Humanismus galt.⁵

¹ Die nachfolgenden Bemerkungen sind in Teilen Ergebnisse einer Forschungsstudie, die unter dem Arbeitstitel *Norddeutscher Calvinismus und humanistische Bildung. Aspekte der Rezeption antiker Literatur von der Mitte des 16. Jahrhunderts bis um 1800 am Beispiel Bremens* von der Fritz Thyssen Stiftung (Köln) im Rahmen eines Post-Graduierten-Stipendiums gefördert wurde. Eine grössere Publikation wird in absehbarer Zeit veröffentlicht werden.

Die Vortragsform ist im wesentlichen beibehalten worden, ergänzt durch Zitate und Anmerkungen.

Für ihren Beistand in diesem Rahmen habe ich besonders den folgenden Institutionen zu danken: Bremen, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek (SUB); Duisburg, Stadtarchiv; Emden, Bibliothek der Grossen Kirche; Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek.

² Zur historischen Orientierung siehe Schwarzwälder, *Geschichte der Freien Hansestadt Bremen* I, 171ff. und als Ergänzung Von Bippin, *Geschichte der Stadt Bremen* II, 15ff.

³ Vgl. dazu überblickartig Rudloff, 'Bremen', bes. 156ff. Ansonsten Veeck, *Die Reformation in Bremen*; Heyne, 'Die Reformation in Bremen 1522–1524'; Moeller, 'Die Reformation in Bremen'. Die überregionale Einordnung bei Stupperich, 'Die Reformation im Weserraum', sowie Schilling, 'Die politische Elite nordwestdeutscher Städte'.

⁴ Neben Rudloff, 'Bremen', 158f., auch Veeck, *Geschichte der reformierten Kirche Bremens* und Moltmann, 'Christoph Pezel (1539–1604) und der Calvinismus in Bremen'. Zum überregionalen Kontext zuletzt *Die reformierte Konfessionalisierung in Deutschland — Das Problem der "Zweiten Reformation"*.

⁵ Zur Schule immer noch Entholt, *Geschichte des Bremer Gymnasiums bis zur Mitte des 18. Jahrhunderts*; Entholt, 'Das Bremische Gymnasium 1765–1817'; auch J.Fr. Iken, 'Das Bremische Gymnasium Illustre im 17. Jahrhundert'. Immer noch interessant Meier und Sagittarius, *Orationes III. de Scholae Bremensis nataliis, progressu et incremento* (1648), und C. Iken, *Oratio de Illustri Bremensium Schola* (1714). Die

Anhand zweier Personen gilt es, humanistisches Denken im Zeitalter der Glaubensspaltung herauszustellen und dadurch gleichzeitig die unmittelbare Nachwirkung der humanistischen Gesinnung der Brüder vom gemeinsamen Leben⁶ nachzuzeichnen, mit deren Zielen Bremen vermutlich erst im 16. Jahrhundert durch Albert Rizäus Hardenberg in Berührung kam — jegliche frühere Zeugnisse fehlen, wie auch die gesamte Bewegung der *Devotio Moderna* an der Stadt vorbeigegangen zu sein scheint.⁷

Die zweite interessante Persönlichkeit haben wir in Johannes Molanus vor Augen. Er war Hardenberg zumindest seit seiner Berufung nach Bremen, die unter dessen massgeblicher Förderung stattfand, verbunden. Der Briefwechsel beider ist ein Beleg von Zuneigung und Gelehrsamkeit.⁸

Beide Gelehrte sind bisher wenig in ihrer Stellung als Humanisten gewürdigt worden. Hardenberg⁹ gilt als der streitbare — im Rückblick wegweisende — Theologe und späte Biograph Wessel

überregionale Bedeutung behandeln Schmidtmayer, 'Die Beziehungen des Bremer Gymnasium Illustre zu J.A. Comenius und den mährischen Brüdern'; Prüser, *Das Bremer Gymnasium Illustre in seinen landschaftlichen und personellen Beziehungen*; Schneppen, *Niederländische Universitäten und deutsches Geistesleben*, passim. Zuletzt hat sich Menk, *Die Hohe Schule Herborn in ihrer Frühzeit (1584–1660)*, passim zum Gymnasium geäußert. Grundlegende Einordnungen dazu von Pixberg, *Der deutsche Calvinismus und die Pädagogik*, und Hammerstein, 'Schule, Hochschule und Res publica litteraria'. Zur weitergehenden Literatur siehe Elsmann, 'Humanismus in Bremen. Christoph Pezel, Philipp Melancthon und die *Institutio Traiani*'.

⁶ Grundlegende Informationen mit Bibliographie bei Stupperich, 'Brüder vom gemeinsamen Leben'.

⁷ Zur Situation der bremischen Kirche am Vorabend der Reformation siehe Schwarzwälder, *Geschichte der Freien Hansestadt Bremen* I, 160f. und 165f.; Rudloff, 'Bremen', 155f.; Entholt, 'Bremische Kultur gegen Ausgang des Mittelalters', bes. 93ff. Lediglich das vor der Stadt gelegene Paulskloster war 1453 der Bursfelder Kongregation beigetreten. Zum Einfluss der *Devotio Moderna* Brouette, 'Devotio moderna I'; die regionalen Aspekte bei Elm, 'Die Devotio moderna im Weserraum', 251ff.

⁸ Der Briefwechsel lässt sich im wesentlichen aus der Handschrift Ms.a.7 der SUB rekonstruieren. Das Manuskript enthält unter dem im 18. Jahrhundert von Johann Philipp Cassel (1707–1783) gefertigten Titel *Johannis Molani Rectoris Bremensis, Duisburgensis & iterum Bremensis Epistolae cum literarum titulis et correctionibus ipsius Molani* Briefe und sonstige kleine Schriften von Molanus bzw. an Molanus aus den Jahren 1557–1583, mit einer Lücke von 1563–1565. Weitere Molanskorrespondenz, darunter ein Grossteil Abschriften, sind in Ms.a.10 - Ms.a.13 der SUB inkorporiert. Ms.a.7 ist beschrieben von De Boer und Ritter, 'Die Briefe des bremischen Rectors Johannes Molanus aus den Jahren 1557–1577'. Die wesentliche Hardenbergkorrespondenz findet sich, mit gelegentlichen Irrtümern, wiedergegeben durch Cassel, *Bremensia* II, 553ff.

⁹ Die einzig umfassende Biographie, wenngleich in Teilen veraltet und in der Aussage polemisch, noch immer Spiegel, 'D. Albert Rizäus Hardenberg. Ein Theologenleben aus der Reformationszeit'. Zuletzt umfassend Neuser, 'Albert

Gansforts, Molanus¹⁰ als Begründer der späteren europäischen Bedeutung der *Schola Bremensis* und Propagandist der Lehren des französischen Philosophen Petrus Ramus (1515–1572).¹¹

Gemein ist ihnen, dass sie in ihrem Oeuvre keine explizit humanistischen Schriften hinterlassen haben. Beide studieren an der streng scholastisch und antireformatorisch ausgerichteten Universität Löwen,¹² wo Hardenberg schon mehr Erasmus als der Scholastik zuneigte,¹³ kamen dann mit der Reformation in Kontakt (Hardenberg 1539/40, Molanus nach 1543) und gelangten aus unterschiedlichen Gründen nach Bremen, das schon hier seinem folgenden Ruf als *Hospitium Ecclesiae*¹⁴ gerecht wird. Hardenberg kommt 1547 als evangelischer Prediger an die Domkirche des noch altgläubig verbliebenen Erzbischofs Christoph von Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel (1511–1558), Molanus als Lehrer an die Lateinschule, dem zugleich die Möglichkeit gegeben war, einen Konvikt von Schülern zu unterhalten, wobei dieser Konvikt seinen Lebensunterhalt sicherte. Beide müssen die Stadt schliesslich als Exulanten verlassen: Molanus bereits 1559 in Richtung Duisburg,¹⁵ Hardenberg 1561 in Richtung Rastede (Oldenburg),¹⁶ letztlich nach Emden. Sie werden Opfer der bereits 1548 einsetzenden und seit 1555 zugespitzten Abendmahlsstreitigkeiten zwischen gnesiolutherischen praedicatores und einer zwinglianisch resp.

Rizaeus Hardenberg (ca. 1510–1574)'. Darüber hinaus wichtig Schwenkendieck, *Dr. Albert Hardenberg. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Reformation*; Van Schelven, 'Albertus Rizaeus Hardenberg'; Moltmann, 'Christoph Pezel und der Calvinismus in Bremen', 16ff.; Neuser, 'Hardenberg und Melanchthon. Der Hardenbergische Streit'; Schröder, 'Erinnerung an den Bremer Abendmahlsstreit um Albert Hardenberg'.

¹⁰ Die wesentlichen Informationen finden sich bei Bunte, 'Über Johannes Molanus'; Averdunk, *Geschichte der Stadt Duisburg*, 2. Abt., 683ff.; Ch. Rahlenbeeck, in *Biographie Nationale* XV, Brüssel 1899, 47f.; Entholt, *Geschichte des Bremer Gymnasiums*, 3f., 44f. u.ö.; Veeck, 'Johannes Molanus'; De Boer und Ritter, 'Die Briefe des bremischen Rektors Johannes Molanus', passim; De Boer und Ritter, 'Briefe des Rektors Johannes Molanus an den Bremer Domherrn Herbert von Langen'; Moltmann, 'Johannes Molanus'.

¹¹ Siehe dazu unten Anm. 60ff.

¹² Averdunk, *Geschichte der Stadt Duisburg*, 2. Abt., 683ff. meint aus dem Studium beider in Löwen bereits schon hier auf eine Freundschaft schliessen zu können.

¹³ Vgl. dazu Hardenbergs eigenes Zeugnis bei Spiegel, 'D. Albert Rizäus Hardenberg', 15.

¹⁴ Siehe zu dieser Titulatur Prüser, 'Hospitium Ecclesiae - Herberge der Kirche', und Stupperich, 'Das Hospitium Ecclesiae im Verständnis Philipp Melanchthons'.

¹⁵ Die Zeit des rheinischen Exils beschreibt ausführlich Averdunk, *Geschichte der Stadt Duisburg*, 2. Abt., 683ff.

¹⁶ Neben dem Schutz durch den Grafen Christoph von Oldenburg, war es wohl die Bibliothek des Klosters (1751 verbrannt), die Hardenberg nach Rastede zog; siehe Spiegel, 'D. Albert Rizäus Hardenberg', 327f.

philippistisch ausgerichteten Partei.¹⁷ Molanus kann jedoch 1563 in die Wesermetropole zurückkehren. Man berief ihn jetzt zum Rektor der lateinischen Schule, nachdem er in früherer Zeit wegen der offensichtlichen Beziehungen zu Hardenberg bei der Neubesetzung der vakanten Position übergangen worden war. Molanus übte dieses Amt 20 Jahre aus, Hardenberg hingegen verstarb 1574 im Emdener Exil.¹⁸

Was Albert Rizäus Hardenberg uns an Werken hinterlassen hat, sind Streit- und Verteidigungsschriften, die späte *Vita* Wessels, dazu einen Briefcorpus¹⁹ und wenige persönliche Aufzeichnungen. Das ist vordergründig wenig humanistisches, zumal Hardenbergs erste Stationen der schulischen Ausbildung hätten zunächst mehr erwarten lassen. Um 1517²⁰ kommt er in die Schule der Brüder vom gemeinsamen Leben in Groningen, wo Goswin van Halen (ca. 1468–1530)²¹ zu seinem Praeceptor wird. Etwa zehn Jahre später führt sein Weg in das Kloster Aduard, dessen Blütezeit aber offenbar schon verstrichen war.²² So jedenfalls Goswin, der sich von Hardenberg eine Wiederbelebung und damit Anschluss an die Tradition eines Rudolf Agricola, Wessel Gansfort oder Alexander Hegius erhoffte.²³

Ein bemerkenswertes Zeugnis für einen von Goswin erstellten Lektürekanon, der Hardenberg prägend beeinflussen sollte, bietet eine Epistel.²⁴ Hardenberg hatte seinen Lehrer und Vertrauten um eine Schrift Ovids ersucht, ohne seinen Wunsch zu spezi-

¹⁷ Die Streitigkeiten finden sich ausführlich in den in Anm. 9 genannten Arbeiten geschildert. Auf die politischen Implikationen legen Schwarzwälder, *Geschichte der Freien Hansestadt Bremen* I, 231ff. und Von Bippen, *Geschichte der Stadt Bremen* II, 147ff. Wert. Die Vorgänge waren allerdings nichts für Bremen spezifisches, siehe dazu die Einreihung bei Neuser, 'Hardenberg und Melanchthon. Der Hardenbergische Streit', 143ff.

¹⁸ Dass Hardenberg nicht wieder in die Stadt zurückkehren durfte, erboste Molanus, wie Briefe belegen, siehe etwa Bremen SUB, Ms.a.7, Nr. 180 (November 1567, Molanus an Hardenberg): 'In foelicem Bremem, quae talem Pastorem amisit, impiam, quae exclusit, perditam, quae non revocavit.'

¹⁹ Darunter etwa auch ein Brief an Beatus Rhenanus vom 22.3. 1545, abgedruckt in *Briefwechsel des Beatus Rhenanus*, Nr. 391.

²⁰ Zum Bildungsgang ausführlich Spiegel, 'D. Albert Rizäus Hardenberg', 4ff.

²¹ Vgl. zu Goswin Van Rhijn, 'Goswinus van Halen'.

²² Siehe allgemein: Akkerman und Santing, 'Rudolf Agricola en de Aduarder academie' und Akkerman, 'Onderwijs en geleerdheid in Groningen tussen 1469 en 1614'.

²³ Die Ausführungen in einem Brief an Hardenberg vom 23.11.1528, der Wessels *Opera* inkorporiert wurde. Nach Hardenbergs Autograph findet sich die Epistel von Akkerman und Santing, 'Rudolf Agricola en de Aduarder academie' 12f. übersetzt.

²⁴ Ebenfalls Gansfort, *Opera* eingegliedert. Wiederum nach Hardenbergs Autograph zitiert bei Akkerman und Santing, 'Rudolf Agricola en de Aduarder academie', 15f.

fizieren. Goswin übersandte ein Exemplar der *Metamorphosen* und erlaubte sich angesichts dieses donativum folgende Hinweise:

- Ovid und ähnliche Schriftsteller seien nur einmal zu lesen,
- auf Vergil, Horaz und Terenz ist grösseres Studium zu verwenden, soweit Menschen *unseres Standes* überhaupt die Dichter studieren sollten,
- die Bibel müsse häufig als Lektüre dienen, zur Kirchenhistorie seien der Josephus und die *Historia Ecclesiastica Tripartita* von Cassiodor grundlegend,
- an heidnischen Geschichtsschreibern sind nötig: Plutarch, Sallust, Thucydides, Herodot und Justin,
- Plato und Aristoteles sind Grundlektüre,
- Cicero ist gründlich zu studieren, um den Stil zu schulen,
- neben der Bibel müssen Augustinus, Hieronymus, Ambrosius, Chrysostomus, Gregorius sowie Bernhard von Clairvaux und Hugo von St. Viktor gelesen werden.

Dieser Konspekt ist in verschiedener Hinsicht interessant. Er bezeugt einen Humanismus, der sich auf christliche, ebenso wie auf antik-profane Autoren bezieht. Das Verhältnis zur Antike ist dabei gespalten und nicht frei von Vorbehalten. Vorbehalte in erster Linie gegen die Komödiendichter und Satiriker. Hingegen wird die Notwendigkeit einer Beschäftigung mit (Profan-) Historikern, Philosophen und bevorzugt Cicero, als stilistischem Vorbild, betont. Augenfällig ist die Hochschätzung der Bibel und der Kirchenväter, allen voran Augustinus.

Wie Hardenbergs Beschäftigung mit Teilen dieses Literaturkanons sich konkret gestaltete, ist nur schwerlich nachzuvollziehen. Wir erfahren aus seinen Briefen — soweit sie denn bis heute durch die Forschung analysiert worden sind — kaum etwas. Ausnahmen sind, zum guten Ton gehörige, Klassikerzitate in Schriftwechseln.²⁵ Seine Konfessionsschriften richten sich überwiegend an Melanchthon aus, tendieren aber deutlich in Richtung Zwingli.²⁶ Gelegentlich wird auch auf Wessel Gansfort zurückgegriffen,²⁷ dessen Werken sich Hardenberg schon in der Groninger Zeit angenähert hatte.²⁸ Durch seine Ausbildung in Groningen, Aduard, Löwen und später Wittenberg, wo er

²⁵ Etwa in einem Brief an den Bremer Bürgermeister Daniel von Büren (1512–1593), siehe Spiegel, 'D. Albert Rizäus Hardenberg', 314ff.

²⁶ Die Deutungen der von Hardenberg vertretenen glaubensmässigen Vorstellungen sind widersprüchlich — hier fehlt eine neue Darstellung.

²⁷ Vgl. Moltmann, 'Christoph Pezel und der Calvinismus in Bremen', 16; Neuser, 'Hardenberg und Melanchthon. Der Hardenbergische Streit', 143; auch Mokrosch, 'Devotio moderna II', bes. 610.

²⁸ Vgl. Spiegel, 'D. Albert Rizäus Hardenberg', 10.

Melanchthons Vorlesung über Aristoteles beiwohnte, ist es sicherlich gerechtfertigt, Hardenberg als Reformhumanist zu kennzeichnen,²⁹ der sich schon früh den Schweizer Reformatoren näherte und eine Symbiose aus niederländischem Reformgeist und Zwinglianismus repräsentiert.³⁰

Der mit Sicherheit deutlichste Ausweis für ein solches Urteil ist, nachdem die bisherigen Nachweise eher zufällig oder spekulativ ausfielen und eine entsprechende Analyse des Gesamtwerkes aussteht, Hardenbergs Büchersammlung, die durch glückliche Fügung bis heute fast unversehrt in der Bibliothek der Grossen Kirche in Emden vorhanden ist.

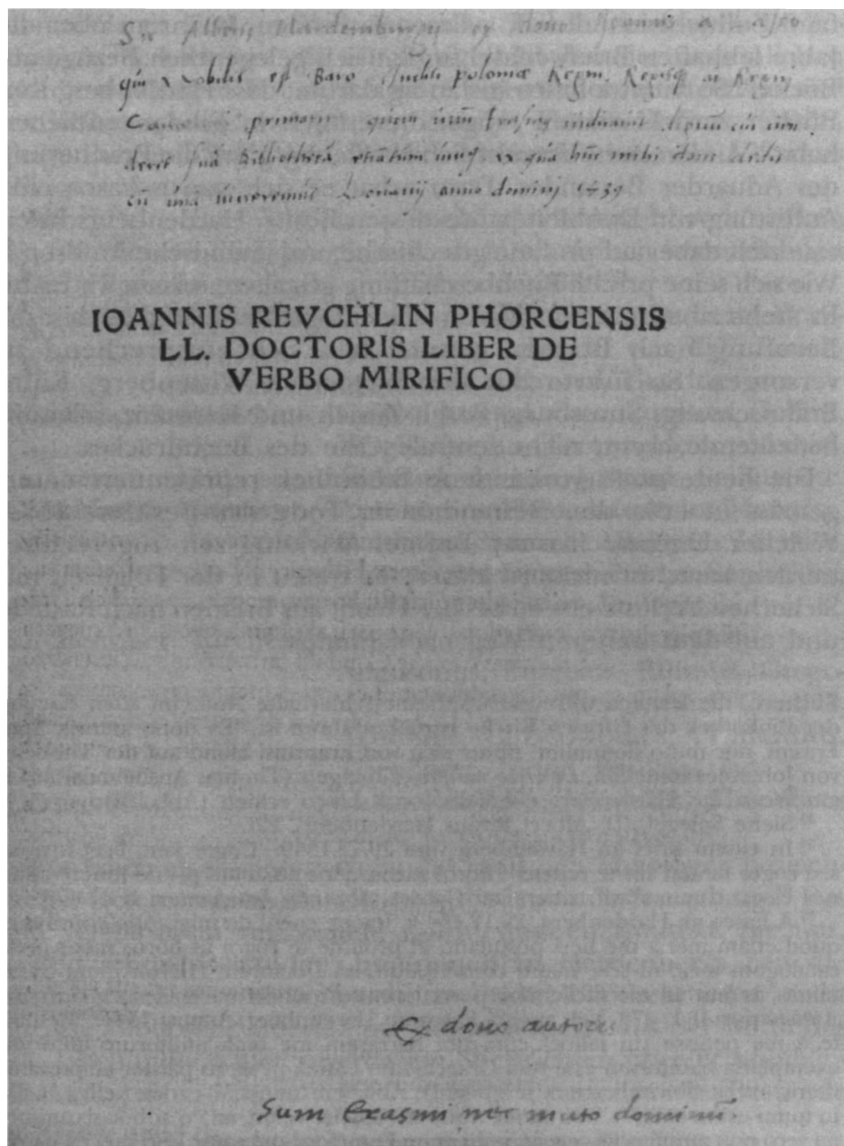
Hardenberg zeigte schon früh Interesse an Büchern. Dabei kommt ihm in späterer Zeit die Freundschaft mit dem Erasmus-schüler Johannes a Lasco (1499–1560) zugute. Beide treffen sich zunächst in Frankfurt, dann in Mainz, wo Hardenberg 1539 die Doktorwürde erwarb. A Lasco war es auch, der Hardenbergs Konvertierung zum Protestantismus entscheidend förderte.³¹ Ein früher Beleg dieses auch literarischen Austausches ist ein Exemplar von Johannes Reuchlins hebräischem Elementarbuch, versehen mit einem Eintrag, der es als Werk aus dem Besitz des Erasmus von Rotterdam ausweist.³² Es ist zweifellos eines jener Bücher, die Johannes a Lasco 1525 von Erasmus erworben hatte, allerdings unter der Massgabe, die Bibliothek zu Lebzeiten des Erasmus diesem weiterhin verfügbar zu halten. Hardenberg wird über das Präsent erfreut gewesen sein, sollte er doch einen Teil seiner Sammlung in Löwen zurücklassen müssen oder sie durch

²⁹ Diese Kennzeichnung bei Moltmann, 'Christoph Pezel und der Calvinismus in Bremen', 16; Neuser, 'Hardenberg und Melanchthon. Der Hardenbergische Streit', 143; auch Mokrosch, 'Devotio moderna II', bes. 610.

³⁰ Siehe dazu allgemein die in Anm. 9 genannten Studien.

³¹ Zur Freundschaft Hardenberg — A Lasco siehe Schwenkendiack, *Dr. Albert Hardenberg*, 11ff. und Spiegel, 'D. Albert Rizäus Hardenberg', 19f. Die konfessionellen Unterschiede stellt Neuser, 'Hardenberg und Melanchthon. Der Hardenbergische Streit', 147ff. heraus.

³² Johannes Reuchlin, *De rudimentis hebraicis*, Pforzheim (Thomas Anshelmus) 1506. Darin der Eintrag von Hardenberg: 'Sum Alberti Hardenbergi Theologi ex donatione Nobilis poloniae Baronis Do. Joanis a Lasco Superattendentis Ecclesiarum phrisiae orientalis, qui a vivente iam tum Erasmo totam bibliothecam emit si contingeret ei illum esse superstitem. Donavit mihi ipse hunc codicem Moguntiae. cum illic lauream Theologiae essem assecutus anno domini millesimo quingentesimo trigesimo septimo mense decembre. Itaque liber hic me vivo dominum non mutabit. quod testor hac inscriptione manus meae 1547 Bremae.' An anderer Stelle des Buches der Besitzvermerk: 'Sum Erasmi'. Schwenkendiack, *Dr. Albert Hardenberg*, 65 und Spiegel, 'D. Albert Rizäus Hardenberg', 19 geben an, dass auf Hardenbergs Annotationen der Eintrag von Erasmus 'Sum Erasmi, nec muto dominum' folge. Dieses trifft nicht zu. Es handelt sich dabei um die Vermischung von handschriftlichen Bemerkungen in zwei



III. Johannes Reuchlin, *De verbo mirifico*, Tübingen: Thomas Anshelmus, 1514 (vgl. Anm. 32).

Verbrennung verlieren,³³ als man ihn wegen reformierten Gedankengutes der Universität und Stadt verwies. Hardenberg fand Zuflucht in Aduard, a Lasco in Emden. In ihrem über die Jahre lebhaften Briefwechsel finden sich gelegentlich Bezüge auf Bücher. So bittet a Lasco inständig darum, dass Hardenberg ihm Bücher zurückerstatten möge, die er sich in Emden entliehen habe.³⁴ Andererseits bemüht sich Hardenberg um die Erweiterung des Aduarder Bestandes. Dazu erbat er sich von a Lasco eine Auflistung von Doubletten aus dessen Besitz. Hardenbergs Interesse zielt dabei auf profane griechische und lateinische Autoren.³⁵ Wie sich seine private Buchbeschaffung gestaltete, wissen wir nicht. Es steht zu vermuten, dass er seine rege Reisetätigkeit bis zur Berufung nach Bremen genutzt hat, sich entsprechend zu versorgen. So führte ihn der Weg nach Wittenberg, Köln, Braunschweig, Strassburg, Basel, Zürich und Konstanz, allesamt bedeutende, wenn nicht zentrale Orte des Buchdruckes.

Die heute noch vorhandene Bibliothek repräsentiert naturgemäß in etwa den Bestand beim Tode des Besitzers 1574. Welcher Umfang ihr zur Bremer Wirkungszeit zugerechnet werden kann, ist nicht zu klären. Es traten in der Folgezeit mit Sicherheit Verluste ein, so bei der Flucht aus Bremen nach Rastede und auf dem weiteren Weg nach Emden.³⁶

Büchern, die letztlich vermutlich auf eine fehlerhafte Notiz im alten Katalog der Bibliothek der Grossen Kirche zurückzuführen ist. 'Ex dono autoris. Sum Erasmi, nec muto dominum' findet sich von Erasmus' Hand auf der Titelseite von Johannes Reuchlin, *De verbo mirifico*, Tübingen (Thomas Anshelmus) 1514, ein Werk, das Hardenberg ebenfalls von a Lasco erhielt (Abb. III).

³³ Siehe Spiegel, 'D. Albert Rizäus Hardenberg', 22f.

³⁴ In einem Brief an Hardenberg vom 29.12.1540: 'Cogor jam, licet invitus, sed cogor tamen abs te repetere libros meos, quos tibi, cum primo itinere apud nos esses, commodavi', zitiert bei Gerdes, *Scrinium Antiquarium* II 1, 478.

³⁵ A Lasco an Hardenberg, 29.12.1540: 'Itaque coepi de migrando consilium, quod etiam mei a me fieri postulant, et proinde te rogo, ut libros meos juxta catalogum mea, ut scis, manu conscriptum, ad Doctorem Hieronymum transmittas, is jam ad me facile illos porro remittet': zitiert nach Gerdes, *Scrinium Antiquarium* II 1, 478. Vgl. auch a Lasco an Hardenberg, August 1541: 'Memini te a me petiisse (ni fallor) cum tibi narrarem me bina multorum autorum exemplaria habiturum esse tum Graeca, tum Latina in sacris pariter ac profanis literis, ut ea tibi indicarem, te apud D. Abbatem tuum id curare velle, ut illa in tuum usum emeret, hoc itaque nunc abs te scire velim, an eo adhuc sis animo, an vero non amplius illis egeas, mihi enim Francfordium nunc libri mei ex patria advehentur; Quod si scirem tibi nullis opus esse, non esset cur illos huc paucis exceptis adferri curarem, sed illic potius juberem divendi, ne me frustra sumptu vecturae non necessario onerarem. Id vero me nunc facere jam oportet (. . .) Indicem librorum ad te mittam, vel ipse adferam, postquam animum mihi tuum significaveris. Vale & ne graveris mihi quamprimum respondere, ne diu animi pendeam', zitiert nach Gerdes, *Scrinium Antiquarium* II 1, 480.

³⁶ Die Rasteder Bestände boten allerdings auch die Möglichkeit der Ergänzung, vgl. Anm. 16.

Hardenbergs Buchkollektion ist — so eine vorläufige grobe Einschätzung³⁷ — von theologischer Literatur bestimmt, ist demnach als eine im überwiegenden Teil konfessionelle Bibliothek zu bezeichnen, die ein Spiegelbild von der persönlichen glaubensmässigen Entwicklung des Eigentümers darstellt: So sind an Reformatoren etwa Luther, Zwingli, Flacius Illyricus, Calvin, Bugenhagen, Bullinger, Bucer, Melanchthon und Urbanus Rhegius vertreten.

Hinzu tritt eine nicht zu unterschätzende Anzahl von Werken und Verfassern, die sich plakativ als humanistisch kennzeichnen lassen. Spezifiziert ergibt sich folgendes Bild:³⁸

Humanistische Autoren:	Erasmus, Melanchthon, Budaeus, Crinitus, Morus, Albrecht von Eyb, Reuchlin, Ficino, Petrarca, Guarinus etc.
Römische Autoren:	Cicero, Juvenal, Cato, Lucanus, Gellius, Vergil, Curtius, Terenz, Horaz, Martial, Asconius, Sueton, Justinus, Solinus etc.
Griechische Autoren:	Aphthonios, Plato, Aristoteles, Herodot, Isokrates, Plutarch, Diogenes Laertios, Theophrast, Diodor, Pindar, Sophokles, Proklos, Dionysios, Ptolemaios etc.
Kirchenväter, Kirchengeschichte, christliche Spätantike:	Augustinus, Eusebios, Rufinus, Gregorios von Nyssa, Hieronymus, Orosius, Arnobius, Chrysostomos, Prudentius, Theodoret, Isidor, Basileios etc.
Grammatiken:	Valla, Reuchlin, Manutius, Theodoros Gaza, Jacobus Ceperinus etc.

Für einen als sektiererischen und radikalen Theologen bezeichneten Gelehrten wahrhaft keine unbedeutende Sammlung.³⁹ Das gilt verstärkt im regionalen, norddeutschen Kontext. Sie war, soweit schon vorhanden, in Bremen zu Hardenbergs Zeit die umfangreichste und umfassendste Privatbibliothek, wenn nicht grösste Bibliothek überhaupt. Wir haben erst aus der Mitte des 17. Jahrhunderts hier zuverlässige Nachrichten über Privatbibliotheken, frühestens um 1600 mag es nennenswerte Bestände gegeben haben.⁴⁰

³⁷ Ich hoffe an anderer Stelle eine genaue quantitative und qualitative Analyse der Hardenbergischen Bibliothek geben zu können.

³⁸ Überschneidungen in der Zuordnung sind dabei natürlich nicht auszuschliessen. Hier soll zunächst nur ein erster Eindruck vermittelt werden.

³⁹ Hinzuzurechnen ist etwa auch medizinisches Schrifttum, so von Paracelsus.

⁴⁰ Siehe dazu Engelsing, *Der Bürger als Leser*, 10ff., 47ff. und 85ff.

Nun ist der blosse Besitz von Büchern nicht der zwingende Ausweis einer bestimmten Geisteshaltung. Wurden sie auch wirklich gelesen, d.h. benutzt oder stellten sie blosse Repräsentationsobjekte bzw. Relikte der schulischen Ausbildung dar: Dafür, dass Hardenberg seinen Büchern mit Interesse gegenüberstand sprechen seine Ausbildung, besonders aber Qualität und Quantität der vorhandenen Werke. Natürlich finden sich fast ausnahmslos alle Schulautoren, wie sie von Goswin als Curriculum vorgeschlagen worden waren. Aber warum sollte Hardenberg darüber hinaus explizit humanistische und z.T. weit entlegene Literatur sammeln, soweit er nicht ein Anliegen an ihr hatte?

So gesehen, drücken die Zeilen aus Hardenbergs Epitaph 'At tu olim Larvis nimium confisa dolosis, Hei mihi. Ne ossa quidem BREMA parentis habes'⁴¹ nicht nur die Trauer um den Verlust eines Theologen, sondern auch eines Humanisten für Bremen aus.

Verfasser dieser in Ausschnitten zitierten Trauerwidmung war Johannes Molanus, Rektor der Bremer Lateinschule, der Hardenberg als den 'Geliebtesten aller Sterblichen' bezeichnet hatte.⁴² Die Korrespondenz beweist eine tiefe Freundschaft und Achtung⁴³ und belegt gleichzeitig Molanus' Trauer um die verlorene Nähe zum Vertrauten. Er belegt gleichfalls Molanus' Hingezogenheit zu Bremen. Aus dem Exil am Rhein schreibt er an Hardenberg (15. März 1560):⁴⁴ 'Post meridiem eduxi pueros ad Rhenum, ubi in recordatione Visurgis, ad quem deambulare solebamus, largiter fleui.'

Was ihn mit Hardenberg verband, war neben humanistischer Grundgesinnung, die vergleichbare glaubensmässige Ausrichtung.⁴⁵ Molanus war kein Theologe. Wir haben Äusserungen von

⁴¹ Betitelt: *Carmen epitaphium Clarissimi Theologiae Doctoris, Alberti Rixaei Hardenbergi*. Abschluss: 'Elatus amplissimo funere, ipso die ascensionis CHRISTI, quam semper acerrime propugnauerat. Clarae memoriae Patrono suo, grati animi affectu faciebat: Johannes Molanus'. Die Angaben beruhen auf einem undatierten Einblattdruck in der SUB Bremen.

⁴² Zur Verbindung Molanus — Hardenberg siehe Veeck, 'Johannes Molanus', 521ff. sowie De Boer und Ritter, 'Briefe des Rektors Johannes Molanus an den Bremer Domherrn Herbert von Langen', 212f.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 213, Anm. 1 wird ein Brief (8.8.1556) Hardenbergs an den Emdener Bürgermeister P. Medmann zitiert, der Molanus an Hardenberg in Bremen verwiesen hatte. Molanus wird darin von Hardenberg als 'optimus Achates' bezeichnet.

⁴⁴ Vgl. Cassel, *Bremensia* II, 569ff., auch bei Crecelius, 'De codice epistularum Iohannis Molani', 8f.

⁴⁵ Dazu Moltmann, 'Johannes Molanus', 127f.

ihm, die sich mit Abscheu oder blosser Missachtung über theologische, für ihn scholastisch erscheinende Quisquilien auslassen.⁴⁶ Doch kam er nicht umhin, sich diesen Fragen zu stellen, da die Nähe zu Hardenberg ihn in den Augen seiner Gegner zum Häretiker werden liess. Dabei steht er gegen die jeweils herrschenden Strömungen, gegen orthodoxes Luthertum, gegen Philippismus und reformiertes Christentum.⁴⁷

Was Molanus uns hinterlassen hat,⁴⁸ sind kleinere Abhandlungen, Epigramme, Poeme, einige Lehrpläne und schliesslich eine umfangreiche Korrespondenz.⁴⁹ Was auf uns gekommen ist, stellt nur einen Bruchteil des Gedankenaustausches mit Schülern, Vertrauten und Gelehrten, bevorzugt in Nordwestdeutschland, den Niederlanden und Flandern dar. Persönliches, politisches und theologisches ist zu finden. Dabei erweist sich Molanus als feinfühligster Stilist — von gelegentlichen rüden Ausfällen abgesehen —, mit der Vorliebe für kleine Annominationen und klassische Lesefrüchte,⁵⁰ auch in griechischer Sprache. Kommentare zu antiken Autoren finden wir nicht, sehr wohl aber nimmt sich Molanus in Gedichten Versen des Euripides⁵¹ sowie des Gregorios von Nazianz an.⁵²

⁴⁶ Vgl. Veeck, 'Johannes Molanus', 524f. sowie Moltmann, 'Johannes Molanus', 121f.

⁴⁷ Moltmann, 'Johannes Molanus', 134 rechnet ihn einer spätschwabianischen Opposition zu; Veeck, 'Johannes Molanus', 516 meinte, Molanus sei 'dem Schwabianismus wohlgeneigt'.

⁴⁸ Eine detaillierte Bibliographie fehlt; siehe bisher Rotermund, *Lexikon aller Gelehrten, die seit der Reformation in Bremen gelebt haben* II, 48f. und Moltmann, 'Johannes Molanus', 119f., Anm. 1. Wesentlicher Überlieferungsträger ist dabei Bremen SUB, Ms.a.7, ein Codex, der neben den epistolae auch Schulordnungen, carmina und theologische Fragmente enthält. Weitere Bremer Handschriften inkorporieren Kopien von späterer Hand. Ein Grossteil seiner sonstigen literarischen Hinterlassenschaft ist lediglich durch Niederschriften Johann Philipp Cassels überliefert.

⁴⁹ Teiledition durch Cassel, *Bremensia* II, Crecelius, 'De codice epistularum Iohannis Molani', De Boer und Ritter, 'Die Briefe des bremischen Rektors Johannes Molanus', und De Boer und Ritter, 'Briefe des Rektors Johannes Molanus an den Bremer Domherrn Herbert von Langen'. Die Mercator-Korrespondenz ist herausgegeben von Van Ortrooy, 'Lettres de Jean Molanus (van der Moelen) Gérard et à Barthélemy Mercator'.

⁵⁰ Eine tiefeschürfende Untersuchung der Briefe unter diesem Aspekt ist ein Desiderat der Forschung. Die bisher edierten Episteln belegen deutliche Vorlieben für Horaz und Vergil als Zitatenschatz.

⁵¹ 'Versus Euripidis, in quibus Coniunx Erechthei narrat se concessuram esse, ut Filia fiat victima pro salute publica iuxta Oraculum. Et de amore patriae et officiis patriae debitis gravissime concionatur', o.J. (Abschrift von Johann Philipp Cassel).

⁵² 'Decalogus olim Graecis versiculis distributus a Gregor. Nazanzeno, nuper Carmine Latino Bremensi Schole accomodatus', an: *Brevis artium et lectionum index, quibus Deo praeside, aestate veniente anni 68. in Schola Bremensi naviter in-*

Molanus' Hauptbetätigungsfeld war zweifellos die Schule. In der Trauerschrift seines ehemaligen Schülers Johann Esych⁵³ wird als Lebensmotto angegeben: 'Vita schola unica erat, Schola erat mea vita, meum vel, lux mea, solamen, delitiaeque meae'.⁵⁴ Vergleichbar die Inschrift auf seinem Grabstein: 'Johannis Molani rectoris scholae Theologi, qui nullam unquam vitam extra scholam putavit.'⁵⁵ Zwanzig Jahre stand Molanus der *Schola Bremensis* als Rektor vor. Dabei zeigt er sich als Vertreter eines humanistisch inspirierten niederländischen Reformgeistes. Wir haben allerdings lediglich vier Lektionspläne (1566, 1568, 1576/77, 1577)⁵⁶ aus seiner langen Tätigkeit.

Standardlektüre in den höheren Klassen waren Cicero, Terenz, Florus, Vergil und Ovid, 1577 auch Sallust. Bedeutend ist das starke Element des Griechischen in den Indices.⁵⁷ Demosthenes, Lukianos, Aristoteles (*Ethik*), Bücher des NT und gelegentlich Homer (1568) stehen dafür. In diesem Ausmass war das Griechische nicht an jeder Lateinschule des Reformationszeitalter vertreten.⁵⁸ Das gilt besonders im norddeutschen Vergleich, wo sich Parallelen kaum finden lassen. Als Lehrbücher galten die griechische Grammatik des Clenard und die Syntax von Georg Fabricius. Im Lateinischen finden sich die Elementargrammatik des Bonnus, der *Nomenclator* Johannes Murmellius' und *De elegantissimae linguae latinae* des italienischen Renaissancehumanisten Lorenzo Valla verwendet. Melanchthons Lehrwerke (*Magna/Parva*

tendemus, o.O. [Bremen], o.J. [1568], (8)–(11). (Bremen, SUB). Lediglich handschriftlich durch Cassel tradiert: *Athanasij Symbolum Carmine expressum*.

⁵³ Johann Esych war, neben Ubbo Emmius, einer der bekanntesten Schüler von Molanus. Er war Hofmeister des Prinzen Moritz von Oranien, 1580 Dr. theol. in Basel und später Interimsrektor der Schule in Bremen.

⁵⁴ *Iusta reverendo viro D.M. Iohanni Molano rectori Bremensis Scholae celeberrimo: Facta a Iohanne et Theodoro Esychiis Bremensib.*, o.O. [Leiden], o.J. [1583], 12.

⁵⁵ Zitiert nach *ibid.* 6, siehe auch Veeck, 'Johannes Molanus', 537.

⁵⁶ 1566: *Brevis index lectionum, et exercitiorum quibus (si Deus volet) his aestivis mensibus naviter incumbemus in Schola huius clarissimae Reipubl. 1566. Bremae* (Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek). 1568: vgl. Anm. 52.

1576: *Hibernae lectiones et operae temporibus divisae. Anno novissimi temporis 1576. adhuc regente Scholam cum Deo Johanne Molano* (Bremen, SUB Ms.a.7, Nr. 269). 1577: *Aestivae Lectiones divisae temporibus Anno novissimi temporis M.D.LXXVII. Etiam nunc cum Deo Scholam regente Johannes Molano* (Bremen, SUB Ms.a.7, Nr. 281).

Dabei spricht Molanus von einem Kurs von Sexta bis Secunda (1568, 1576/77) bzw. Septima bis Secunda (1566, 1577). Das legt nahe, dass er bereits den erst 1584 vollzogenen Schritt der Einrichtung einer *prima* oder *publica classis* geplant hatte; s. dazu Elsmann, 'Humanismus in Bremen. Christoph Pezel, Philipp Melanchthon und die *Institutio Traiani*', 87.

⁵⁷ Hebräisch wird hingegen nicht gelehrt.

⁵⁸ Vgl. dazu Mertz, *Das Schulwesen der deutschen Reformation*, 305ff.

Grammatica, Magna/Parva Syntaxis) lassen sich 1566 nachweisen, weichen aber in der Folgezeit anderen Grammatikern und ramistischen Schriften. Zusätzlich wird 1576 erstmals das *examen Philippi*, das als grundlegendes Unterrichtswerk anzusehen ist, durch die *Quaestiones* des dezidiert reformierten Theologen Theodor Beza (1519–1605) ersetzt, gegen den erbitterten Widerstand der Bremer Philippisten.⁵⁹

Sehr früh, bereits 1566,⁶⁰ nimmt Molanus Titel des Petrus Ramus in den Unterricht auf. Ciceros Reden werden 'cum observatione P. Rami' gelesen.⁶¹ 1568 folgt die ramistische Dialektik, 1576 die Rhetorik des Audomarus Talaeus (ca. 1510–1562).⁶² Das bedeutet nicht weniger, als die Zurückweisung der aristotelisch-melanchthonisch geprägten Bildung, wie sie — von Wittenberg ausgehend — den überwiegenden Teil der protestantischen Schulen und Universitäten beherrschte.⁶³ Für Molanus schien der ramistische Empirismus⁶⁴ eher geeignetes Rüstzeug für die Schriftexegese bereit zu halten als der Aristotelismus. Der Rektor der bremischen Schule führt dies in Briefen aus⁶⁵ und schreibt 1570 an Ramus selbst, dass er bereits sechs Jahre dessen Philosophie vermittele.⁶⁶ Kurz zuvor hatte Ramus seinerseits gegenüber Molanus geäußert, er halte die *schola* der Wesermetropole für eine der hervorragenden in Deutschland⁶⁷ — im übrigen würde er gerne selbst eine Reise nach Bremen wagen. Dass auch dies Bekenntnis zu Ramus ein Indiz für reformierte Gesinnung ist, zeigte die spätere Entwicklung. Das *dictum* des kursächsischen Rates Volkmar von Berlepsch 'Der Ramismus ist ein gradus ad Calvinis-

⁵⁹ Vgl. Moltmann, 'Johannes Molanus', 134f.

⁶⁰ Moltmann, *ibid.*, 123ff. nahm 1568 als das erste Jahr der Aufnahme ramistischer Gedanken an, kannte aber den Index von 1566 nicht.

⁶¹ Zu den Werken von Ramus und den Editionen siehe Ong, *Ramus and Talon Inventory*.

⁶² Dass wir hier keinen durchgängigen Vorgang vor uns haben, zeigt sich im Index von 1577, wo ramistischer Lehrstoff nicht mehr erwähnt wird. 1566 finden sich übrigens auch die *Minora Colloquia Desid. Erasmi*.

⁶³ Diese Deutung bei Moltmann, 'Johannes Molanus', 124.

⁶⁴ Zu Ramus und seiner Lehre siehe Ong, *Ramus. Method and the Decay of Dialogue*; Hooykaas, *Humanisme, science et réforme. Pierre de la Ramée*; zur Verbreitung Menk, 'Die Hohe Schule Herborn in ihrer Frühzeit', 203ff; auch Moltmann, 'Zur Bedeutung des Petrus Ramus für Philosophie und Theologie des Calvinismus'.

⁶⁵ Siehe dazu Belege bei Moltmann, 'Johannes Molanus', 124.

⁶⁶ Bremen, SUB Ms.a.7, Nr. 204 (Bremen, März 1570): 'ante sex annos'.

⁶⁷ Bremen, SUB Ms.a.7, Nr. 203 (Heidelberg, Januar 1570): 'Cum de praeclaris Germaniae scholis Germanos interrogarem . . . in primis schola Bremensis nominata est'.

munum'⁶⁸ beschreibt die Ausrichtung zutreffend.

Wer wie Molanus ein ganzes Leben in Verbindung mit der Schule stand, lernt naturgemäss auch die negativen Seiten dieser Institution kennen. Er klagt denn auch wiederholt bitterlich über die Unfähigkeit, Untätigkeit und Disziplinlosigkeit seiner Eleven. 'Disciplina' oder ἀταξία ist ein Hauptthema mancher seiner, verschiedentlich nur einen einseitig bedruckten Bogen umfassenden Schriften. Er sei für Disziplin, aber kein Tyrann, für den man ihn gelegentlich hielte, führt er in einem 'carmen' aus, bezeichnenderweise als ἀπολογητικὸν ἐπίγραμμα titulierte.⁶⁹

Längere Ausführungen zu diesem Komplex lassen einen moderaten, zurückhaltenden Menschen erkennen.⁷⁰ Hierzu abschliessende Verweise auf zwei zusammengehörige Abhandlungen, die lediglich handschriftlich unter den Titeln *De praemio et poena in re scholastica*⁷¹ und *De moribus*⁷² überliefert sind.

Strafe und Belohnung existieren, so Solon, in der *res publica* und — so Molanus — auch in der Schule.⁷³ Molanus legt im Anschluss seine Auffassung anhand einer Reihe von klassischen Zitaten dar (etwa Plato, Aristoteles und Xenophon). Sein persönliches Credo geht in Richtung einer ausgewogenen Erziehung, die den Mittelweg zwischen einem Übermass an Freiheit und Unfreiheit sucht. Es solle weder zu schnell getadelt noch zu schnell gelobt werden. Körperliche Strafen gelten als *ultima ratio*, vielmehr gelte es, menschliches Streben nach Ruhm in richtige Bahnen zu lenken, um es positiv zu nutzen. Als vorbildlich für diese Art von Education gelten ihm Basileios, Chrysostomos, Cyprian, Laktanz und Hieronymus, Autoren, die christliches Bekenntnis und antikes Bildungsideal vereinigen — ähnliches hatte schon Goswin van Halen an Hardenberg empfohlen. Um zu diesem Stand zu gelangen, rät Molanus zu Vergil, Horaz, Martial, Terenz und Cicero (*Epistolae, De officiis*).

⁶⁸ Zitiert von Moltmann, 'Zur Bedeutung des Petrus Ramus für Philosophie und Theologie des Calvinismus', 297.

⁶⁹ Vgl., *Disciplinae iam ferme morientis querimonia, per Iohannem Molanum Bremensis scholae moderatorem*, Bremen (Arend Wessel), 1580. Selbst im Funebralprogramm von Johann und Theodor Esych (wie Anm. 54) wird das Thema aufgegriffen; siehe auch die den Lektionsplänen angefügten Kapitel 'Scholasticae leges et disciplina' (1576/77, 1577) bzw. 'De disciplina' (1566).

⁷⁰ Das deckt sich mit der allgemeinen Einschätzung, vgl. Moltmann, 'Johannes Molanus', 119 und Veeck, 'Johannes Molanus', 516.

⁷¹ Bremen, SUB Ms.a.7, Nr. 336.

⁷² *Ibid.* Beide Texte werden demnächst in Edition vorgelegt werden.

⁷³ Die Vorlage war vermutlich Stobaios 4.28.7. Ich verdanke den Hinweis Drs. J.A.R. Kemper, Groningen.

Vergleichbar in *De moribus*, wo wir einen erweiterten Kanon der zur Lektüre ratsamen Schriftsteller finden. Neben *Vergilius noster* stehen Plato ('gravissimo philosopho'), Aristoteles, Homer, Socrates, *Hesiodus aureus*, Justinus, Xenophon, Ps.-Pythagoras (*Carmina*) u.a.m.

In der Konsequenz lässt sich bei Molanus ein humanistisches Denken erahnen, das zwischen dem emphatischen Verhältnis zur Antike, wie es den italienischen Renaissancehumanismus ausmachte, und dem philologischen Humanismus, der sich gegen Ende des 16. Jahrhunderts herauskristallisierte, steht. Klar tritt die pädagogische Ausrichtung zu Tage. Das lässt Molanus' humanistische Grundhaltung in Nuancen deutlicher sichtbar werden, als im Vergleich diejenige Albert Rizäus Hardenbergs. Beiden gemein ist, dass sie zu den Vertretern einer humanistischen Gesinnung zu zählen sind, die sich eher untergründig und versteckt offenbart.

Dass beide gerade in dieser Stellung bisher gar nicht oder kaum erkannt wurden, lässt manch abwertendes Pauschalurteil über die Geistesgeschichte Bremens in der Mitte des 16. Jahrhunderts als erklärlich erscheinen.⁷⁴

⁷⁴ Siehe etwa Schwarzwälder, *Geschichte der Freien Hansestadt Bremen* I, 309ff., bes. 312: 'Trotz der grossen Bedeutung des Gymnasiums hat das geistige Leben nichts hervorgebracht, was längere Zeit nachgewirkt hätte'; zum Versuch einer ersten Korrektur siehe Elsmann, 'Humanismus in Bremen. Christoph Pezel, Philipp Melanchthon und die *Institutio Traiani*,' 83ff.

J. ENSINK

EX FIDELI IN PATRIAM ZELO

HERO BOYEN, EAST-FRISIAN FARMER AND POLITICIAN,
c.1550 — c.1620

*Cum antiquitus aequae
liberi omnes fuerimus.*

In his thesis on Ubbo Emmius and East Friesland J.J. Boer¹ states that the issue which from about 1590 to 1611 kept Count and Estates of East Friesland divided,² was a matter of principle, notwithstanding the material interests involved. The author pointed out that on both sides there were participants who made an important personal sacrifice for their engagement in the struggle. Thomas Franzius, professor in Wittenberg, left his chair in the university of Luther and Melanchthon to become the Count's chancellor and promote the cause of absolute monarchy. Likewise, though on the other side, Johannes Althusius, theorist of Calvinist political doctrine, gave up a professorship in Herborn university for the office of syndic or legal adviser in the city of Emden, where he expected to put his ideals of estates' government into practice. The Reverend Menso Alting declined a honorific call from the Dutch Reformed Church of Amsterdam and remained at his post in Emden in order to defend Calvinism against Lutheranism and, if possible, to make the city a second Geneva.

Significant as this criterion may be, it cannot be applied to the large majority of those involved in the conflict, not to the knighthood (*Ritterschaft, nobilitas, equestris ordo*), nor to the citizens of Emden, Norden and Aurich, nor, certainly, to the third Estate of the farmers (*huysmansstand, Hausmannsstand, ordo agrarius*). Their involvement was no matter of free choice and to test their views on what the quarrel was really about we must look for other evidence.

¹ Boer, *Ubbo Emmius en Oost-Friesland*, 40.

² Also see Brenneysen, *Ost-Friesische Historie*; Emmius, *Historia nostri temporis*; Wiarda, *Ostfriesische Geschichte*, 11., 12., 13. Buch; Wiemann, *Die Grundlagen der landständischen Verfassung Ostfrieslands*; Schmidt, *Politische Geschichte Ostfrieslands*, ch. V; Deeters, *Kleine Geschichte Ostfrieslands*, 44–47.

Then, if we limit such an inquiry to the views of the farmers, we meet with the difficulty that we only very rarely have more individual evidence than one or two official documents signed by the person concerned, in the capacity of representative of his estate or district (in itself not an act to be made lightly of, with a view to the bitterly hostile atmosphere in which most of the negotiations were conducted).

Exceptional are the cases in which we learn something more personal. As of Ubbo Foeldriks,³ a farmer of ample means from Canhusen in the Emden district, who acted as a spokesman of his estate at several Estates' assemblies. In 1605 he was held to ransom by a band of Spanish military from Lingen. According to a witness he had been pointed out to the kidnappers by the court in Aurich, because at the last diet he had stubbornly opposed the Count's propositions. He was not so much intimidated as not to allow himself to be nominated an administrator (*assignator*) of the general finances in the next year, though this function augured further clashes between himself and the Count.

I know of no other member of the third Estate in the period under discussion about whom we are better informed than Hero Boyen. Passages in the resolutions of the States General, documents signed by him to which he made material contributions and, above all, ten letters, which have been preserved,⁴ enable

³ Emmius, *Historia nostri temporis*, 165–169.

⁴ Emmius, *Briefwechsel* I, 259–No. 148, 363–No. 211, 385–No. 227, 418–No. 245; II 71–No. 328, 75–No. 329, 102–No. 347, 104–No. 348, 105–No. 349, 109–No. 50. II 267–No. 459 is a letter from Ubbo Emmius to Hero's son, Gerlacus Heronis Boyen, for the greater part written in Low German.

Collation with the MSS yielded the following corrections in the edited text.

Vol.	page	instead of	read
I	260	<i>noueris</i>	<i>nou[u]os</i>
		<i>coniux</i>	<i>coniunx</i>
I	363	<i>castrum</i>	<i>cassum</i>
I	385	<i>tractas</i>	<i>chartas</i>
		<i>maturius successiue forsan</i>	<i>maturius sciuisse forsan</i>
		<i>presentes</i>	<i>presto</i>
		<i>alique</i>	<i>aliqua</i>
I	386	<i>neque</i>	<i>inque</i>
		<i>Miserat</i>	<i>Miseret</i>
		<i>vere</i>	<i>aere</i>
		<i>latriam</i>	<i>Patriam</i>
		<i>future</i>	<i>futuro</i>
I	387	<i>Nescimus</i>	<i>Vrsimus</i>
		<i>disputatura</i>	<i>disputatur</i>
I	419sq	<i>consensum</i>	<i>consensum</i>
I	420	<i>sollicitationibus</i>	<i>pollicitationibus</i>
II	72	<i>presidenti</i>	<i>presidendi</i>

us to sketch, however incompletely, the life, character and views of the farmer from Greetsiel, who became a leading opponent of count Enno III.

Hero Boyen cannot have been born long after 1550 and probably not long before that year.⁵ Presumably he hailed from the neighbourhood (*de Griet, Grethe, Gretha*) of Greetsiel and held his farm there by hereditary right. That the name Boyen refers to his father Boyo is corroborated by the fact that he christened one of his three sons Boyo as well.⁶

The Grethe region in the fourteenth century had been reclaimed from the Leybucht by the Cirksema family, from which the later counts of East Friesland stemmed. Near the dike drainage sluice (*zyl, Siel, cataracta*) the village of Greetsiel afforded a harbour, not only to fishermen, but also to merchants, and the Cirksemas built a castle there.

As a boy Hero must have belonged to the flock of Emmo Diken, the incumbent of Greetsiel parish, the father of Ubbo Emmius. Calvinists as well as Lutherans praise the character of this clergyman as a teacher and a man, but there is no doubt that all of his life he remained a staunch follower of Doctor Martin Luther, at whose feet he had sat in Wittenberg. How and

II	73	<i>Referuntur</i>	<i>Perferuntur</i>
II	75	<i>preter</i>	<i>pro<p>ter</i>
		<i>quo ad</i>	<i>quod</i>
II	76	<i>illos</i>	<i>illas</i>
II	102	<i>multum</i>	<i>multa</i>
		<i>admiratione</i>	<i>admirationi</i>
II	104	<i>vere</i>	<i>vice</i>
		<i>tuarum</i>	<i>suarum</i>
II	105	<i>utrique</i>	<i>utique</i>
II	107	<i>perfecerimus</i>	<i>profecerimus</i>
		<i>suadet</i>	<i>suadent</i>
		<i>quando quidam</i>	<i>quandoquidem</i>
II	108	<i>alteras</i>	<i>altera</i>
		<i>Stukhusani</i>	<i>Stickhusani</i>
		<i>plerisque</i>	<i>plerosque</i>
II	110	<i>placido</i>	<i>placide</i>
		<i>luctu</i>	<i>luct<at>u</i>
		<i>tumulento</i>	<i>temulento</i>
		<i>Huic de tuam</i>	<i>Huic te, tuam</i>
II	268	<i>bonte</i>	<i>boute</i>

⁵ The fact that the youngest of his eight children, Siwerke Hero Boyen, married in 1601 makes it unlikely that he was born after c. 1553. The terminus post quem is less certain, but his speaking of Oldenbarnevelt (*1547) as *bonus ille senex* (see note 79 below) gives the impression that he was the junior.

⁶ A genealogy of the Emmii and related families has been handed down among descendants in Groningen. RAG 598 Wolthers No. 1 and GAG 145 Keiser Inv. No. 10c.

when exactly his parishioners, including his own son and Hero, were converted into uncompromising Calvinists we do not know.

No doubt Hero had been educated well. When he describes the Frisian farmer class, Emmius states that in many places even common farmers were proficient in Latin and often also in Greek, 'which among other peoples is quite uncommon.'⁷ Hero lived up to this picture. Letters written by him in his native tongue, the Low German dialect of East Friesland⁸ — probably called Saxon (*Saxens*) by himself — have not come down to us. His ten letters — all of them to Ubbo — are written in Latin with a stray Greek term now and then and only quotations are in either Low German or Dutch. They testify to a thorough schooling in the active use of Latin as was given in the Latin schools in the era of humanism. Emden had a Latin school and in the sixties of the sixteenth century one was founded in Norden.⁹ Ubbo was a pupil of each of these for some years and Hero may have been his schoolmate.

After the native village and perhaps the school, family ties constituted yet another bond between the two men. Hero married Liure Gerlts, full cousin to Ubbo. When Emmius speaks of himself as 'a Frisian, born in Friesland of a common (*plebeius*) but respectable family,'¹⁰ and of his ancestors as 'honoured among their own people and holding landed property'¹¹ he socially characterizes the family from which Liure stemmed. Hero obviously belonged to the same class. He had three sons and five daughters by her.

He probably lived outside but in the neighbourhood of Greetsiel. In the spring of 1576, when about to leave for study in Geneva, Ubbo took a day to pay him a farewell visit.¹²

⁷ 'Et est bonarum litterarum usus tam frequens hic, ut multis in locis agricolarum quoque vulgus Latinam linguam calleat: nonnulli etiam Graecam. Quod aliis in gentibus plane insolens.' Emmius, *Rerum Frisicarum Historia* II, 34.

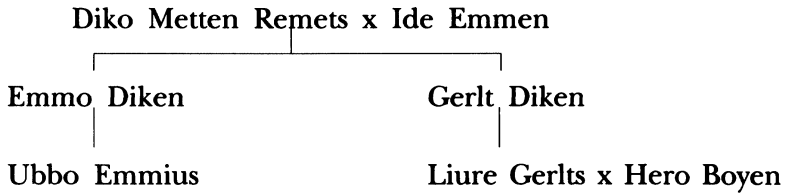
⁸ Short but up-to-date survey of the linguistic history of East Friesland from the fourteenth century onwards, with bibliography, Ebeling, 'Nederlands in Oost-Friesland'. The Low German of East-Friesland was subsumed by Vor der Hake, 'Een zestiend' eeuwse taal voor literair verkeer' and *Proeven van zestiende eeuwse Nederlandsch*, in his notion of Eastern Dutch (*Oosters Nederlands*).

⁹ Boer, *Ubbo Emmius en Oost-Friesland*, 43.

¹⁰ 'Ego in Frisia, Frisius, plebeio quidem, sed honesto loco natus, . . .' Tjaden, *Das Gelehrte Ostfriesland* II, 16, quoting from Emmius, 'Ad confutationem D. Danielis Hofmanni modesta responsio', 9.

¹¹ ' . . . inter suos honorati, et possessiones soli . . . tenentes . . .', Emmius, *Periegesis*, 48.

¹² Emmius, *Reisebericht*, 63 and 18.



*Genealogy showing the family relation
between Ubbo Emmius and Hero Boyen*

Hero owned two farms (*heerd*). The possession of the *Hilligen lant*, 94½ *gras* (over 34 hectare) in extent,¹³ in 1597 put him under the obligation to keep in repair nearly 60 meters¹⁴ of the *Mude Dyck*, the dike along the canal outside the sluice. In the other farm, 67 *gras* large, he held 36 *gras*, first from the Reverend Emmo Diken, later from Ubbo Emmius, in the East-Frisian form of tenure called *beherdische heure* (*ius colonarium*).¹⁵ Later on (see p. 236) it was designated as 'the ancestral farm.' It may have been Liure's dowry. With these two properties — together nearly 60 hectare — Hero was easily the largest landholder in the neighbourhood of Greetsiel.¹⁶

For how long he farmed himself we do not know. Together with notary Hero Gerlaci, he was entrusted with an embassy from the farmers' Estate to the States General in the Hague in 1604, thus we may presume that at that time he had gained experience about the affairs of his Estate and the politics of the Countship in different functions during several years. Dyke Emmen in 1589 mentions Hero (*Here*) in a letter from Greetsiel to his brother Ubbo Emmius, who was at that time rector of the Latin school at Leer.¹⁷ Dyke tells him that Hero within a few days will go to Stickhausen and, in passing through Leer, will visit Ubbo. Stickhausen was a house of the Count (count Johan at that time) and Hero's journey there may well have had something to do with political matters.

¹³ 1 *gras* = 36.43 are. Van Lengen, *Geschichte des Emsigerlandes*, 297. Cf. Uphoff, *Ostfriesische Masze und Gewichte*, I 134.

¹⁴ In the Greetsiel dike register totally '9 roede, 15 voet, 10 duem.' 1 *roede* = 20 *voet*; 1 *voet* = 12 *duem*; 1 *duem* = 1 inch. Ecke, *Zwei Deichregister des Amtes Greetsiel*, p. II.

¹⁵ Emmius, *Briefwechsel* II, 266ff. (No. 459). Cf. pp. 236–237 below.

¹⁶ Ecke, *Zwei Deichregister des Amtes Greetsiel*, 26, 56 and 66, with his different shares in the upkeep of the dikes.

¹⁷ Emmius, *Briefwechsel* I, 17 (No. 10).

Work for the public interest will have made it necessary for him often to stay for long periods in Emden. That city, itself strongly opposed to the Count, became a basis for all forces that resisted the Count's absolutist aspirations. In Hero's first two letters, dated January 1, 1602 and December 23, 1606 O.S.,¹⁸ the place is not named, but from the contents it may be inferred that they were written in Emden. His son Gerlacus Heronis Boyen probably then already held a post in the administration of the city, and some of his daughters must have lived there. His son Aggo became a farmer in Greetsiel and may have minded the family's properties in his father's absence.

More details of Hero Boyen's activities are available for the years 1602 — 1611. At the beginning of that period, the dispute between Count and Estates had been going on for more than a decade. Count Edzard II had died in 1599 and left his son and successor Enno III an inheritance of conflict. Emperor Rudolf II of the Holy Roman Empire and the States General of the United Netherlands each at some time had helped to reach a settlement on certain points.

The involvement of the States General was to be lasting and decisive. And for them it was a matter of self-interest. All parties concerned in the widest sense took for real the possibility that Spain, by way of land, sea or diplomacy, would gain a footing in East Friesland, especially at Emden, from where to open a new front against the revolting Dutch provinces. None of the parties underestimated the serious consequences such a move would have. This accounts for the States' General active policy towards East Friesland. East-Frisian advocates of estates' government, such as Hero Boyen, must have considered the United Provinces an approximation of their ideal and an ally on principle. The Cirksena counts at times made advances towards Spain and Christoph and Johann Cirksena, brothers of Enno III, were both in Spanish service.¹⁹ Later on, however, Enno established good contacts with the United Provinces.

The negotiations between 1590 and 1602 had a few positive results which in the main continued to obtain throughout the troubles of the following years. Some of these results are the institution of a Court of Justice (*Hofgericht, Dicasterium supremum*,

¹⁸ Boyen and Emmius used the Julian calendar or Old Style (O.S.) — as did East Friesland and Groningen —, the States General the Gregorian calendar or New Style (N.S.). In the period under discussion the New Style is ten days ahead of the Old Style.

¹⁹ Wiemann, *Die Grundlagen der landständischen Verfassung Ostfrieslands*, 48–51.

*Dicasterium provinciale*²⁰) (under the Imperial Decree of 1589) and the liberty for each parish to decide upon its own interpretation of the Augsburg Confession and to choose its own teachers in church and school (conceded by the Concordats of 1599 between count Enno and the Estates). The autonomy of the parish, though formulated in terms agreeable to the Religious Peace of Augsburg, materially meant an exception to the rule '*Cuius regio, eius religio*' and was a success for the Calvinists, which had not been reached without dispute. The clause of the Concordats on this point was renewed in the Osterhusen Accord in 1611.

On the other hand the complaints (*gravamina*, often distinguished as *gravamina generalia et specialia*) of the Estates would remain an ever-recurring item in the business of all subsequent meetings between Count and Estates and a matter of long-lasting concern to Hero Boyen. The Concordats, to be sure, contained not a few regulations of the debated points, but, as we hear the same complaints again at later occasions, obviously little or nothing was realized in practice.

In order to give an idea of what the *gravamina* were about²¹ a few of them are here reviewed:

- The Count was said to violate well-established traditional rights.
- Services and supplies due to the Count were steadily increased. If under special circumstances subjects for once had made a present to the Count, next year the same amount was exacted as a regular tribute. In many instances officials required the same services as were due to the Count. Soldiers were a heavy burden on the people.
- The Count appropriated new land outside the sea-dikes, which according to ancient laws, was due to the farmer in front of whose land the accretion lay. In disregard of the laws on dikes and sluices he built and altered dikes and sluices without consulting the landholders concerned.
- Tenants of land under *beherdische heure* were deprived of such land and even put in jail.
- Hunting-rights of the knighthood had been prejudiced. Fishing and birding in inland waters, of old free to everyone, had been prohibited.

²⁰ The supreme court of justice in the Holy Roman Empire was the *Reichskammergericht*, then sitting in Speyer. A few cases in the East-Frisian conflict were indeed referred to that court.

²¹ Wiemann, *Die Grundlagen der landständischen Verfassung Ostfrieslands*, 84–108 edits the list of *gravamina* drawn up by the Estates in August 1610.

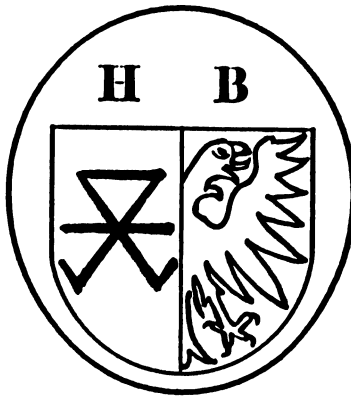
- Farmers of old had to provide carriages for transport of the Count and his household to the adjacent district, but now they were often required for much longer journeys.
- They had to work on the Count's lands and repair his houses.
- High duties, such as costs of administration and copying-fee, imposed in a high-handed way, constituted a bitter grievance.

Though the Emden and Greetsiel districts and the clay-region in general certainly were not the most heavily burdened parts of the country, yet the Calvinist farmers from there — men such as Hero Boyen and Ubbo Foeldriks — took the lead in the third Estate's opposition to the Count. They joined forces with the radical party in Emden, which, apart from its share in the *gravamina generalia*, had its private quarrel with the Count. Behind that front, but deeply and actively engaged, was Ubbo Emmius, who since 1594 had been rector of the Latin school in Groningen. He supported the cause of the estates' government in his East-Frisian fatherland by scholarly work, advice to his compatriots and no small amount of diplomacy. Notwithstanding the distance, the contact was close. Letters from Emden regularly reached Groningen within two days. Emmius's help was duly appreciated. Althusius, Menso Alting and his son Daniel — who served Emden in various capacities —, Dr. Sixtus van Amama, the syndic of the farmers' Estate, and so many others regularly corresponded with their learned friend. Hero Boyen remembers him that he may help and strengthen 'us, who are struggling in this fight.'²² There was hardly a document of any political importance which was not copied out and sent to Emmius. He subsequently used this information for his *Historia nostri temporis*,²³ which covers the period from 1592 to 1608.

The first of Hero's letters preserved was written on New-Year's

²² '... nos in hac agone luctantes, interdum iuvari ac fulsiri [sic] possimus'. Emmius, *Briefwechsel* I, 363 (No. 211).

²³ Emmius, *Historia nostri temporis*. Ironically it came from the press more than a century later. Emmius's authorship, debated for a long time, has now been put beyond doubt by Feenstra and Waterbolk, 'Neues zum Briefwechsel des Ubbo Emmius'. His account of the events of April 1607 (251–253) corresponds materially with Boyen's letter of May 17th of that year (Emmius, *Briefwechsel* I, 385–387 [No. 227]), with the same wording in one case. Boyen: 'cum comminatione scilicet perpetui silentii'; Emmius: 'sub poena silentii perpetui'. Emmius's account of the stopping of the dike drainage sluice at Eilsum (257f.) runs parallel to what Boyen writes in his letter of July 22, 1607 (Emmius, *Briefwechsel* I, 421f. [No. 245]). Much of the documentation collected by Emmius has been bound in RAG Hs. f. 268.



*Divided per pale. Dexter: a merchant's mark. Sinister: a half imperial eagle.²⁴ The shield surmounted by the initials H B. 15 x 13 millimeter.
RAG 598 Wolthers no. 12 and Hs. f. 268.*

IV. Signet of Hero Boyen.

²⁴ The half imperial eagle in coats of arms of Frisian families always is black in gold.

day (*die Circumcisionis*) 1602²⁵ and accordingly has the character of a personal and family letter. Hero must have been about fifty at that time. He writes about the advancing age (*ingravescentis senectus*) of his wife. The letter records the death of one Dico, a common family relation,²⁶ and the serious illness of Hero's son-in-law Joannes in Larrelt.²⁷

Hero is worried about the marriage of one of his daughters, obviously because the prospects in life of his new son-in-law Petrus are far from brilliant, but the young couple has confronted him with a *fait accompli* 'so that nothing remained but to perform the wedding rite.'

On a separate strip of paper the request is made to Emmius's wife, probably on behalf of Boyen's wife or daughters, to procure a complete piece of *bombasijnras*, a variety of bombasine, very strong, then woven in Groningen.²⁸ A complete piece probably was nearly 20 m. in length.

Hero also reports the optimistic account of Ubbo Udonis, who was at Ostend, then besieged by the Spanish (and laid waste and taken three years afterwards): 'nothing was to be feared less than a capture.'²⁹ The passage testifies to the interest the people in Emden took in the war of their neighbours. It is the only instance of optimism in Hero Boyen's letters.

There is no reference in this letter to any office of Boyen, but his commitment to the cause of the Estates is clear. On New-Year's day the 'Assembly of Forty' elected the four burgomasters and eight senators to the city.³⁰ Boyen utters the wish that 'this day may bring into office new but prudent, steadfast, conscientious men, worthy of this honour, so that this city at least may remain sane and unimpaired.'³¹

²⁵ Emmius, *Briefwechsel* I, 259f. (No. 148).

²⁶ 'Dico patruelis tuus, affinis meus,' Maybe Liure's brother. Cf. note 55 below.

²⁷ Jan Fewen, the husband of Houke Hero Boyen, churchwarden in Larrelt. In 1611 he was commissioned by the farmers of the Emden district to sign the contract on services and supplies with the Count (see note 84 below), but another illness prevented him from doing so.

²⁸ 'Rogarem ut coniunx vestra eius panni, quem Boemsin Rasche nunc vulgo nominant, telam integram in nostrum usum procuret, . . .' *Groningsche Volksalmanak* 1904, 95-97 = Feith, *Wandelingen door het oude Groningen*, 381-383. Biesta, 'De bombazijnindustrie in Groningen.'

²⁹ 'In Belgio, et maxime in Oestendico propugnaculo omnia fortiter agi nobis Ubbo Udonis . . . plene exponit, et constanter asseverat, ita etiam, ut . . . nihil . . . minus quam expugnatio, sit metuendum.'

³⁰ A detailed account of the procedure (at noon, after divine service) by Emmius, *De statu republicae et ecclesiae*, 10f. It was acknowledged in the seventh article of the agreement of The Hague.

³¹ 'Utinam hodiernus dies, ut novos, ita quoque prudentes, constantes, pios, et isto honore dignos successores, in curia, et urbe nobis surroget et suppeditet, ut saltem illa respublica nobis sana et integra relinquantur.' Cf. p. 240.



V. Portrait of Ubbo Emmius in *Effigies & vitae Professorum Academiae Groningae & Omlandiae*, Groningen 1654.

That same year 1602 once again rebellion broke out in Emden against the Count. Renewed diplomatic action from the Emperor and the States General led to a fifteen article agreement signed in The Hague on April 8, 1603.³² Though this was essentially a peace treaty between the Count and Emden, it had several paragraphs of importance to the Estates in general. Six to seven hundred soldiers under the command of a Dutch officer³³ would be stationed in Emden and garrisons would remain in the Count's houses such as Aurich and Greetsiel. For the rest all troops would leave the Countship. The last article of the agreement especially concerned the farmers:

'Finally His Grace will take due notice of the farmers' Estate's concern and promises to take due and favourable measures as to their complaints.'

Ground for good expectations, but disappointment soon followed. The agreement had too much been forced upon the Count for him to be fully cooperative in the implementation. Troops remained all over the country, which meant billeting, with all burdens attached, to the people. The payment of the Emden garrison constituted a new problem and a cause of friction. The gravamina increased in force and number instead of being alleviated. An Estates' assembly was convened in Holtrop in the spring of 1604, and continued in Marienhafte during the summer, to little result. In the autumn new embassies were sent to The Hague by the parties separately, by the Count and Emden.

Hero Boyen and Hero Gerlaci were delegated by the third Estate in October.³⁴ On November 12 N.S. they appeared in the States General, made their request and presented it in writing.³⁵ In pleading their cause they pointed to the farmers' Estate's cooperative attitude in the Holtrop-Marienhafte diet, for which they called the Dutch delegates at the diet to witness. The material points they once more brought to the States' attention were

- (1) the disbandment of the superfluous military, 'by whom the loyal subjects are as yet miserably burdened;'
- (2) the drafting — begun but interrupted — of estimates of the Countship's debts with a view to the timely payment

³² Wiemann, *Die Grundlagen der landständigen Verfassung Ostfrieslands*, 59–65 and 196–211.

³³ Fredrich van Vervou, whose memoirs have been edited. Vervou, *Enige gedenckweerdige geschiedenissen*.

³⁴ Emmius, *Historia nostri temporis*, 79.

³⁵ ARA SG inv. no. 3152 foll. 641–644 and inv. no. 6701 II.

of the troops, the ordinary Imperial and District taxes and the *Turckenstuer*,³⁶

- (3) the nomination of reliable and honest men, elected *per maiora* by the Estates, to be entrusted with the receipt and expenditure of the country's finances;
- (4) the suspension ad interim of all irregular taxes;
- (5) the fifteenth and last article of the agreement of The Hague, the *gravamina*.

The States General read this document, together with those presented by the embassies of the Count and Emden, on November 16 and commenced mediation between these two parties,³⁷ which led to the convocation of another Estates' assembly on January 13, 1605 in Marienhaf. This lasted until well into the summer, but atmosphere and results could hardly be called better than those of the former one. The court party took advantage of the knighthood defecting from the closed ranks of the Estates and in the end the Count issued a decree, which the cities and the farmers refused to accept.³⁸

In that same year the Spanish under Spinola took Lingen and the Spanish menace to East Friesland became real. Marauders (*loopers* as they are called in the acts of the States General³⁹) from Lingen came as far as the gates of Emden, captured citizens and sailors and carried them even along the walls of Aurich. Ubbo Foeldriks's case was not unique. He, too, was taken past Aurich and held captive until he consented to pay a ransom of 4.500 guilders.⁴⁰ The people from Emden later caught two of the gang and one of them confessed that his captain had made the choice of Ubbo at a hint from the court and from there also had got information as to the whereabouts of his victim. Hero Boyen and Ailto Remets had been mentioned in the same breath with Ubbo. The three of them throughout had opposed the court party at the last diet in Marienhaf.⁴¹ Ubbo Foeldriks and Hero Boyen also in other connections were mentioned together. Both were nominated assignatores, and at the first summing up of the

³⁶ The special tax levied by the Holy Roman Empire from all its constituents to meet the costs of the war against the Turks.

³⁷ RSG XIII.110.

³⁸ Emmius, *Historia nostri temporis*, 79–109; Vervou, *Enige gedenckweerdige geschiedenissen*, 192f.

³⁹ RSG XIII.373–375.

⁴⁰ Cf. p. 211; Emmius, *Historia nostri temporis*, 165–169.

⁴¹ Vervou too (*Enige gedenckweerdige geschiedenissen*, 241) says that the Spanish

country's debts they had a joint claim of 380 guilders.⁴² In Osterhusen, Ubbo Foeldriks signed the treaty on services and supplies for the Emden district, as Hero did for the Grethe district. Both were on the committee for the revision of the lower courts and the general law. Politically they must have towed the same line and they cooperated closely.

In September 1606 the Estates met again in Emden and took a packet of measures on the administration of the Countship's finances. The treasury (*locus aerarii*) was established at Emden and entrusted to a general treasurer (*General Pfenningmeyster*). Moreover the board of the 'reliable and honest men for the receipt and expenditure of the country's finances,' which had been suggested in The Hague in 1604, was now created. Six *assignatores* or *administratores*, two elected by and from each estate, were to be nominated for life. They would have to organize the collection of the taxes (by lease) and inspect the work of the treasurer. They must meet regularly on the *quatuor tempora*, Reminiscere (fifth Sunday before Easter), Trinitatis (Sunday after Whitsuntide), Exaltatio Crucis (September 14) and St Lucia (December 13) and, as often as necessary, in between. The yearly fee for the members from the knighthood would be three hundred dollars (four hundred fifty guilders), for those from the cities and the farmers three hundred guilders. On behalf of the Count a commissioner or inspector, who had no voting right and no task in the administration of the country's finances, would be joined to their board. At the same diet the knighthood elected Swer van Delen and Jost Beninga as assignatores, the cities Focko Bolsum Krumminga and Otto Löringa, the farmers Hero Boyen and Ubbo Foeldriks. The Count commissioned the knight Maurits Ripperda. Reinholdus Reiners was nominated general treasurer.⁴³

The institution of the assignatores was the most important step in the organization of the East-Frisian government in that decade. The new administration was decidedly more modern than the Count's had been. It needs no saying that this meant a material

in Lingen held Emden citizens and other East-Frisians to ransom at the instigation of the Count: 'Men beuint inder waerheyt, dat de Graeff bij de Spaenschen soo veel gelooff heeft, dat hij deur de selue d'Emder burgers ende sommige ingesetene van Oostfrieslandt (niet willende voor goetd aensien, dat hij nae sijn begeerent heersche ende regiere, bouen hunne priuilegien) laet vangen ende spannen, ende tot Lingen grote rantsoenen moeten geuen.'

⁴² Brenneysen, *Ost-Friesische Historie* II, 329.

⁴³ *Ibid.* II, 319–332; Wiemann, *Die Grundlagen der landständigen Verfassung Ostfrieslands*, 69–72.

transfer of power from the Count to the Estates. The assignatores acted jointly with the deputies of the Estates as an executive body for the Estates.⁴⁴

The first thing to do for the assignatores was to invoke the help of the Count. He had to give orders to his officials in the districts to give assistance to the work of the assignatores. At the same time he had to stop levying taxes himself. A letter to that extent was sent to Esens — where the Count then stayed —, but no reply came. Meanwhile the Estates' Assembly met in Norden, at which the Count's exacting taxes without the Estates' consent was one of the points discussed and the resistance of the court party against the new order in the country's finances became evident. Their letter remaining unanswered, the assignatores in the beginning of December 1606 decided to delegate Van Delen, Beninga, Löringa and Boyen to make a plea before the Count in person. These four left for Esens the twelfth of December and returned to Emden on the eighteenth.⁴⁵ Boyen reported on his mission in a letter to Emmius, dated December 23, 1606.⁴⁶ For the results he referred to two enclosures, copies of letters from the Count, 'the one charming as well as cheerful, the other interlarded with tricky difficulties, mostly breathing the spirit of what was going on in Norden.'⁴⁷ These copies have not been preserved. From other sources we know that on the one hand the Count gave orders to his officials throughout the country to give the necessary assistance to the levying of taxes by the assignatores, yet on the other hand he contended he needed the taxes he had imposed himself for various purposes.⁴⁸

The low spirits to which Boyen's letter testifies may be due, apart from the indifferent success of his mission, to the ill fate of many Emden families, whose fathers, husbands and sons had been held captive in Spain, because, having a garrison under Dutch command, the city was considered enemy territory by the Spanish.⁴⁹

⁴⁴ But on January 22, 1611 the States General testify that the decision of the diet at Emden in November 1606 only concerned the administration and distribution of the country's finances, and did not change anything in the government. RSG NR I.303. Obviously some diplomatic success was achieved by the Count's embassy.

⁴⁵ Emmius, *Briefwechsel* I, 359 (No. 210); Vervou, *Enige gedenckweerdige geschiedenissen*, 256f. According to Amama they departed on the eleventh; according to Vervou on the twelfth.

⁴⁶ Emmius, *Briefwechsel* I, 363f. (No. 211).

⁴⁷ 'Altera utrumque blanda et serena. Altera tricus variis contexta, Nordanum actum magna ex parte spirans.'

⁴⁸ Vervou, *Enige gedenckweerdige geschiedenissen*, 244; Emmius, *Briefwechsel* I, 360; Emmius, *Historia nostri temporis*, 228f.

⁴⁹ Boer, *Ubbo Emmius en Oost-Friesland*, 29.

At the end of the letter Hero writes that his daughters ask him to accompany them to their mother, evidently to celebrate Christmas in Greetsiel. But he intends to return immediately after the holiday and will then inquire about the state of Emmius's affairs and inform him. Emmius was at law with one Tammo Valck and won the case the following year.⁵⁰

In the spring of the next year 1607 Boyen with others represented his district Greetsiel in negotiations on the gravamina. After repeatedly having been pressed to carry into effect the fifteenth article of the agreement of The Hague, the court took the initiative at short notice. In April deputations from the farmers in the several districts were summoned separately to meet representatives of the Count to discuss the gravamina. Those of Greetsiel on the 14th were summoned to appear in Emden on the 16th, with the sanction that, in case of non-appearance, they would be bound not to raise the matter of the gravamina in future (*cum comminatione scilicet perpetui silentii*). They were received by Wilhelm von Knyphausen,⁵¹ Caspar Müller and Johann Brenneysen. After some discussion another meeting was announced for the 27th, in which they were dealt with insultingly. Von Knyphausen high-handedly read and told them to assent to a decree of the Count. For the rest they should abstain from their 'insane' complaints about the 'frivolous' gravamina. Only if they stopped their 'impudence' (*petulantia*) the Count would grant a 'pardon' (*amnistia*). The implication of these terms will not have been lost upon the farmers after what had befallen Ubbo Foeldriks. They were perplexed and left immediately. Boyen failed to persuade his colleagues to make a firm and unanimous stand and to enter a formal protest through a notary, as Amama did those from the Emden district. Of course Boyen reported the affair to Emmius,⁵² who thought it — as he noted down on the back of the letter — 'a significant tale about the gravamina of the farmers, tasting of tyranny' (*De gravaminibus agricolarum fabula insignis, tyrannidem sapiens*). He dwelt upon it at length in the *Historia nostri temporis*.⁵³

At the same time Boyen, as an assignator, had to attend to other problems. The assignatores, in order to make the regular payments, had borrowed money at their personal risk. Then, the pay of the troops in Emden was long overdue, even so that mutiny

⁵⁰ Emmius, *Briefwechsel* I, 383f. and 387.

⁵¹ His full name Wilhelm von Innhausen und Knyphausen. See p. 237ff. below.

⁵² Emmius, *Briefwechsel* I, 385–387.

⁵³ Emmius, *Historia nostri temporis*, 251–253.

was to be feared. A settlement of the finances became more and more urgent and so the assignatores required the Count to convene an Estates' assembly, which was opened in Marienhafte on May 19, 1607. Boyen gives a brief sketch of what was discussed in his letter to Emmius of July 22.⁵⁴ He praised the action of Amama, who ably opposed Knyphausen. But material result had not been reached.

Hero also describes how the cattle of two relations⁵⁵ had been infested by rabies. A relation of Ubbo⁵⁶ had died in 'that Spanish press' (*in Hispanico illo torculari*), obviously an Emden sailor who had been captured in Spain and probably sent to the galleys. In the end Boyen gives vent to his indignation at the Count's demolishing and stopping the Eilsum dike drainage sluice and his digging a new canal through the Greetsiel district. This point will be examined at the end of this paper.

In 1609 and 1610 frequent negotiations, accompanied by various diplomatic moves, made a slow progress towards a workable settlement for East Friesland under a strong guarantee from the States General. In April 1609 the deputies of the Estates and the assignatores addressed a letter to the States General,⁵⁷ in which — after congratulations on the conclusion of the Twelve Years' Truce — they expressed their wish to come to a lasting peace for East Friesland. At the same time they pointed out that the interests of Emden and the rest of the Countship were so closely bound up with each other that for a complete settlement the full cooperation of the Estates was necessary. The gravamina were again called to attention and it was remembered that the Estates payed five sixths of the costs of the Emden garrison and contributed in other charges as well. Moreover a protest was entered against the slandering of the deputies and assignatores by the court party. The letter was signed by twelve deputies and the six

⁵⁴ Emmius, *Briefwechsel* I, 418–422 (No. 245) with a copy of the Third Estate's proposition to the Count of July 10, 1607.

⁵⁵ (1) Folcmet, cousin of Emmius, wife of Eggo, sister of Ailtet ('consobrina tua Folcmet, Eggonis coniunx, Ailteti soror'); (2) Remet, maybe a brother of Liure Gerlts ('patruelis tuus Rembertus, affinis meus'). Cf. note 26. Eggo and Folcmet had had to shoot three of their cows already. They were afraid that the others had been infected too and that they had themselves taken in an 'infectious spirit' ('contagiosus spiritus'). Folcmet came to Emden for advice on 'antidotis et preservativis'. Remet's wife Livia had gotten a deep wound in her arm from a rabid animal.

⁵⁶ A son-in-law of Ubbo's relation ('affinis') Meinco, maybe Mencke van Graes, a brother-in-law of Ubbo's wife Grete van Bergen. Mencke van Graes signed the marriage-settlement of Ubbo and Grete in Emden on July 6, 1586. RAG 598 Wolthers inv. nr. 11.

⁵⁷ RAG Hs.f.268.

assignatores, Boyen among them. Indeed the discussion tended to concentrate on the problems between the Count and Emden, which were most pressing and perilous (in the same year they led to an armed raid of Emden on Aurich). In reply to another letter, the States General stated that a delegation from the Estates would be welcome at the negotiations which were soon to begin.⁵⁸

In June 1609 the Count and Emden had each been invited by the States General to send representatives. The Count delegated his chancellor Franzius and his counsellor Dr Dothias Wiarda, and Emden, after repeated summons, sent two burgo-masters. The deputies of the Estates and the assignatores sent Beninga, Boyen and Amama.

When these three delegations were already in The Hague, a group of knights met the Count, who then lived in his house at Leerort. Wilhelm von Innhausen und Knyphausen and five other gentlemen signed a document in which they stated that they had given no further power to Jost Beninga of Grimersum than to function as an assignator of the general finances and that they had not authorized him to represent the knighthood before the States General or in any way to support the cause of Emden. They expressed hope that peace might be reached in an orderly way and declared their loyalty to the Count. Swer van Delen, the assignator, was prevailed upon also to sign, and the declaration was issued on July 9/19.⁵⁹ According to Boyen, the Count also ordered his bailiffs to register the names of those who in any way supported the Estates' delegation and to have those who had nothing to do with it depose a declaration of their innocence with the clergymen. Both moves, of course, tended to undermine the authority of the delegation. The assignatores in Emden, probably through Delen, obtained a copy. They immediately passed it on to their envoys in The Hague, enjoining them to stick to their original commission. Delen personally declared that in signing the Leerort document he had not meant to say anything against the delegation, which hardly made his position less awkward.

The three delegates of the Estates had arrived in The Hague on July 7/17 and on the following Monday (the 10/20) met Johan van Oldenbarnevelt (*Bernifeldius*), who that week would preside over the States' sessions. Though the East-Frisians were

⁵⁸ Provided they informed the Count. RSG XIV.752f.

⁵⁹ RAG Hs.f.268, an enclosure with Emmius, *Briefwechsel* II, Nr. 328, Boyen's letter from The Hague dated July 23.

then as yet ignorant of what had been contrived in Leerort, they had been warned by Abel Coenders⁶⁰ that Oldenbarnevelt would put questions about the participation of the knighthood in the delegation, which he did. The Dutch statesman obviously had already been briefed by Franzius and Wiarda. Amama and Beninga replied that the interests of the knighthood were bound up with those of the two others. Oldenbarnevelt ended the interview with his stock phrase: 'We will pay attention to this,' which Boyen remembered as: '*Wir werden darup woll letten*.'⁶¹ The Count's envoys tried to obtain a private interview with Beninga, who refused them; then with the Emden burgomasters, with the same result.

The delegates then had to wait for several days before they could appear in the session of the States General (*in arenam descendere*, as Boyen puts it). Other business was now more pressing in the view of the States General. East Friesland had lost much of its military interest under the Twelve Years' Truce. In the first place the agreement of the king of Spain with the Truce was received those days and carefully studied. The King's envoy also had to explain that a concentration of Spanish troops around Oldenzaal was necessary to quell a mutiny in that town and should not be considered a move against the United Provinces.⁶² Then, the Netherlands had become involved in a dispute over the succession in the duchies of Cleves and Juliers, as had the Emperor, France and Spain, which constituted a threat to the Truce just reached. Last but not least, in the theological dispute between the Leiden professors Gomarus and Arminius — a matter of concern to the government for some time already — preparations for a new national discussion were being made and many clergymen had come to The Hague. See p. 239.

The East-Frisians, waiting to be heard by the States, paid visits to Oldenbarnevelt's successors in the chair and in order to meet Anthony van Lijnden van Cronenburg they made an excursion outside The Hague.⁶³ They also used their time in preparing a draft for a new treaty between the Count, Emden and the Estates, especially on the point of the guarantee (*versekeringe*, *assecuratio*) to be offered by the States General. A copy went to the deputies

⁶⁰ Abel Coenders van Helpen the Elder, a member of the States General for Groningen, who often represented the States General in East Friesland, a friend of Emmius, sympathizing with the Estates.

⁶¹ Certainly Oldenbarnevelt did not use the German forms *Wir werden*.

⁶² Count Christoph, one of count Enno's brothers in Spanish service, was being held captive by the mutineers.

⁶³ On Lijnden, lord of Cronenburg and Loenen, *NNBW* VII 806. Boyen spells the name of the place *Heimsfledt*, not located.

and assignatores with a request for corrections and additions, and Boyen, as usual, sent one to Emmius for the same purpose.⁶⁴ They were received in the full session of the States in the afternoon of August 14, N.S.⁶⁵ At the States' request it was decided that the position of the Count on one side and of the Estates and Emden on the other would be exchanged in writing. Oldenbarnevelt and three other members were commissioned to deliberate with both parties and to report on the result. The report was delivered in the session of August 28:⁶⁶ the delegates of the Estates and Emden had no power to discuss more than the guarantees and had to obtain the approval of their principals before other matters could be negotiated. For this reason the reporters recommended to the States that the delegations were required to return to their principals in order to obtain full power to negotiate along the lines indicated to them by Oldenbarnevelt *et al.* Accordingly, those of the Estates and Emden were called in and paternally admonished that they should not neglect this chance for peace, the Count being willing to come to an understanding. The tone to the court's envoys was even more paternal: the Count was advised not to insist on his dignity in every respect. The Emperor and the kings of France and Spain were held up as examples of men who had been wise enough to see their own interest. The intermediaries obviously had some difficulty in hiding their irritation at East-Frisian obstinacy.

An early resumption of the talks was expected, but a raid on Aurich once more interrupted the progress. In September, Emden used its garrison — which stood under Dutch command — to take the town and castle of Aurich, plunder houses and take captive a number of prominent persons.⁶⁷ The States General were clearly compromised and accordingly vexed. This event thrust negotiations for peace into the background until well into the next year. It was not before November 1610 that they were reopened in The Hague. The Count now came in person. The delegation from the Estates consisted of Swer van Delen, Schotto Beninga, Hero Boyen, Hero Umken, Campen Ayltz and Sixtus van Amama.⁶⁸ Emden sent Johan van Buckelt, Ubbo Reemts, Johannes Althusius, Coerdt Munsterman, Willem van Swoll and

⁶⁴ Emmius, *Briefwechsel* II, 75–78 (No. 329).

⁶⁵ RSG XIV.757f.

⁶⁶ RSG XIV.760f.

⁶⁷ Wiemann, *Die Grundlagen der landständischen Verfassung Ostfrieslands*, 78f.

⁶⁸ ARA SG 12568.13.

secretary Daniel Alting;⁶⁹ Gerlacus Heronis Boyen accompanied them, probably as an assistant of Alting.⁷⁰

Immediately upon their arrival (on November 14/24) those of the Estates heard that the Count had appeared that same morning in the session of the States General. He had been accompanied by Sir Ralph Winwood, ambassador of the king of England in The Hague, who had tried to mediate in the East-Frisian conflicts, but had in fact become an advocate of the Count's cause. In the States General he spoke for Enno and pointed out that the Count was sincerely willing to come to a lasting peace.⁷¹ The delegations of Emden and the Estates were received by the States General on November 17/27⁷² and Alting, speaking for both delegations, attested their full willingness to cooperate in concluding peace. Seven members of the States — Oldenbarnevelt among them — were then commissioned with the mediation. Oldenbarnevelt suffered from quartan fever and the talks were therefore held in his house in the Spuistraat. They went on for more than a month.⁷³ The guarantees and the gravamina were once again important items of discussion. One of the gravamina, concerning *beheerdscheid*, received special attention and it was evidently discussed in an atmosphere different from that of the other subjects. Most of the Dutch commissioners were keenly interested in this special form of tenure, as each of them was acquainted with something comparable in his own province. Conceivably there was an exchange of information on many varieties of tenure in the Netherlands as well as East Friesland.⁷⁴ The discussion of a rather technical matter in a circle of interested and competent men may have afforded Boyen some relaxation from the tension of diplomatic negotiation. He was well equipped for these deliberations, having himself land in

⁶⁹ RSG NR I, 263f. and 249.

⁷⁰ Emmius, *Briefwechsel* II, 102–104 (No. 347).

⁷¹ RSG NR I.261f.

⁷² RSG NR I.264.

⁷³ Emmius, *Briefwechsel* II, 102–110 (Nos. 347–350).

⁷⁴ 'Die itaque 26 Novembris cum de generalibus et specialibus ageretur et ad nostri ordinis querelas ventum esset, curiose admodum de jure colonario inquirebatur et diversa ab ipsis commissariis adferebantur, singulis nempe iuxta suae terrae consuetudinem judicantibus. Placuit tandem ut ejusmodi peculiaris nostrae regionis statuti informatio aliqua chartis mandata in securiorem deliberationem prepararetur et, cum de isto statuto vel de isto jure iterum conferendum fuerit, proferatur.' Emmius, *Briefwechsel* II, 106. The annotator of the *Briefwechsel* is mistaken about the meaning of 'ius colonarium', which properly is 'beheerdscheid'.

beherdische heure and being on the very best terms with his landlord, Emmius, and having helped Emmius to draft a survey on this custom. Now he rewrote the report for the benefit of his Dutch interlocutors, discussed his draft with Ubbo Reemts and sent it to Emmius with an urgent request for corrections and additions. The basic point debated — which made *beheerdischeid* a gravamen — was whether it could be taken as a hereditary tenure. This question had led to a serious gravamen when the Count took back lands leased under the custom, and some tenants were brought into jail.⁷⁵

For the rest Boyen derived little pleasure from his work as an envoy. In the matter of the gravamina he had to deal with the problem that the burdens were very unequally distributed. The villages and towns where the Cirksenas had houses, such as Leerort (*Ortha*), Stickhausen, Friedeburg, Berum, Aurich and Greetsiel, in addition to providing general services and supplies, were charged with work on the Count's lands, repair of his house etc. It was incontestable to Boyen that these inequalities had to be put right — 'as of old we all were equally free (*cum antiquitus aequae liberi omnes fuerimus*)' —, but it had to be feared that this would not be possible without some sacrifice on the part of the districts that comparatively were best off, Emden and Grethe (Greetsiel village excepted).⁷⁶

Yet the gravamina apparently no longer constituted the most precarious subject, because the Count was ready to make substantial concessions on that point. The question of the guarantees, however, was much touchier. To the Estates this point was essential because having been more than once disappointed after promises made during negotiations, they now wanted a means to force into compliance an equivocating count. The means had already been provided as Enno had consented in States' troops being garrisoned not only in Emden, but also in Leerort. The Estates, moreover, sought clarity about the cases in which and the procedures by which these forces would be brought into

⁷⁵ Wiemann, *Die Grundlagen der landständischen Verfassung Ostfrieslands*, 85.

⁷⁶ 'Ortani, Stickhusani, Friburgenses, Berummani et Auricani miserrime istis vocationibus premuntur, adeo etiam ut Emedanae et nostrae (Grethusanis exceptis) prefecturae homines comparatione reliquarum faelices (quantum ad eas serviles praestationes attinet) dici possint et illi bene secum agi putarent, si eo loco, quem nostri illi recusant, ipsi haberi poterunt. Hinc inquam cura et sollicitudo mihi qua ratione in paciscendo aequalitas (*cum antiquitus aequae liberi omnes fuerimus*) id observari possit, ut ex eo pacto, ex quo alii illi sublevationem sortirentur, Emedani et nostri aggravationem non patiantur.' Emmius, *Briefwechsel* II, 108.

action. Even at this point the States' General commissioners went ahead with much circumspection. Certainly Oldenbarnevelt would not allow of any formula which meant an affront to the Count now that he had shown himself fully cooperative and moreover was backed up by the authority of king James I of England. Misunderstanding and at times even suspicion on the part of the East-Frisians was the result. 'The talks went on for a long time,' writes Boyen, 'and on both sides seriously enough, but with so many changes and so much obscurity in the wording, that the things we welcomed as some success for us and as established, we perceived the next day to be made dubious again. And thus from day to day, uncertain, perplexed and sometimes despairing, we spent much time in vain.'⁷⁷ The commissioners repeatedly accused the East-Frisians '*Geen smaeck tho hebben*,' which obviously we have to understand as 'to have no feeling.'

After a month the negotiations took a turn which the envoys had not expected and which deeply upset them. In a meeting on December 19/29 they handed over a memorandum and stated that they could not deviate from the articles on the guarantees they had proposed further than had already been done, as in doing so they would go beyond their instruction.⁷⁸ The memorandum was read and discussed for two days in a calm atmosphere. Then on the 21th/31th they were summoned again and met with an unkind reception. Oldenbarnevelt warned them not to try to detract from the royal rights (*regalia*) of the Count and not to try to achieve the impossible. This came as a heavy shock to people who looked upon the States General as their natural ally and their mainstay in the play of political forces. 'On these and other things the good old man was insistent and bitter, more bitter indeed than the integrity of our cause deserves and the condition of this man, who is extremely ill, can stand.'⁷⁹ Thus Boyen in a mood of deep disillusion finishes the last of his letters left to us: 'I only want to say that God alone — so we certainly must acknowledge — can keep off a tragic end, and we should

⁷⁷ 'Disputatum itaque diu et utrinque intente satis, attamen ita varie et ita obscure, ut quae pro nobis aliquantulum facere et ut confessa arripiebamus, postero die in dubium retrahi animadverteremus, sicque ex die in diem, incerti, perplexi et interdum desperandi, temporis multum frustra impenderimus.' Emmius, *Briefwechsel* II, 107.

⁷⁸ 'Die 19 Decemb . . . scriptum nostrum . . . porrigebamus cum attestazione nos ab assecurationis articulis latius deflectere non posse, nisi instructionis terminos transivisse et patriae salutem prostituisse accusari et damnari velimus.' Emmius, *Briefwechsel* II, 109 (No. 350).

⁷⁹ 'In his atque aliis instantior atque acerbior bonus ille senex erat, acerbior

invoke Him that in His paternal goodness He may mildly direct the play of things to come.⁸⁰

While the negotiations last mentioned were going on, the envoys of the Estates had an unexpected meeting with the Count, who dropped in on those of Emden. He had had a drop too much (*valde potus*) and his retinue was more than drunk (*plus quam temulentus*). The representatives of the Estates were also invited. 'What we have seen and heard there would require a more circumstantial report, if I had a mind to give it, but, as it is not proper to tell, I am passing over it.'⁸¹

The delegates of the Estates till the end stuck to their declaration that in the matter of the guarantees they had to go back to their principals for new instructions. So, all other points having been discussed, nothing remained for the States General but to let them go. On January 14/24, 1611 the delegation was received by the States in the presence of stadtholder Maurice and the Council of State (no doubt to impress upon the East-Frisians the earnestness of the States' intentions). A paternal admonition at parting again, this time with an undernote of sadness: the Estates should consider that the States were their most trusty friends. The Count had promised to call an Estates' assembly in February at Marienhafte, where the States would send commissioners and negotiations could be continued. The delegates remained adamant: their sole object had been a good accord (which in their view no doubt should be understood as an accord leaving the Count not the slightest chance for equivocation). They would report all that had been said to their principals (which was the very least they could say).⁸² Count Enno and his counsellors took leave in the States' session of January 17/27. By the mouth of Dr Dothias Wiarda the Count once more expressed his willingness to negotiate and his hope that the States would send commissioners to the Marienhafte diet. The States General replied with compliments. A clear indication of the change in the States' attitude to the Count.

inquam, quam causae nostrae integritas meretur, quam etiam viri extreme aegrotantis conditio ferat.' Oldenbarnevelt (*1547, of the same age as Emmius) cannot have been the senior of Boyen by many years. Cp. note 5 above.

⁸⁰ '... unum hoc dico quod tragicum exitum solus (quod agnoscere certe debemus) Deus averterit, qui, ut juxta paternam bonitatem actum porro clementer dirigat, nobis est invocandus.' Emmius, *Briefwechsel* II, 109f. (Nr. 350).

⁸¹ 'Quae ibi vidimus et audivimus prolixam (si proseguere liberet) commemorationem requirerent, sed relatu indigna praetereo; unum hoc dico...' (See note 80).

⁸² RSG NR I.304f.

In the time that followed, Emden and the Estates had to swallow their disappointment and accept the reality that they were dependent on the support of the States. So all parties — the States General represented by a seven member deputation — met again in Marienhaf, later in Hinte, and in May the agreements that resulted could be signed in a farm at the village of Osterhusen near Hinte.⁸³

The day (May 20) before the signing of what has become known as the Osterhusen Accord, Boyen appeared for his Grethe district for the signing of a treaty on services and supplies.⁸⁴ For him and the other deputies of the third Estate it marked the end of many years of struggle. The list of the tasks that were explicitly excluded is as telling as the regulations with regard to the contributions and services that remained to be realized each year. Therefore both categories are passed in review here:

- Instead of the ten fat cows, they (the Grethe people) have owed Us (the Count) ten times fourteen rixdollars.
- From every fifty gras of land a ton of barley, 'as God will have given on the fields,' level measure, as usual in the parishes.
- Also from every gras of land 25 *witten* ($\frac{1}{8}$ guilder).
- Our collectors will not be allowed to demand more than specified above from Our subjects, whether under pretext of writing fee for receipts or otherwise.
- Moreover, when foreign counts, princes or persons of high rank come to visit Us, likewise in case of lords' and lords' childrens' marriages and funerals, from each farm transport by one carriage from one district into another, as the passage will be; being Our serious opinion that for the rest Our good subjects will not be troubled and that Our officers in such cases will not call out more carriages than will be necessary for the service, while We charge them to maintain equality in calling out, not to do anything beyond our opinion as stated above, nor take any money or benefit from those who have not been called out.
- On account of these services and supplies all Our subjects of Greetsiel district for ever will be free from all other tasks, attendance, carrying peat, cultivation of Our lands, payment of guards, repair of Our houses, feeding of cattle and other burdens, which they for Our household and upkeep of Our house Greetsiel, according to law or custom are owing, or

⁸³ Wiemann, *Die Grundlagen der landständischen Verfassung Ostfrieslands*, 108.

⁸⁴ Brenneysen, *Ost-Friesische Historie* II, 393. The treaties for the other districts in preceding and following chapters.

may be owing, and as have been imposed on them or yet might have been imposed.

- Promising for Us and Our descendants that We will not increase the above mentioned services and supplies for any reason, nor burden Our subjects over and above what has been stated here.
- Exemptions and immunities granted to any places or persons, by privilege or on account of their ministry, from the services and supplies mentioned above have not been revoked nor prejudiced by this treaty, but remain the same as of old.

The treaty was sealed and signed by Enno and signed by Sixtus van Amama, Hero Boyen, Jacobus Gerlachius and Hilbrandus Aitetz. From the fact that these treaties were concluded in each district separately it is clear that perfect equality had not been achieved. This would hardly have been practicable with a view to the differences in soils and economy, but the extra burden on the places where the Count had houses had been abolished.

The fundamental Osterhusen Accord was signed next day (May 21). Its text has been edited by Brenneysen and Wiemann⁸⁵ and it has been often discussed. Here only those subjects are mentioned in which Boyen had been, or now became especially involved.

The problem of *beheerdischeid* was referred to the arbitration of foreign (Dutch) experts, three arbiters being nominated by the States General, two by the Count and the knighthood and two by the farmers' Estate.⁸⁶ One of those nominated by the Count and the knighthood was Hugo Grotius, then twenty eight years of age.⁸⁷ The arbiters fulfilled their task that same summer. Their award, dated September 28, 1611, has functioned since under the name of *staatische Ordonanz*. It was confirmed that *beheerdischeid* was a form of hereditary tenure.

In the Osterhusen Accord⁸⁸ Boyen was nominated to a committee for the revision of the lower courts of justice (*nedergerichten, Nieder-Gerichte, tribunalia inferiora*) and the general law (*het gemeine landrecht, das gemeine Landrecht*). The knights Wilhelm

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 348–377; Wiemann, *Die Grundlagen der landständischen Verfassung Ostfrieslands*, 212–261.

⁸⁶ Brenneysen, *Ost-Friesische Historie* II, 596–598; Wiarda, *Ostfrieslands Geschichte* III, 600ff.; Wiemann, *Die Grundlagen der landständischen Verfassung Ostfrieslands*, 252–255.

⁸⁷ According to Den Tex, *Oldenbarnevelt* III, 110, Grotius had been suggested to the Count by Oldenbarnevelt. As to the character of Grotius's mission Den Tex is mistaken.

⁸⁸ Wiemann, *Die Grundlagen der landständischen Verfassung*, 226f.

von Innhausen und Knyphausen, Eger Benninga and Swer van Delen, the doctors of law Albrecht Paul, Hector Frederichs and Johannes Althusius, ex-burgomaster Johan Ameling of Emden, Bernhard ten Ascheberg and Ubbo Foeldriks were the other members. According to the letter of the Accord they should finish their work within a month and the Count should sanction their conclusions. In fact, the reorganisation of the lower courts was agreed to by count Enno at Esens only on November 7, 1614. The revision of the general law was never achieved.⁸⁹

Hero Boyen probably lived to see the lower courts reorganized. He is last mentioned as being alive in December 1613 and January 1614. His wife had been ill in 1613, but had recovered.⁹⁰ '*Dominus Hero heri domum abiit*,' Daniel Alting writes from Emden on 14 January.⁹¹ Obviously Boyen still had his work — as an assignator and a member of a committee — to do in Emden, but had kept his private home near Greetsiel.

In a letter dated June 14, 1625 to Gerlacus Heronis Boyen — then secretary (*ab epistulis*) to the city-council of Emden — Ubbo Emmius testifies to 'the great and close friendship I have always had with your dear late father.'⁹² Presumably Hero had died already a few years before. To be sure, in that same year 1625 his name still occurs in the register of the dike-reeve in the Greetsiel district,⁹³ but these entries no doubt refer to an undivided estate.⁹⁴ In 1662 'the ancestral farm,' including the *beherdisch* land (now jointly owned by the heirs of the Reverend Wesselus Emmius⁹⁵), was sold by Gerlacus's widow and other heirs to dike-

⁸⁹ Brenneysen (*Ost-Friesische Geschichte* II, 346), a convinced advocate of the divine right of kings (Joester, *Enno Rudolph Brenneysen*), in fact lays all the blame for this failure at the door of one single member, Althusius: 'Die Revision des Land-Rechts ist bißhero noch nicht geschehen/ und wenn man die Qualität der in § 15. von Seiten der Stände dazu benennter Personen weiß/ so ist es kein Wunder/ das solche Revision damahls nicht geschehen sey. Denn da das Ost-Friesische Land-Recht den Gehorsam der Unterthanen gegen den Landes-Herrn auff's schärfste vorstellt/ und sich mit des zur Revision mit benannten Althusii principiis gar nicht reimet; So kan man leicht erachten/ das dieser mit den Seinigen mit aller Macht würde getrachtet haben/ alle solche Passus des Landt-Rechts/ darin des Landes-Herrn Gerechtsame befestiget sind/ auszutilgen.'

⁹⁰ '*Dominus Hero bene adhuc valet: et uxor eius quoque, valetudini restituta.*' Letter by Daniel Alting from Emden December 15, 1613. Emmius, *Briefwechsel* II, 176 (No. 386).

⁹¹ *Ibid.* II, 177 (No. 387), with probably intentional play of words.

⁹² *Ibid.* II, 267 (No. 459).

⁹³ Ecke, *Zwei Deichregister des Amtes Greetsiel*, 56 and 66.

⁹⁴ In his letter to Gerlacus, which is about the 'beherdische heure' (cf. p. 214), Emmius addresses Gerlacus as also representing his brother (Aggo) and sisters.

⁹⁵ RAG 619 Borg Farmsum inv. nr. 806.

reeve Emmo Remets for 8.500 common East-Frisian guilders plus three rose-nobles as a present.⁹⁶

The political work of Hero Boyen was not easy. The verb *luctor* and its derivatives are remarkably frequent in his letters. Partly his struggles were due to the conditions of his birth. He was an East-Frisian farmer and so had his share in the gravamina to bear (but still farmers in the clay region were not so badly off in his time). Holding a seat in the Estates' Assembly, he had to take his responsibility in the conflict with the Count. But the decisions that brought him into the heat of the fray, to take embassies upon himself, to accept the nomination as an assignator, as a committee member, fall under the heading we are used to term 'free choice.'

Ambition does not seem to have played a large role in these steps. When he is on his mission to Esens (December 1606), Sixtus van Amama⁹⁷ writes to Emmius:

'Hero Boyen, honest man, has indeed hesitated to set out on the journey, but in the end he resolved to help fulfil the office commissioned to him, to which His Grace has had him sworn in. So they left the 11th. God the Lord be their guide.'

If another sentiment besides a sense of duty stimulated his deep engagement in the cause against the Count and his court, it may have been wounded pride. To a man who was the master of large landed properties and respected in his neighbourhood, the overbearing ways of court officials must have been especially odious. To Boyen what he hated in these people was embodied in the person of Wilhelm von Inn- und Knyphausen, who, as we have seen, crossed his path several times and to whom, as a personal enemy of Boyen, we may devote a short digression.

Wilhelm von Innhausen und Knyphausen (*Willem van Kniphusen, Cniphusius*) (1557–1631),⁹⁸ belonged to the highest nobility in East Friesland and, together with his elder brother Iko, was created a baron of the Holy Roman Empire in 1588. By his marriage with Hima Manninga he became lord of the Lütetsburg castle near Norden. He belonged to the Calvinist church.

That he was a man politic and eloquent we may state on the authority of Emmius:⁹⁹ *vafri pariter ac facundi ingenii vir*. In the

⁹⁶ RAG 598 Wolthers No. 22. Emmo Remets is probably the son of Remet Emmen, who in 1625 was the largest landowner, next to Hero Boyen. Ecke, *Zwei Deichregister*, 56 and 66.

⁹⁷ Emmius, *Briefwechsel* I, 359 (No. 210), Emden, December 12, 1606.

⁹⁸ Bijleveld, 'Genealogie van het geslacht von Innhausen und Knyphausen'.

⁹⁹ Emmius, *Historia nostri temporis*, 46.

time of count Edzard II he had put his talents in the service of the Estates and in 1598 had been the leader of an embassy of the Estates to the court of the Emperor in Prague. Both Emmius and Boyen¹⁰⁰ later on with regret recalled that time, when he had ably pleaded the Estates' cause before the Imperial Senate.

As soon as he had succeeded his father, Count Enno III, who was a social and amiable man, was able by his kind approach to win over persons and parties to his cause, for example Knyphausen, with whom he had established contact through his brother Iko. Knyphausen served the Count in various ways: he became bailiff of the Emden district, in the Estates he often tried to break the ranks closed against the Count, and he obstructed the work of the assignatores in his own seigniorship. In Boyen's view he was now little less than a traitor and in his letters he contemptuously calls him *Knipicus*, 'the Pincher,' throughout.

The clash between Boyen and Knyphausen over the gravamina of the Grethe district has been mentioned above. To Boyen the affair must have been uncommonly grievous. The passage in which he reports a private interview with Knyphausen to Emmius¹⁰¹ is informative in more than one way:

'When I saw Knipicus in private and argued with him on his evident prevarication, I perceived that the man was much shocked and annoyed. He used all manner of evasions, yet stuck to his stance tenaciously. Concealing his anger he, on parting, warned me, nay begged of me, henceforward to be more restrained in those public negotiations. That would be very conducive to reconcile the Count with me and to that end he offered to be my faithful patron. Without the answer which perhaps he wanted from me I left him, leaving him to God's judgement. I feel sorry for the man, who was so different before.'

The evasiveness, the attempt to make Boyen swerve from his duty, the threat thinly covered by a show of patronizing friendship, all were certainly extremely hateful to Boyen. Implicitly we also learn that Boyen did not shun aggressive terms in public

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 254; Boyen in Emmius, *Briefwechsel* I, 386; 'Miseret me viri, multo aliter olim constituti'.

¹⁰¹ Emmius, *Briefwechsel* I, 386 (No. 227): 'Ego privatim Knipicum accedens et de manifestissima sua praevericatione arguens, magnopere hominem moveri et offendi animadverti, varie sese torquentem, attamen in suo instituto pertinaciter persistentem. Dissimulans iram in degressu monebat, rogabat, ut moderator in publico isto negotio deinceps esse velim, id ad Comitem mihi reconciliandum perutile fore, inque eum finem sese patronum fidelem offerebat. Sine responso a me forsan desiderato, hominem relinquebam, divino iudicio eum relinquens. Miseret me viri, multo aliter olim constituti.'

disputes and that this made him a stone of offence to the Count and his court.

Yet the well-balanced mind which his letters bespeak does not allow the supposition that he went through years of struggle primarily to get satisfaction for feelings hurt. Throughout his correspondence staunch religious belief (in the form of Calvinism) and a deep sense of duty are apparent.

Many pious considerations, most apparently more than mere formulas, bear witness to his religiosity. As often, a person's specific confession shows most clearly when he is confronted with a different doctrine. When during one of Boyen's stays in The Hague preparations were being made for a continuation of the discussion between the rivalling factions of Gomarus and Arminius, he writes to Emmius:¹⁰²

'There is yet another question, which is of no little importance and in itself requires a dutiful (*pius*) examination by the States and a decision which will be salutary to the church. Today [August 2/12, 1609] churchmen (*ecclesiastae*) from the places in the neighbourhood in great number have come together here to see whether Jacobus Harminus [Arminius] could be persuaded to abandon the teachings he covertly and ingenuously (*tecte ac vafre*) spreads against the confession of these churches; such would be the best (*magis dextere*). What otherwise should be done in such an ecclesiastical question, is being conscientiously (*pie*) deliberated here. Three days ago one of the ministers in Leiden, Egbertus Aemilius, came to see us. He had been born in the land of Groningen, but educated in our fatherland at the home of relatives living in Wimtze.¹⁰³ He told us that he too had been delegated to participate in that meeting of theologians and promised to communicate to us — as countrymen — what has been discussed. We eagerly await him for some time already.'

Boyen's lively interest, and also his opinion on the matter is quite clear. As always it appears to coincide with the views of Emmius, who himself actively supported Gomarus and the Contraremonstrants.

However, in the practice of his political work as we know it from his letters, church matters did not play a role of any importance. Problems of creed and confession essentially had been settled in East Friesland before the date of his oldest letter. As to the tasks he was confronted with in practice, his guiding principle can best be summed up by the term *patria*. *Vaterland*,

¹⁰² *Ibid.* II, 77 (Nr. 329).

¹⁰³ Not located.

patria, in the East-Frisian usage of the period under discussion, with *gesund*, *sanus*, shares the peculiarity that the material content is wholly dependent on the viewpoint of the speaker. When Boyen utters the wish that Emden may remain *sana et integra* (see note 31), he means to say that the city may maintain the exclusive rights of the Calvinist church and vindicate its political rights against the Count. To the Lutheran, though, *sanus* means 'Lutheran.'

To the Count, in the same way, *Vaterland* must have conveyed the notion of established social order under his monarchical rule. When Boyen uses the word *patria*, as he does several times,¹⁰⁴ it implies a nation of free and (essentially) equal Frisians, politically organized under an estates' government, with the Count functioning as the supreme guardian of Frisian freedom. A *patriotes* accordingly is to him a compatriot devoted to that ideal.¹⁰⁵ It is evident that this notion of *patria* carries weight with him as the principle guiding his activities. Though he is never prolix about it. A clear formulation of his maxim on Frisian freedom we find only in brackets as a consideration in discussing the gravamina. See note 76.

The affair of the Eilsum dike drainage sluice (1607) was an occasion for him to voice his hatred of absolutism. The Count, without having duly consulted the Estates, had had the sluice dug up and the gap filled in with earth.¹⁰⁶ The drainage of the hinterland was provided for by digging a new canal connecting it with the sluice at Greetsiel. This necessitated diverting a road through farmers' land, including possessions of Boyen in a plot

¹⁰⁴ 'Perplexum me et tristem fateor, patriae fortunam expendentem.' Emmius, *Briefwechsel* I, 364 (No. 211), after the mission to Esens (December 1606.). 'Ut ex tali necessitate et nos, et patriam expediamus, . . . nos Ordinum convocationem a Comite postulavimus.' *Ibid.* I, 386 (No. 227).

'Miserrima itaque totius patriae et maxime rucolarum conditio desperatissima foret, si Ordines Generales Wiardae eiusque Principalis pollicitationibus sibi imponi sinant, et, civitatis tantum ratione habita, ad reliqua connivere animum induxerint.' *Ibid.* I, 420 (No. 245). *Civitatis ratio*, as reasons of State, opposed to 'patria' with its ideal connotation, which the States General, being estates' government themselves, should support.

'... dominus nobilis Beninga . . . demonstrabat ordines Frisiae naturali et indissolubili coagulo et communis fortunae vinculo ita conjunctos esse, ut . . . res patriae coniunctum agere necessarium duxerint.' *Ibid.* II, 73 (No. 328). Also see notes 78 and 108.

¹⁰⁵ 'Collegium nostrum, ut illum quinque stuferorum censum, a Comite inordinarie publicatum inhiheret, ex consilio et hortatu omnium patriotarum, operae multum impendit, et aere alieno sese oneravit.' *Ibid.* I, 386 (No. 227).

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.* I, 421f. (Nr. 254); Emmius, *Historia nostri temporis*, 257f.

called the *Perdefenne*. Boyen considered this innovation (*novum tale opus*) a waste of materials and money, but the political aspect preponderated:

'This indeed means some private loss. I for myself would bear that with a rather equal mind, if such an innovation had not been undertaken without the consent of the Estates, nay against the express will of those who have borne the expenses before and in future will be compelled to bear them, and that on the instructions of the Count alone and perhaps with the support and approval of some busybody of a counsellor (*polypragmonici consiliarii*). The deed (*facinus*) conflicts diametrically with the verdict of Imperial decrees, for it has been ordained more than once "that no changes shall be undertaken without the full knowledge and consent of the Estates."¹⁰⁷ To what end, I wonder has the Count begun this affair, if not to alter our constitution, his only object being to give an example of his absolute dominion and to show how, without consulting the Estates, yea, while those who are directly concerned unanimously protest against that innovation, he dares to devise and carry out such a work!'

This suspicion of absolutism was not imaginary. Enno did look to the great monarchies of Europe — all tending to absolutism at his time — as examples. So his father had done, so did his mother Katharina (born a Swedish princess, still alive and influential with her son) and last but not least his chancellor Franzius.

Boyen did not shrink back from the battle of political ideologies. His education had equipped him for the functions he was to fulfil, inasmuch as a command of Latin was indispensable for the negotiations he had to carry on. Experience of financial administration and knowledge of *beheerdischeid* he may have obtained in practice as a landholder and elsewhere. How far his acquaintance with the administration of justice went we cannot know. However this may be, he appears to have been one of the most eligible of his Estate on the committee for the revision of the lower courts of justice and general law.

Apart from his intellectual capacities his readiness unsparingly to speak his mind also in public meetings, which we have noticed before, must have made him valuable for his Estate, and a man to whom one often appealed. It seems to be based on a trait of character he had in common with the forefighters mentioned at the beginning of this paper: like Althusius, Alting and Emmius,

¹⁰⁷ Quotation in Low German.

he was uncompromising and therefore his place was naturally in the radical wing of his party. The give and take of politics no doubt to his mind was tainted with the vice of falling short of the principle.

His aggressiveness in vindicating the rights of his Estate does not proceed from excessive self-reliance. In the confidentiality of his letters to Emmius he frankly admits his doubts, fears and failures.¹⁰⁸ Within his own team he had an open ear for other opinions and he impartially tells Emmius about internal deliberations.¹⁰⁹ About allies as well as adversaries he mostly speaks with equanimity. Downright terms of abuse, not shunned by contemporaries, like Amama, are hard to be found in his letters, *Knipicus* being the only nick-name — and a rare light touch in all his correspondence.

Though ten letters ranging over a nine year period constitute a narrow base for general statements on a man's character, yet the melancholy mood is so prevalent that it does not seem to proceed from incidental deceptions only. It seems to be connected with his radical attitude, which made him despondent over things lost, while major things had been won, as in the negotiations of the winter 1610/11. His political tasks, especially his diplomatic missions, must have been burdensome to him. His hesitation to join the mission to Esens has been noticed above. In December 1610, he writes to Emmius from The Hague: 'I am

¹⁰⁸ 'Haec atque alia ita superciliose, ita impudenter ab illo Knipico, ut sine stupore sane ego non audiverim, et consternati abierimus simul omnes'. Emmius, *Briefwechsel* I, 386 (No. 227).

'Emedanae prefecturae Deputati, per Doctorem ab Ammoma [sic] moniti, fortius nonnihil egere, de actus iniquitate et nullitate per notarios protestati, quo ego nostros perducere non potui.' *Ibid.* 'Ursimus (quod fateor) nos conventum illum ex fideli in patriam zelo, dubitantes autem nunc an forsitan ad laetioris cuiusdam fortunae interventum ad paucos dies suspendi satius fuerit.' *Ibid.* I, 387 (No. 227). 'Consternati igitur plerique nostrum, erigimur tamen a nostris qui in tali cum ipso [Oldenbarnevelt] luct<at>u sese quandoque versatos, tandem tamen eluctatos commemorant; animum itaque recapescendum suadent. Ita inter spem atque metum adhuc tenemur, plene adhuc ignorantes, quem demum finem actus hic sit habiturus.' *Ibid.* II, 110 (No. 350). Also see note 104.

¹⁰⁹ 'Intra paucos, et cordatiores, haec quaestio hic disputatur et mutua consilia tractantur. Intelligis rem.' *Ibid.* I, 387 (No. 227).

'Suspicio erat apud nostros magna et movebat tandem inter nosmet ipsos aliquam dissensionem, quod alii dolum nobis parari atque ideo actui tempestive renunciare quam fraudulenter circumveniri satius esse contenderent, alii metum extenuantes commissariorum promissis confidendum dicerent, in actus initio tumultuari dissuaderent, dum, utique fraudis inditia si in progressu manifestiora apparuerint, integrum foret pedem revocare, idque satis tempestive, tum cum minori culpae imputatione fieri possit. Praevalebat ita suadentium sententia . . . ' *Ibid.* II, 105f. (No. 349).

tolerably well, but I am worried about the health of my people, above all my wife's, the more so since I have taken this commission upon myself not without some displeasure on her part.'¹¹⁰

The moral and material support of Emmius was extremely important to Boyen. A passage like the one we have seen, where he says that Emmius can help him and his colleagues in the common struggle (see note 22), occurs in nearly every letter. He feels he has a claim to regular news from him. 'Since the 20th of February I have not heard a syllable from you, while you have sent several letters to others here more than once. At least I get to know something from them, but in the course of time and too late, "when the feast is over," as they say. And this news, had I known it in time, would perhaps have helped me, who am struggling in our complicated affairs,' he writes on May 17, 1607.¹¹¹ The lack of up-to-date information was a recurring trouble to Boyen. He considered Emmius, if not his main source, yet a very important one. But he also needed his friendship as a moral support: 'I ask you to break your silence, which is more grievous to me than anything, and to love me in the old way.'¹¹² It is a matter of regret that none of Ubbo's letters to Hero have come down to us.

To assess Hero Boyen's individual achievements in the political field is difficult, as they nearly completely fall under the sum total of the collective results the Estates booked in the Osterhusen Accord. These are well-known: the Estates' government here was realized to such a high degree as was exceptional in the Holy Roman Empire and it stood against the rising tide of absolute monarchy. To be sure, the help of the Dutch neighbour in this struggle had been indispensable, but even so it could not have been won without the tenacity through many years of a great number of determined members of the Estates. Boyen always stood in their front ranks, but he was one of many. He stimulated setting up the board of assignatores and he was one himself, probably for life. He served the Estates in several diplomatic missions. To the revision of *beheerdischeid* he apparently contributed more than others of his team. Yet all the contributions

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.* II, 108 (No. 349).

¹¹¹ 'A die Februarii vigesimo ne syllabam ego a te, quem inquam chartas diversas huc ad alios dedisse, idque non una tantum vice factum, audio. De iis tandem etiam aliquid ego audio et cognosco, at successive et post festum (ut dicitur) tardius, quae maturius scivisse forsitan iuvaverint in hac presertim rerumstrarum perplexitate luctantes.' *Ibid.* I, 385 (No. 227).

¹¹² 'Silentium tuum, quo mihi nihil est gravius abruptas, et nos veteri modo diligas rogo.' *Ibid.* I, 387 (No. 227).

we can bring to his special credit are probably less important than the work he did jointly with his Estate. It is therefore understandable that historiography has as good as forgotten him.¹¹³ But for his letters, preserved in Emmius's inheritance, we hardly would have heard more of him than of Ubbo Foeldriks and Ailto Remets. The virtues and limitations that make up his personality may well be exemplary for those farmers who in a crucial period materially influenced the history of East Friesland.

¹¹³ Mulerius, *Elogium Ubbonis Emmii*, 26f. = *Effigies* 46 mentions him as an 'affinis' and correspondent of Ubbo; Emmius, *Historia nostri temporis*, 169 as a possible victim of marauders from Lingen, (cf. p. 222); Wiarda, *Ostfriesische Geschichte* III, 479 as an administrator (assignator). In Wiarda (p. 579) Boyen's name has been left out from the list of envoys in November 1610. Cf. p. 230.

J.A.R. KEMPER

RECTE DIXIT QUONDAM SAPIENS ILLE SOLON
RHETORISCHE ÜBUNGSSTÜCKE VON SCHÜLERN
VON UBBO EMMIUS

Wenn so viele Beiträge dieses Buches sich mit den Höhepunkten und weiteren vorzüglichen Leistungen, die der nördliche Humanismus hervorgebracht hat befassen, ist es vielleicht nicht ganz unnütz, auch einmal einen Blick hinter diese Fassade der grossen Leistungen zu werfen, und zwar in die Kellerräume des geistigen Gebäudes. Die helle Sonne des reifen und ausgebildeten *ingenium* wird zwar nie dorthin mit ihrem Licht vordringen können, aber gerade deshalb herrschen dort meistens angenehme Kühle und gleichmässige Temperaturen, die die Voraussetzung sind für die Konservierung wertvoller Sachen, wenn auch die Luft ein wenig muffig erscheinen mag. Wie man auf Grund der Beschaffenheit des Kellers Aussagen machen kann über Grösse, Bauart und Qualität des ganzen Gebäudes, genauso werden die 'Kellerstücke' von denen im folgenden die Rede sein wird, uns Einsicht gewähren in die Bildung und Erhaltung des geistigen humanistischen Bauwerkes.

Für unsere Kenntnisse hierüber mussten wir uns bislang mit den altbekannten Grammatiken und Handbüchern begnügen, mit denen sich die Schüle ihre Elementarkenntnisse der lateinischen und griechischen Sprache und die Fortbildung in denselben erwerben konnten.¹ Wir konnten uns also bereits ein ungefähres Bild machen vom Rahmen, in dem der Unterricht stattfand, und ausserdem sind uns vor allem von der ersten Unterrichtsphase einige Bruchstücke überliefert worden. Ich denke diesbezüglich z.B. an das Schülerheft des Beatus Rhenanus, das in der Bibliothèque Humaniste de Sélestat (im Elsass) aufbewahrt wird,² aber sonst fehlt eigentlich jede Spur davon, wie man vor allem in der späteren Unterrichtsphase den von der Theorie vorgeschriebenen Stoff eingeübt hat.

Es liegt nun nicht auf der Hand, dass diese Lücke in unseren

¹ Vgl. zum Beispiel die Listen bei Bot, *Humanisme en Onderwijs*, 245ff., Baldwin, *William Shakspeare's Small Latin II*, 721–726 und Murphy, *Renaissance Rhetoric*. Für den deutschen Sprachraum: Schanze, *Rhetorik*, 217–292.

² Cahier d'écolier B.H.S., ms. 50

Kenntnissen bald gefüllt sein wird, weil doch Schulübungen nur ganz vereinzelt, ja sogar in unserer Zeit mit ihren vielen Aufbewahrungsmöglichkeiten kaum über längere Zeit aufbewahrt werden. Es muss also besondere Voraussetzungen geben, wenn solche ephemeren Sachen wie Schulübungen vom Zahn der Zeit verschont werden. Hinzu kommt die Schwierigkeit, sie überhaupt ausfindig zu machen, weil sie in den meisten Fällen nicht als solche, oder gar nicht in Bibliothekskatalogen verzeichnet sind. Eine sehr auffällige Ausnahme bilden die Schulübungen des Prinzen Edward (des Sohnes von Heinrich VIII) und späteren Königs Edward VI, die in der British Library³ aufbewahrt werden. Baldwin⁴ hat sie benutzt für seine ausführliche Beschreibung der Erziehung des Prinzen im Rahmen seiner Darstellung des Systems der englischen 'grammar school' im sechzehnten Jahrhundert. So wissen wir z.B. genau, dass der Prinz in seinem 'upper school work' im Jahre 1548 (als er bereits zum König gekrönt worden war) im Alter von etwa zehn Jahren mit der Lektüre von Aphthonius' *Progymnasmata* anfang. Im Jahr davor hatte er sich noch mit Übungen zum Thema Briefeschreiben anhand der Schrift *de ratione conscribendi epistolas* von Erasmus befasst. Die Übungen befinden sich auf losen Blättern, die vielfach nicht datiert sind und erst später in einer ziemlich willkürlichen Reihenfolge gebunden wurden. Nur eine genaue Studie der Schrift, des Inhalts und des Materials (z.B. der verschiedenen Wasserzeichen) kann die richtige Reihenfolge in der sie geschrieben worden sind, entschlüsseln. In den Worten von Baldwin:⁵ 'A study which ought by all means to be made, for we shall not likely find a better illustration of how the oration was taught in Shakspeare's time, and Shakspeare himself writes many a set oration.'

Es ist erstaunlich, dass in unserer Zeit, in der die Rhetorikforschung einen mächtigen Aufschwung genommen hat, sowohl als Instrument der Analyse als der Synthese,⁶ hinsichtlich dieses spärlichen doch höchst interessanten Materials noch keine tiefergehende Untersuchung stattgefunden hat und dass neue

³ MS Harl. 5087; MS Addit. 4724; MS Cotton Nero C 10 und MS Lansdowne 1236. Eine kommentierte Teilausgabe dieser Übungen wird vom Verf. vorbereitet.

⁴ *William Shakspeare's Small Latine* I, 200–320.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 221.

⁶ Vgl. hierzu Beetz, 'Rhetorisches Textherstellen als Problemlösen', und siehe Bachem, 'Analyse', in Ueding, *Historisches Wörterbuch der Rhetorik* I. Milton nennt die beiden Begriffe *analysis* und *genesis* (vgl. Clark, *John Milton at St. Paul's School*, 129–130).

Funde auf diesem Gebiet nicht freudig aufgenommen und studiert werden. Bereits im Jahre 1909 hat Cramer⁷ in der wissenschaftlichen Festschrift des Gymnasiums in Leer einen lateinischen Aufsatz eines Schülers von Ubbo Emmius publiziert. Hierin wird ausführlich verteidigt, dass Kurfürst Johann Friedrich der Grossmütige von Sachsen wegen des Glaubens mit Recht gegen Karl V zu den Waffen gegriffen habe. Die betreffende Schlacht bei Mühlberg fand 1547 statt, und der Aufsatz muss während Emmius' Rektorat an der *schola latina* in Norden (Ofrl.) geschrieben worden sein, wo er von 1579 bis 1587 gearbeitet hat. Der Aufsatz, der sich im MS 137 der Universitätsbibliothek Groningen befindet, hat die Jahrhunderte nur deshalb überstehen können, weil er als Umschlagblatt zu den Auszügen aus dem 5. Buch einer westfriesischen Chronik diente, die Emmius im Jahre 1587 verfasst hat.

Auch Boer⁸ hatte bereits in seiner Dissertation darauf aufmerksam gemacht, dass (in deutscher Übersetzung) 'die Aufsätze sich zerstreut in Emmius' schriftlicher Hinterlassenschaft befinden.' Er gibt dann einige Beispiele und stellt fest: 'Es ist bislang fast kein Gebrauch davon gemacht worden.'

Dieser Anregung folgend habe ich mich seit einiger Zeit mit dieser Hinterlassenschaft von Ubbo Emmius, dem Gründer der Universität Groningen und ihrem ersten *rector magnificus* im Jahre 1614 beschäftigt, da dieses Jahr 1614 auch mit Anlass zur Konferenz 'Wessel Gansfort and Northern Humanism' gegeben hat.

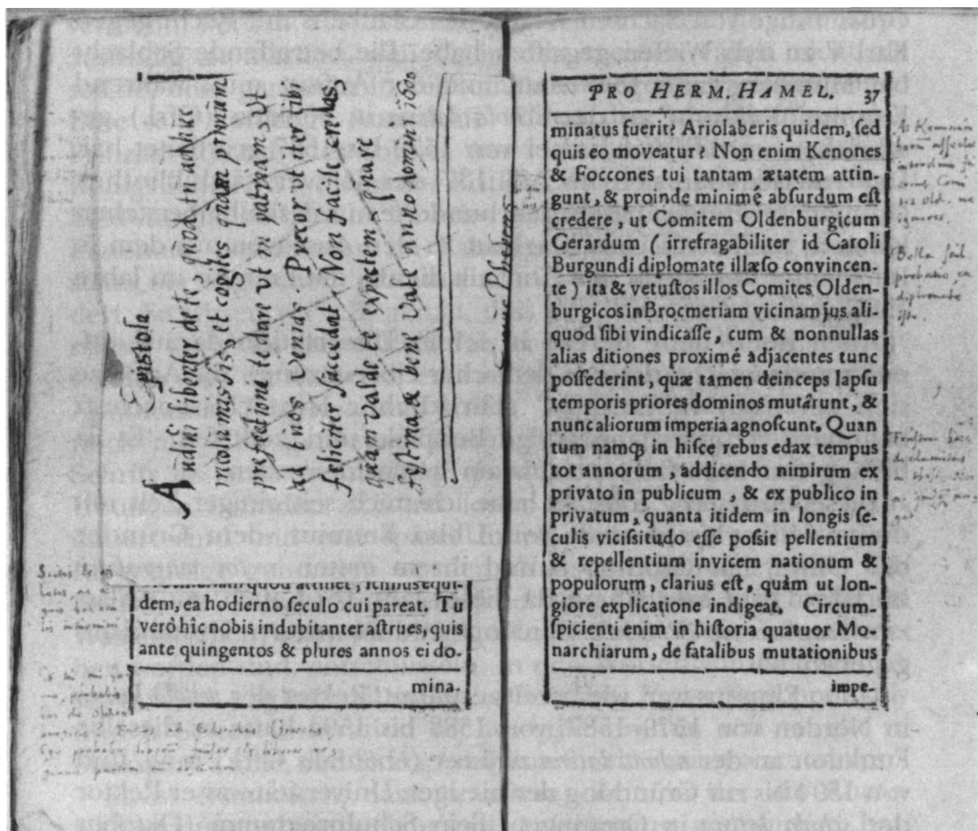
Ubbo Emmius war, wie bereits erwähnt, Rektor der *schola latina* in Norden von 1579–1587, von 1588 bis 1594 hatte er dieselbe Funktion an der *schola latina* zu Leer (ebenfalls Ofrl.) inne, und von 1594 bis zur Gründung der hiesigen Universität war er Rektor der *schola latina* in Groningen. Sein Schulprogramm (Oktober 1594), in dem für die höchsten Klassen der Rhetorik ein wichtiger Platz eingeräumt wird, ist von Roos⁹ neu herausgegeben worden.

Ubbo Emmius hatte die Gewohnheit, in seinen eigenen Büchern und Handschriften sowie in denen, die von anderen verfasst waren, allerhand Notizen und Bemerkungen, für die der Seitenrand nicht ausreichte, auf eingeschobenen Blättern zu

⁷ Cramer, *Das Leben des friesischen Historikers Ubbo Emmius*, 11ff. Meinem Kollegen Dr. F. Akkerman bin ich zu grossem Dank verpflichtet, weil er mich auf diese Studie, die den Ausgangspunkt für den vorliegenden Artikel geformt hat, aufmerksam gemacht hat.

⁸ Boer, *Ubbo Emmius en Oost-Friesland*, 58 Anm. 8.

⁹ Roos, *Ubbo Emmius*, 6–17.



VI. Angeblicher Brief von Eggerik Egges Phebens. Groningen, Universitätsbibliothek, MS 571, f.37r-v.

machen. Aus einer Art Sparsamkeit verwendete er dazu, was wir heute in unserem Umweltbewusstsein 'recycling' nennen würden, Altpapier, das nur auf einer Seite beschrieben war. Vielfach hat er dann auf diese Weise den Originaltext durchgestrichen, wie z.B. in Abbildung 1 erkennbar ist. Es handelt sich hier¹⁰ um einen Brief des bisher unterschätzten Groninger Chronisten Eggerik Egges Phebens. Der Text des Briefes lautet:

Epistola

Audivi libenter de te, quod tu adhuc incolumis sis, et cogites quam primum profectioni te dare ut in patriam, ut ad tuos venias. Precor ut iter tibi feliciter succedat. Non facile credas, quam valde te expectem, quare festina et bene vale, anno domini 1600.¹¹

Übersetzung:¹²

Brief

des Groninger Beamten und Chronisten Eggerik Egges Pheben an Ubbo Emmius.

Ich habe gern gehört, dass es dir noch gut geht und du möglichst bald zu reisen gedenkst, um in deine Heimat zu deinen Angehörigen zu kommen. Ich bete, dass die Reise glücklich für dich verläuft. Du kannst nicht leicht glauben, wie sehr ich dich erwarte. Deshalb beeil dich und leb wohl!

Im Jahre des Herrn 1600.

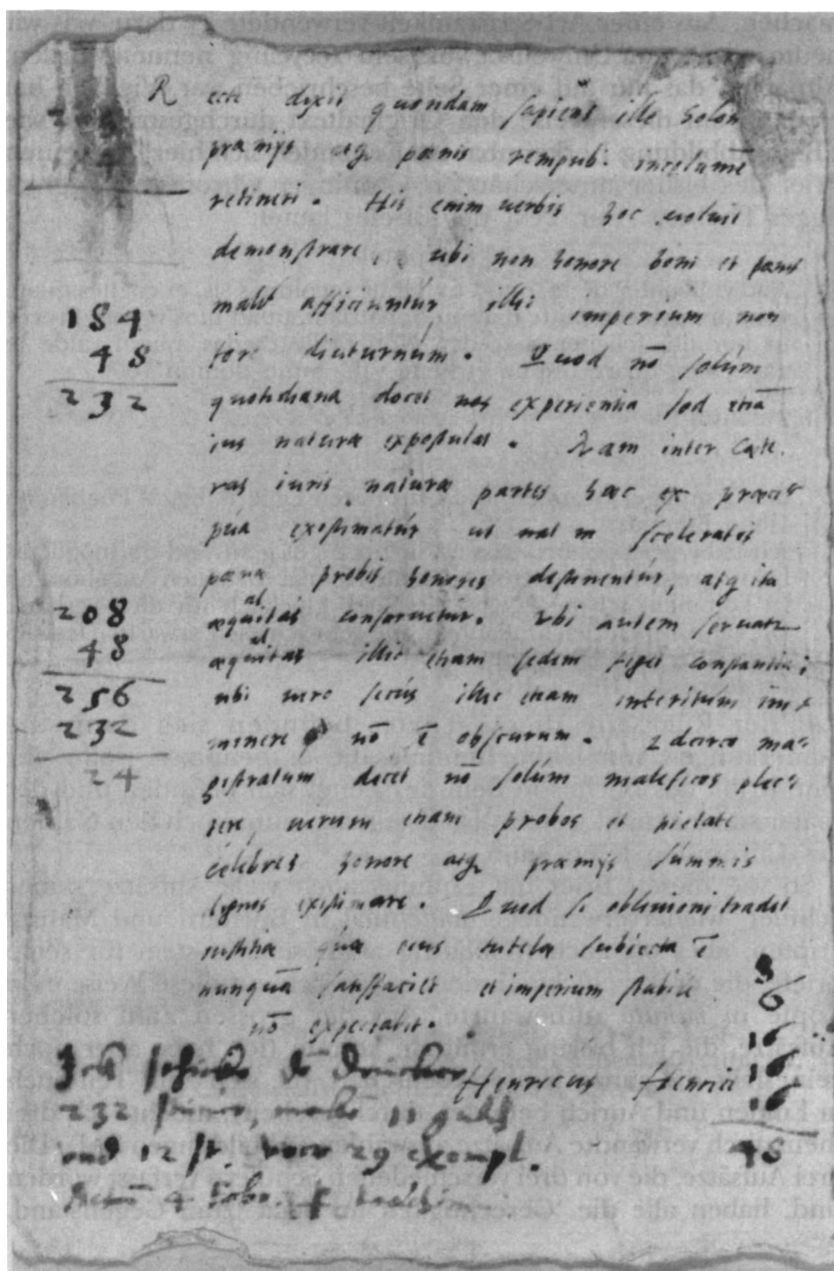
Auf der Rückseite dieses Textes befinden sich dann die Bemerkungen von Ubbo Emmius, die er benutzen wollte für eine Kritik des Buches in dem der Zettel sich befindet, und der später so eingenäht worden ist, dass man kaum noch den Namen des Chronisten lesen kann.

So wie diesen Brief hat Emmius auch viele Aufsätze seiner Schüler 'wiederverwendet', manchmal in Büchern und Manuskripten, aber oft auch freiblättig als Loseblattsystem für seine Briefe, die er verschickte, indem er für sich auf diese Weise eine Kopie *in minuto* aufbewahrte. Aus der grossen Zahl solcher Aufsätze, die ich bislang ermitteln konnte (ich habe aber noch keinesfalls die ganze Hinterlassenschaft, die sich zum Teil auch in Emden und Aurich befindet, durchgesehen), möchte ich drei thematisch verwandte Aufsätze auswählen (Abbildungen 2–4). Die drei Aufsätze, die von drei verschiedenen Schülern verfasst worden sind, haben alle die 'Gerechtigkeit im Staat' zum Gegenstand.

¹⁰ Die folgenden Angaben entnehme ich dem Ausstellungskatalog *Ubbo Emmius*. Der Brief von Phebens befindet sich dort in Photokopie mit Transskription und Übersetzung auf den Seiten 83–84.

¹¹ Groningen, Universitätsbibliothek, MS 571 f. 37r und 37v.

¹² *Ubbo Emmius*, 83.



VII. Schulübung von Henricus Henrici. Groningen,
 Universitätsbibliothek MS 207, f.89v.

*Text 1*¹³

Die 'Wiederverwendung' besteht hierin, dass die Rückseite des Aufsatzes zur Berechnung einer Summe benutzt wurde, die Waterbolk¹⁴ erklärt hat. Es handelt sich um die Kosten des Einbindens einiger Exemplare seines Buches *De agro Frisiae* aus dem Jahre 1605. Ein Exemplar war hierbei als Geschenk für 'Raetzheere Egg.' bestimmt, in dem wir Eggerik Phebens erkennen können. Da die Rückseite nicht ganz ausreichte hat Emmius auch die Vorderseite benutzt. Den Aufsatz von Henricus Henrici hat er dabei aber soweit wie möglich geschont.

Recte dixit quondam sapiens ille Solon praemiis atque paenis rempublicam incolumem retineri. His enim verbis hoc voluit demonstrare, ubi non honore boni et paenis mali afficiuntur illic imperium non fore diuturnum. Quod non solum quotidiana docet (nos) experientia sed etiam ius naturae expostulat. Nam inter caeteras iuris naturae partes haec (ex) praecipua existimatur ut (mal m) sceleratis paenae probis honores destinantur, atque ita aequitas conservetur. Ubi autem servatur aequitas illic etiam sedem figet constantia. ubi vero secus illic etiam interitum imminere non est obscurum. Idcirco magistratum decet non solum maleficos plectere verum etiam probos et pietate celebres honore atque praemiis summis dignos existimare. Quod si oblivioni tradat iustitiae quae eius tutelae subiecta est numquam satisfaciet et imperium stabile non expectabit.

Henricus Henrici¹⁵

*Text 2*¹⁶

Argumentum

Eleganter quondam a Solone dictum est, Rempublicam praemiis et paena conservari. Nam hoc dicto docere nos voluit, quo boni non honorantur, et mali non puniuntur, illic haud constans imperium esse non posse; Quod non solum quotidiana experientia docet, sed etiam ius naturae postulat. Etenim inter caeteras iuris naturae partes haud exigua haec est, ut bonis praemium, improbis paena tribuatur, et ita medium servetur. Ubi autem medium servatur, (ita) illic constantia esse potest, quo vero non, ibi denique sequitur interitus. Idcirco Magistratum decet, ut non solum malos puniat, sed etiam probos ac virtute praeditos honoret et laudet. Quod si negliget (iustitiae) iustitiae, quam servare ex officio debet, non satisfaciet, imperiumque constans expectari non potest. vale

Focco Memmen¹⁷

¹³ Siehe Abb. VII.

¹⁴ Waterbolk, 'Twee kladjes van Ubbo Emmius over drukken en binden'.

¹⁵ Groningen, Universitätsbibliothek, MS 207 f. 89^v.

¹⁶ Siehe Abb. VIII.

¹⁷ Groningen, Universitätsbibliothek, MS 207 f. 78^v.

Argumentum

Eleganter quondam a Solone dictum est,
 Rempublici: premijs & pœna conservari. Item
 hoc dicto docere nos voluit, quò boni non
 honorantur, & mali non puniuntur, illi
 hanc constantis imperium esse posse; Quod
 non solum quotidiana experientia docet,
 Sed etiam nris naturæ postulat. Etenim
 inter ceteras nris naturæ partes hanc exigna
 hæc e: ut bonis præmiũ, improbis pœna
 tribuatur, & ita medium servetur. Vbi autem
 medium servatur, ita illis constantia esse
 potest, quò vero non, ibi denique sequitur
 intentus. Idcirco Magistratum docet,
 ut non solum malos puniat, & sed etiam
 probos ac iustitiam præditos honoret & laudet.
 Quod si negligat, ^{injustitiam} ~~injustitiam~~, quam servare
 ex officio debet, non satisfait, imperium
 constantis expectari potest. Vale
 focco. Memmen.

Zuerst möchte ich die Struktur der beiden Aufsätze und ihre Stellung im Unterrichtssystem ihrer Zeit etwas näher betrachten, um nachher noch auf einige sprachliche Besonderheiten einzugehen.

Obwohl im bereits erwähnten Schulprogramm aus dem Jahre 1594 der Name Aphthonius fehlt,¹⁸ darf man jedoch mit Sicherheit annehmen, dass hier Übungen vorliegen die dem Schema seiner *Progymnasmata* folgen. In ihrer knappsten Form sieht das Schema wie folgt aus:

1 fabula	μῦθος
2 narratio	διήγημα
3 chreia	χρεία
4 sententia	γνώμη
5 destructio/subversio	ἀνασκευή
6 confirmatio/adseveratio	κατασκευή
7 locus communis	κοινὸς τόπος
8 laus	ἐγκώμιον
9 vituperatio	ψόγος
10 comparatio	σύγκρισις
11 ethopoeia	ἠθοποιία
12 descriptio	ἔκφρασις
13 thesis	θέσις
14 legislatio	νόμου εἰσφορά ¹⁹

Es handelt sich hier um das Schema der *Progymnasmata*, wie es von Aphthonios von Antiochien²⁰ im 4. Jahrhundert n.Chr. seine endgültige Form bekommen hat. Aphthonios hatte zwar Vorläufer wie Ailios Theon von Alexandrien (1.Jh.), Minoukianos von Athen und Hermogenes von Tarsos²¹ (beide 2. Jh.), und wir dürfen überhaupt davon ausgehen, dass diese 'progymnasmatischen' Übungen bereits im 3. oder 2. Jh. v.Chr. im hellenistischen Raum entwickelt worden waren,²² aber sein Textbuch hat sich

¹⁸ Es werden überhaupt im Programm nur sehr wenig Titel genannt, und in den beiden obersten Stufen ist ganz klar von Aufsätzen die Rede: 'Declamationum in lingua latina exercitia habebuntur', Roos, 12; siehe auch Bot, *Humanisme en Ouderwijs*, 177–178.

¹⁹ Siehe Aphthonius, *Progymnasmata*. Die beste Ausgabe des griechischen Textes ist Rabe, *Aphthonii Progymnasmata*, 1926. Englische Übersetzung von Nadeau, 'The Progymnasmata of Aphthonius in Translation'.

²⁰ Siehe Brzoska, 'Aphthonios' (1), in Pauly-Wissowa I, 2797–2800 und *Aphthonii Progymnasmata* (1926), XXII–XXV.

²¹ Sein Werk wurde von Priscianus im 6. Jahrhundert als *Praeexercitamina Prisciani grammatici ex Hermogene versa* in lateinischer Sprache publiziert (*Rhetores Latini Minores*, ed. Halm, 551–560).

²² Siehe Hock and O'Neil, *The Chreia*, 1–16; dass auch die angeblich abwei-

dennoch als Standardwerk im byzantinischen Unterricht durchgesetzt. Sein System der 14 Übungen hatte den grossen Vorteil, dass die theoretische Behandlung der vorgelegten Probleme jeweils von einer praktischen Bearbeitung, die als Modellbeispiel diente, gefolgt wurde.²³ Der Titel des Werkes wird von Johannes Doxapatres (11. Jh.) wie folgt charakterisiert: 'Es heisst *progymnasmata*, und nicht etwa *gymnasmata*, weil *gymnasmata*, genau gesagt, Übungen sind, die erdichtete Probleme, die das öffentliche Leben betreffen, zum Thema haben. Wir üben uns nämlich mit diesen für die Reden, die wirkliche Probleme des öffentlichen Lebens betreffen. Weil nun diese letzteren *gymnasmata* genannt werden, heissen diese mit Recht *progymnasmata*, weil sie den *gymnasmata* vorangehen und sie gewissermassen vorbereiten.'²⁴ Die Übungen waren gemeint als Elementareinführung in die Rhetorik, wonach die eigentlichen Deklamationen folgen sollten.²⁵ Die Beliebtheit der Einführung und die Autorschaft des Aphthonios werden durch einen Merkvers, den uns Doxapatres überliefert hat, bestätigt:

Εἴ σοι ῥητορικῆς φίλος πόθος ἔμπεσε θυμῷ
μή σέ γε γυμνασίῃ Ἀφθονίῳ λάθῃ.²⁶

Daniel Heinsius bemerkt in der *epistola dedicatoria*, die am Anfang seiner zweisprachigen Ausgabe²⁷ steht, zur Qualität des Griechischen: 'Aphthonium scriptorem brevem eruditum et quemadmodum in iis in quibus olim primo apud Rhetorem exercebat iuventus tradendis, ita in exemplis quae in singulis suppeditavit ipse, strictae eloquentiae ac verae Atticae mirifice antiquitati probatum cum Theone coniunximus.'

Als dieser Text im 15. Jahrhundert nach dem Westen gelangte²⁸ und von Johannes Maria Cataneus und Rudolf Agricola übersetzt wurde,²⁹ begann der Siegeszug dieses Büchleins im Europäischen

chende Einteilung bei Quintilian auf dieses Schema zurückgeführt werden kann, zeigt Henderson, 'Quintilian and the Progymnasmata'.

²³ Siehe Kennedy, *Greek Rhetoric*, 52–70; Kustas, *Studies in Byzantine Rhetoric*, 22–26 und 85–95; Hunger, *Die hochsprachliche Profane Literatur der Byzantiner*, 92–120; Monfasani, 'The Byzantine Rhetorical Tradition'.

²⁴ Johannes Doxapatres, *In Aphthonii progymnasmata homiliae*, 137, 5–14 ed. Rabe (*Rhetores Graeci XIV Prolegomenon Sylloge*) 1931; Walz, *Rhetores Graeci* II, 128, 21–129, 2 (meine Übers.).

²⁵ Vgl. hierzu Russell, *Greek Declamation*.

²⁶ Rabe, *Prolegomenon Sylloge*, 167, 21–22 (= Walz, *Rhetores Graeci* II 77, 27–28).

²⁷ Heinsius, *Aphthonius Sophista Progymnasmata*.

²⁸ Editio princeps Venedig (Aldina) 1508: *Rhetorum Graecorum* I.

²⁹ Siehe Huysman, *Rudolph Agricola*, 135–187 (Nr. 151–255). Die früheste Ausgabe mit dem Namen des Agricola stammt aus dem Jahre 1532 (Köln), während die Bearbeitung Cataneus bereits 1507 (Bologna) erschien. In der

Unterricht, indem es in den Jahren 1507–1680 in 10 verschiedenen lateinischen Übersetzungen durch ganz Europa hindurch von Salamanca bis Breslau mindestens 116 Auflagen erlebte.³⁰ Weitaus am meisten wurde die Ausgabe mit den Übersetzungen von Cataneus und Agricola und den Scholien von Reinhard Lorichius gedruckt,³¹ obwohl Francesco de Escobar sich in seiner Ausgabe von 1597 über die schlechte Qualität dieser Übersetzung beklagt, die er dem Agricola kaum zumuten kann: 'Quo lubentius ejus e Graeco conversionem suscepimus, ne deformata ejus libelli facies cupidum eloquentiae lectorem ab ejus studio removeret. Neque vero me ab instituto versio quaedam deterruit, quae circumferebatur Rodolphi Agricolae, magnifico sane et plausibili nomine. Adeo enim plerisque locis parum Latina est, et a Graeco tam foede aberrat, vix ut credam Rodolphum Agricolam virum eruditissimum eam conversionem legisse umquam, nedum attigisse.' In der Tat ist es erstaunlich, wie viele Fehler und Unklarheiten sich in den genannten Ausgaben befinden. Eine kritische Edition mit Kommentar ist daher ein wichtiges Desideratum.³²

Es würde den Rahmen dieses Aufsatzes sprengen, wenn ich jetzt die Übungen alle einzeln besprechen sollte.³³ Unverkennbar ist aber die Tendenz des Ganzen, auf die ich kurz hinweisen möchte. Die beiden ersten Übungen, wie das Nacherzählen und Variieren einer Fabel und das Erzählen einer Geschichte sind deshalb an den Anfang des Unterrichts gestellt worden, weil sie relativ einfach sind, während die letzten Übungen, wie *Thesis* (ein philosophisches Problem das *in abstracto* vorgelegt wird, als *quaestio infinita*³⁴) und die *legislatio* (die Behandlung eines

Ausgabe der *Lucubrationes* von Rudolph Agricola, wird der Bildungswert der *Progymnasmata* des Aphthonius breit ausgemessen von Alardus Amstelredamus in einem Brief an Petrus Nannius (f. A2^r): Habes qualis sit artifex Aphthonius, accipe nunc qualem is quoque sit nactus interpretem eqs. Vgl. hierzu Jardine, 'Distinctive Discipline', 49–53.

³⁰ Siehe Clark, 'The Rise and Fall of Progymnasmata', 261–2 für die genauen Angaben. Es handelt sich um Mindestzahlen, wie Clark betont; eine tiefgreifende Studie steht noch aus.

³¹ Seit 1542; siehe Huisman, *Rudolph Agricola*, 138 (Nr. 155) und Clark, 'The Rise and Fall of Progymnasmata', 262.

³² Siehe Margolin, 'La Rhétorique d'Aphthonius', 247 Anm. 35. Eine kritische Edition wird von L. Geerinckx vorbereitet (siehe IJsewijn, 'Agricola as a Greek Scholar', 25, Anm. 16).

³³ Siehe dazu die klugen Bemerkungen von Kennedy, *Greek Rhetoric*, 60–66.

³⁴ Vgl. hierzu Lausberg, *Handbuch der literarischen Rhetorik*, § 1134–1138; das Standardbeispiel in den Progymnasmata-Sammlungen lautet: *an uxor ducenda sit*. Die Ausarbeitung einer solchen Thesis kommt in den meisten Fällen einer Deklamation gleich; siehe Van der Poel, *De Declamatio bij de humanisten*, 194–198.

Problems in Zusammenhang mit einem sich darauf beziehenden Gesetzestext) bereits eine ganze Menge Kenntnisse voraussetzen, die der Schüler sich in den vorangegangenen Übungen angeeignet hat. Jede Übung lässt sich einfach zu einer ausführlichen Deklamation entfalten wie bereits Richard Rainolde, der Autor der englischen Bearbeitung³⁵ des Buches von 1563 unter dem Titel *The Foundation of Rhetorike*, bemerkte: 'Of every one of these, a goodly Oracion maie be made. These exercices are called of the Grekes *Progymnasmata*, of the Latines, profitable introduccions, or foreexercices, to attain greater arte and knowledge in *Rhetorike*, and because, for the easie capacitee and facilitie of the learner, to attain greater knowledge in *Rhetorike*, thei are right profitable and necessarie: Therefore I title this booke, to bee the foundation of *Rhetorike*, the exercices being *Progymnasmata*.'³⁶ Weil von den Schülern mit den Übungen auch die moralische Erziehung mit ihrem Nachdruck auf Mässigkeit wie der lukrezische Absinth mit den Übungen hinuntergeschluckt wird, ist es von vornherein klar, dass es auch im reformierten Groningen keine Behinderungen für die Benutzung des Buches im Unterricht auf der *schola latina* geben würde. Vor allem in der Chria soll sich dieser moralische Grundbestandteil deutlich merkbar machen, wie aus der Schulordnung der *schola illustris* zu Brieg (Brzeg in Polen) aus dem Jahre 1581 hervorgeht: 'In Progymnasmatis et Latinis dispositionibus proponendis, circumspecti praeceptoris est materiarum delectum habere, et non nisi res faciles et notas adolescentibus disponere, ut verbi causa: In fabularum dilatatione, Apologi elegantes, quorum dulcedo per se discentium animos alliciat et ad scribendum invitet, elegendi: In tractatione vero Chriarum, sententiarum atque locorum communium, ex doctrina Ethica et caeteris praelectionibus Philosophicis, scribendi argumenta petenda sunt.'³⁷ Gerade das μηδὲν ἄγαν von Solon, das so wunderbar der niederländischen Volksart angemessen ist,³⁸ haben nun die vorliegenden Übungen zum Thema.

Die Übungen gehören in der Reihe der *progymnasmata* an dritter Stelle zum Typus der *chria*.³⁹ Im Handbuch gibt es hiervon

³⁵ Vgl. hierzu Johnson, 'Two Renaissance Textbooks of Rhetoric', 429ff.

³⁶ Rainolde, *A Book Called the Foundation of Rhetorike*.

³⁷ Der Text in Vormbaum, *Die evangelischen Schulordnungen des 16. Jahrhunderts I*, Gütersloh 1860, 315.

³⁸ Vgl. z.B. Schama, *The Embarrassment of Riches*.

³⁹ Zur Namengebung vgl. Hollerbach, *Zur Bedeutung des Wortes Chreia*. Der Typus *chreia* wird in einem Papyrus des 3. Jh. n.Chr. (PSI 1 (1912), Nr. 85) in

drei Sorten: *verbalis*, *activa* und *mixta*. Im ersten Typus wird ein Spruch einer bekannten historischen Persönlichkeit gepriesen, kritisiert oder kommentiert, im zweiten eine Handlung und im dritten eine Handlung mit den dazugehörenden Äusserungen derselben Person. Die Behandlung ist wie folgt:⁴⁰

1. muss der *auctor intellectualis* gelobt werden, dann folgt
2. eine Paraphrase, und wird
3. der Gegensatz beschrieben.
4. wird mittels einer Analogie die Aussage bekräftigt; dann muss
5. ein *exemplum* gebracht werden, und
6. wird ein *testimonium veterum* gegeben, und zum Schluss kommt
7. ein *epilogus*.

Das Beispielthema bei Aphthonios heisst: 'Isocrates doctrinae radicem amaram esse dicebat, fructus vero dulces.' Die Vorbildbehandlung folgt genau der oben angegebenen Reihenfolge und fängt ordnungsgemäss an mit den Worten 'merito laudandus est Isocrates propter eximiam dicendi facultatem . . . verum quod de eruditione protulit, haud abs re fuerit commemorare . . .' Die von Ubbo Emmius seinen Schülern vorgelegte Chrie wird also etwa folgendermassen gelautet haben: 'Solon dixit praemiis atque poenis rem publicam conservari.' Hendrik Hendriks und Focco Memmen haben sich daraufhin bemüht, das Thema nach dem ihnen bekannten Schema auszuarbeiten, wobei am Anfang selbstverständlich eine Würdigung des Autors und der Aussage stehen sollte. Wie Aphthonios mit *merito*, so fängt Hendrik mit *recte* an, und Focco mit *eleganter*. Es folgt dann die übliche Paraphrase, in der die Aussage mittels des Gegensatzes erläutert wird. Danach folgt die Analogie, die bei beiden die Form einer Thesis annimmt (*ius naturae*), indem die Naturgesetze herangezogen werden zur Begründung der in diesem Falle gelobten staatlichen, also von Menschen aufgestellten, Gesetze. Es sei übrigens erwähnt, dass genau diese Methode von Cicero in seiner Behandlung und Würdigung der *thesis* im dritten Buch von *de oratore* theoretisch begründet und praktisch ausgearbeitet wird.⁴¹ Es fehlen bei der Ausarbeitung der beiden Schüler die Nummern 5 und 6, *exemplum* und *testimonium veterum*. Stattdessen folgt eine Aufforderung an den Magistrat, sich in Übereinstimmung mit dieser von Solon zum Ausdruck gebrachten Richtlinie zu

der Form eines Frage- und Antwortspiels besprochen; vgl. Hock and O'Neil, *The Chreia* I, 9.

⁴⁰ Vgl. zum Folgenden auch Fauser, *Die Chrie*, 417ff.

⁴¹ Cicero, *De orat.* 3, 105ff.

verhalten, damit der Staat erhalten bleibe. Es ist meines Erachtens sehr wohl denkbar, dass Emmius seinen Schülern dieses Thema vorgelegt hat mit der zusätzlichen Aufgabe, es mit dem *ius naturae* in Verbindung zu setzen. Hierdurch konnten das *testimonium veterum* und das *exemplum* entfallen, weil die Sache dann eben durch das *ius naturae* selbst gesichert sein würde.

Jetzt zu einigen Einzelheiten. Focco Memmen führt ganz klar den Begriff *medium* in seinen Aufsatz ein, der mit dem altbekannten μηδὲν ἄγαν von Solon (wie es ihm wenigstens Diogenes Laertius zuschreibt)⁴² gleichzusetzen ist. Hendrik Hendriks hat es erst nachträglich eingefügt, indem er *aequitas*, das an sich in diesem Kontext weniger passen würde, aber sonst vielfach in Deklamationsübungen vor allem im Gegensatz zu *ius* vorkommt,⁴³ verbesserte in *aequalitas*. Die Verschiedenheit des Wortlauts in den beiden Aufsätzen, trotz der Ähnlichkeit im Thema und im Aufbau deutet daraufhin, dass die Schüler relativ frei und selbständig gearbeitet haben. So hat z.B. Hendrik vielleicht dem ehrwürdigen Lehrmeister zeigen wollen, dass er seinen Juvenal⁴⁴ gelesen hat, indem er *sedem figet constantia* schreibt, wo Focco bloss *esse potest* hat. Auch sonst lässt sich eine so grosse *varietas* feststellen (man vergleiche nur *oblivioni tradat* gegenüber *negliget* und *quae eius tutelae subiecta est* gegenüber *quam servare ex officio debet*), dass man fast annehmen muss, dass die Formulierung der Aufgabe für seine Schüler sehr knapp gewesen ist. Die Übung von Hendrik zeigt eine grössere stilistische Fähigkeit als die von Focco, der seinen Aufsatz, wie einen Brief mit *vale* beendet, genau

⁴² Diogenes Laertius, *Vitae philosophorum* 1, 63.

⁴³ Vgl. hierzu Stroux, 'Summum Ius Summa Iniuria'. Die neuesten Einsichten in diese Problematik, in der die *causa curiana* eine prominente Rolle spielt, bieten Tellegen, 'Oratores, Iurisprudentes and the Causa Curiana', und Vaughn, 'Law and Rhetoric in the Causa Curiana'. Diese Thematik des *scriptum et sententia* oder *ius et aequitas* wurde seit der Antike systematisch eingeübt; vgl. Kemper, 'Nam voces ac litterae quasi legum summa cutis'.

⁴⁴ Iuv. 3,2 laudo tamen, vacuis quod sedem figere Cumis destinet.

Der poetische Ausdruck *sedem figere* kommt nur hier vor und Priap. 63,1. Im Hinblick auf den wenig erbaulichen Inhalt der Priapea kann man sich jedoch nur schwer vorstellen, dass sie von Ubbo mit seinen Schülern gelesen wurden. Auch Juvenal fehlt in der Liste der 'grossen Autoren' in Emmius' Schulprogramm: *Ubbo Emmius*, 14: 'Autores teremus maxime eos in docendis latina et graeca linguis, qui omni exceptione maiores sunt, Ciceronem, Caesarem, Salustium, Terentium, Ovidium, Horatium, Demosthenem, Isocratem, Homerum, Hesiodum, et his similes.' Juvenal wird aber sicher auch in die *similes* einzureihen sein, da seine Satiren beim Anprangern der menschlichen Sünden sehr oft als Beispiel in den beigegebenen Erläuterungen zum lateinischen Aphthonius angeführt werden.

wie der unsichere Schüler von heute seine Probearbeit in einer späten *captatio benevolentiae* mit einem freundlichen Gruss an den Lehrer oder mit einer Entschuldigung für die unleserliche Schrift abschliesst. Auch kennt Focco sich noch nicht sehr gut aus in der Acl-Konstruktion, wie *magistratum decet . . . ut* zeigt.

Hiermit komme ich zum Problem der Korrektur. Im Schulprogramm wird betont:⁴⁵ 'Emendandis styli exercitiis diligens cura adhibebitur a praeceptoribus. Classium labores diligenter et saepe a nobis et Conrectore inspicientur, et id opera dabitur, ut cuncta decenter atque ex officio fiant ab omnibus.'⁴⁶ Es lässt sich aber, soweit ich sehe, keine Spur von Korrekturen von der Hand von Emmius finden. Es wird aber kaum der Fall gewesen sein, dass überhaupt nicht korrigiert wurde, obwohl es im offiziellen Programm verkündet wurde . . .

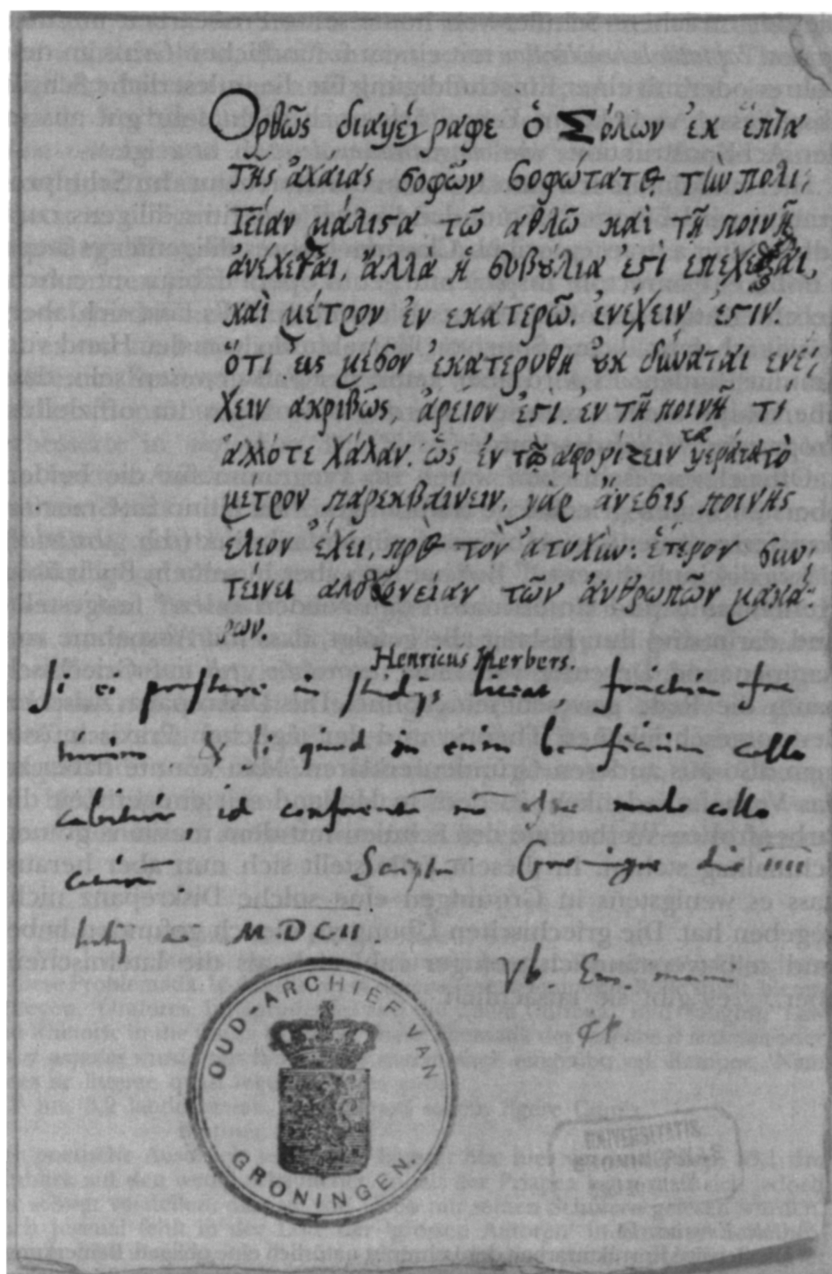
Offiziell vorgeschrieben waren im Programm für die beiden obersten Stufen griechische Stilübungen; 'Ex latino in Graecum transferre sententias et brevia argumenta huius (d.h. *secundae*) classis discipuli discent.'⁴⁷ Bot hat nun aber in seinem Buch über Humanismus und Unterricht in den Niederlanden⁴⁸ festgestellt, und darin sind ihm bislang alle gefolgt, dass mit Ausnahme von Kampen und Deventer von einer *exercitatio styli* auf Griechisch kaum die Rede gewesen sein könne. Die Diskrepanz zwischen der vorgeschriebenen Theorie und der täglichen Praxis müsste man also aus anderen Gründen erklären. Man könnte dabei an das Verhältnis denken, in dem in Holland seit einiger Zeit die farbenfrohen Werbetexte der Schulen mit dem meistens grauen Schulalltag stehen. In diesem Falle stellt sich nun aber heraus, dass es wenigstens in Groningen eine solche Diskrepanz nicht gegeben hat. Die griechischen Übungen, die ich gefunden habe, sind selbstverständlich weniger zahlreich als die lateinischen, aber . . . es gibt sie tatsächlich.

⁴⁵ Ubbo Emmius, 14.

⁴⁶ Die fleissige Korrekturarbeit der Lehrer ist natürlich eine obligate Bemerkung, der man auch bei Johannes Sturm im 38. und letzten Kapitel seines einflussreichen Traktats *De literarum ludis recte aperiendis* (Vormbaum, *Die evangelische Schulordnungen des 16. Jahrhunderts*, 677) begegnet: 'de concordia et modestia et diligentia professorum'.

⁴⁷ Ubbo Emmius, 14.

⁴⁸ Bot, *Humanisme en Onderwijs*, 197.



IX. Schulübung von Henricus Herbers. Groningen,
 Universitätsbibliothek MS 207, f.76v.

Text 3 (Abb. IX)

ὁρθῶς διαγέγραφε ὁ Σόλων ἐκ ἑπτα τῆς ἀρχαίας σοφῶν σοφώτατος τὴν πολιτείαν μάλιστα τῷ ἀθλῷ καὶ τῇ ποινῇ ἀνέχεσθαι, ἀλλὰ ἡ συμβουλία (sic) ἐστὶ ἐπεχεσθαι, καὶ μέτρον ἐν ἑκατέρῳ ἐνέχειν ἐστίν. ὅτι εἰς μέσον ἑκατέρωθεν (sic) οὐκ δύναται ἐνέχειν ἀκριβῶς, ἀρεῖον ἐστὶ ἐν τῇ ποινῇ τί ἀλλότῃ χάλαν. ὥς ἐν τῷ ἀφορίζειν τὰ γεράτα τὸ μέτρον παρεκβαίνειν, γὰρ ἄνεσις ποινῆς ἔλεον ἔχει πρὸς τὸν ἀτυχῆν (sic): ἕτερον συντείνει ἀλαζονεῖαν (?) τῶν ἀνθρώπων μακάρων.

Henricus Herbers⁴⁹

Der Inhalt darf jetzt nicht mehr unbekannt sein, obwohl das Griechisch von Hendrik Herbers noch nicht voll entwickelt zu sein scheint. Ich übersetze: 'Mit Recht hat Solon, der weiseste der Sieben Weisen von Griechenland, vorgeschrieben, dass der Staat am besten erhalten bleibt durch die Belohnung und die Strafe. Die Absicht ist aber, sich zurückzuhalten, und das Mass ist in beiden Fällen einzuhalten. Weil man aber nicht ganz genau nach beiden Seiten hin (ἐκατέρωθεν) die Mitte einhalten kann, ist es besser (ἄρειον!) bei der Strafe manchmal etwas nachzugeben (χαλᾶν), wie man beim Zuerkennen der Belohnungen (γέρα üblichere Form) das Mass überschreiten soll. Denn Strafverminderung impliziert Mitleid mit dem Unglücklichen (ἀτυχῆ!), das andere (d.h. Überschreiten des Masses bei Belohnungen) unterbindet Prahlerei der guten Menschen (ἀνθρώπων).'

Ich werde nicht weiter auf Einzelheiten des griechischen Textes eingehen, aber deutlich erkennbar ist wieder die Verbindung des μηδὲν ἄγαν (der Mitte) mit der Vorschrift über Belohnen und Strafen: einer Vorschrift, die ihre Aktualität noch nicht verloren hat, wenn man bedenkt, dass es vor noch nicht so langer Zeit eine Polizeikampagne in den nördlichen Niederlanden gegeben hat, bei der nicht nur das Nicht-angeschnallt-sein im Auto mit einer Geldstrafe belegt, sondern auch das richtig Angeschnallt-sein mit einem kleinen Geschenk belohnt wurde!

Es kostet aber sehr viel Mühe, ausfindig zu machen, woher Emmius Solons Vorschrift über Belohnung und Strafe hat, weil ein derartiger Spruch dem Solon sonst nie zugeschrieben wird.⁵⁰

⁴⁹ Groningen, Universitätsbibliothek, MS 207, f. 76^v.

⁵⁰ Es gibt natürlich viele Stellen, wo die moralische Vorschrift erwähnt oder behandelt wird (vgl. nur Xen. *Cyr.* 1,6,20 und *œc.* 14,3), aber gerade die Verbindung mit Solon fehlt. Auch von Plutarch wird sie nicht erwähnt; vgl. *Plut. Sol.* 21,2 δει δὲ πρὸς δύνατον γράφεσθαι τὸν νόμον, εἰ βούλεται χρησίμως ὀλίγους, ἀλλὰ μὴ πολλοὺς ἀχρήστως κολάζειν. Ein ähnliches Problem bietet Vitruv im Prooemium

Die einzige Zuschreibung des Diktums an Solon befindet sich, soweit ich sehen kann, im Florilegium des Stobaios im Kapitel ΠΕΡΙ ΠΟΛΙΤΕΙΑΣ:

Stob. *flor.* 4,1 p. 28,7 W.-H. Σόλων ἐρωτηθεὶς τίς ἀρίστη πόλις, ἐν ᾗ ἔφη πλεῖστα ἀρετῆς ἄθλα. und *ibid.* p. 25,1 Σόλων ἐκείνην εἶπεν ἄριστα τὴν πόλιν οἰκεῖσθαι ἐν ᾗ τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς ἄνδρας συμβαίνει τιμᾶσθαι, καὶ τὸ ἐναντίον, ἐν ᾗ τοὺς κακοὺς ἀμύνεσθαι.⁵¹

Wenn man hierbei in Anbetracht nimmt, dass die erste Ausgabe von Stobaios erst im Jahre 1575 von Willem Canter in Antwerpen besorgt wurde, so muss es klar sein, dass Emmius als Lehrmeister eine sehr glückliche Hand hatte in der Verbindung von altüberlieferter Theorie und Übungsmethodik mit neuen wissenschaftlichen Errungenschaften. Es gibt eine Möglichkeit, diese Behauptung etwas zu unterbauen. Das Thema der Strafe und der Belohnung wird nämlich auch von Edward VI. in seinen Übungen behandelt. Hier folgen einige Übungen, die ich der Sammlung, die sich in der British Library⁵² befindet, entnehme:

f. 138 Ἔστι μάλιστα ἀναγκαῖον, κριταὶ καὶ ἀκροαταὶ βέλτιστοι, πᾶσιν ἐκείνοις τοῖ (sic) βουλομένοις γινώσκειν πῶς ἄριστα πολιτεύοιντο (sic) τὴν πολιτείαν εἰδέναι (suprascr.) τίνων ἀμαρτιῶν ἕνεκα ὀφείλει τοὺς (sic) ἀνθρώπους τιμωρεῖσθαι, καὶ τίνων ἕνεκα ἀρετῶν, δεῖ εὐεργετῆν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους. τοῦτο γὰρ δικαιοσύνης (sic) ὑπάρχει ἀνὰ (sic) ἧς ἡ πολιτεία οὐ δύναται πολιτεύεσθαι καλῶς μηδὲ τίς τάξις τηρεῖσθαι παντελῶς. Diese Übung, die im Jahre 1551⁵³ gemacht wurde, behandelt ferner die Funktion der Strafe und wird unterschrieben mit Eduardus Rex und Εδουαρδος βασιλεὺς.

des dritten Buches, das chrienartig anfängt: Delphicus Apollo Socratem omnium sapientissimum Pythiae responsis est professus. Is autem memoratur prudenter doctissimeque dixisse, oportuisse hominum pectora fenestrata et aperta esse, uti non occultos haberent sensus sed patentes ad considerandum eqs. Das Diktum ist m.E. nicht verifizierbar; eine Studie über den Aufbau der Prooemien des Vitruv mit Berücksichtigung der Tradition der Progymnasmata würde sich lohnen.

⁵¹ Auf die Schwierigkeit des ἀμύνεσθαι möchte ich hier nicht näher eingehen. Der Spruch liegt in anderer Fassung vor im *Gnomologium Vaticanum*, 186 Nr. 503. Ich verdanke diesen Hinweis meinem Kollegen Prof. St. Radt.

⁵² Es handelt sich um noch nicht publiziertes Material aus der Handschrift MS Addit. 4724. Ich danke der Leitung der British Library für bereitwillige Unterstützung. Einige Briefe und Deklamationen sind veröffentlicht von Nichols, *Literary Remains of King Edward the Sixth* I, 93–143.

⁵³ Wahrscheinlich im Dezember, als der König gerade 14 Jahre alt war. Zur Biographie s. Chapman, *The Last Tudor King*, und Jordan, *Edward VI.* Hier S. 56: 'Latin and Greek exercises, which seem to have replaced the formal letters in Cheke's teaching method . . . appear to have been done after Edward ascended the throne, with a particular concentration in 1551'.

f. 162 τὸ εὐεργετεῖν τοὺς καλοὺς καὶ ἀγαθοὺς ἄνδρας, . . . τὸ δε κολάζειν τοὺς κακοὺς καὶ ἐκφοβεῖν ἀπὸ τῆς κακίας τῇ τιμωρίᾳ. f. 194 οὐδὲν ἔστι τοσοῦτον ζητήτεον, κάλλιστοι κρίται, ἐν πάσῃ πολιτείᾳ καλῶς διακειμένη, ὥς ἵνα οἱ ἀγαθοὶ κατὰ τὸ μέγεθος τῆς εὐεργεσίας μίσθον λάβωσι καὶ οἱ κακοὶ κατὰ τοῦ ἀσελγήματος δεινότητα τιμωροῖντο . . . εἰ γὰρ ὁμοίως οἱ κακοὶ τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς τίμας λάβοιεν οὐδεμία δύναίτο εἶναι τάξις ἐν πολιτείᾳ.

Auch in lateinischer Sprache wird die Übung gemacht: (f. 97)

Si enim aequitatem homines diligerent tum aequo animo se erga omnes gererent nec malis aliquibus parcentes nec bonos supplicio afficientes. Quare is magistratus qui sinit vitia impunita existere violat iusiurandum, et frangit ordinem iustitiae, qui autem punit scelera malorum, et praemiis afficit bonos, is et iusiurandum observat et ordinem civilem Reipublicae corrumpit (sic!). Die Übung wird beendet mit: sequitur non licere magistratui sinere vitium impunitum existere. Dixi. Finis.⁵⁴

Soweit ich zu erkennen vermochte, fehlt bei diesen Deklamationen jeder Hinweis auf Solon, so dass ich dazu neige, diesem *argumentum e silentio* Glauben zu schenken.

Wie tief der Einfluss der progymnasmata das Leben durchdrungen hat, zeigen auch die Schriften der Lehrer selbst. So fängt zum Beispiel Ubbo Emmius sein Programm mit einer *sententia* an: (Roos S. 6) sapientium et bonorum reipublicae gubernatorum est, operam dare, non solum ut in praesens rei publicae bene sit, sed etiam in posterum eqs.⁵⁵ Und auch Johannes Sturm äussert sich in seinem Programm für die schola Lauingana (Lauingen a.d. Donau) aus dem Jahre 1565 zum altbekannten Thema der ersten Chria: Neque enim me movet, quod dictum est, radices literarum amaras esse, sed fructus uberes eqs! Die Methodik des Unterrichts darf ein wenig mechanisch und starr gewesen sein, sie hat aber Jahrhunderte lang ihren Einfluss ausgeübt und ist bei vielen Autoren nachweisbar.⁵⁶ Die grossen

⁵⁴ Auch Vickers äussert sich in seinem Buch *In Defence of Rhetoric*, 261–263 zu den Übungen des jungen Fürsten unter der Leitung von John Cheke, aber er erkennt ihren traditionellen progymnasmatischen Charakter.

⁵⁵ Es handelt sich selbstverständlich nicht nur um den unmittelbaren Einfluss der *progymnasmata*, weil hier allem Anschein nach, eine variierende *imitatio* des Anfangssatzes des berühmten und viel gelesenen *Panegyricus* des jüngeren Plinius vorliegt: 'Bene ac sapienter, patres conscripti, maiores instituerunt ut rerum agendarum ita dicendi initium a precationibus capere eqs.' Für den im höchsten Masse sentiösen Charakter des *Panegyricus*, siehe *Plinie le Jeune, Panegyrique de Trajan*, 35–40.

⁵⁶ Vgl. für den deutschen Raum die Studien von Fauser, Schaub und Breuer.

Vorteile einer systematischen Schreibübung könnte auch dem modernen Unterricht nützlich sein wie die Studien von Geel⁵⁷ und Flower⁵⁸ zeigen. Viele der dort behandelten 'problem-solving strategies' lassen sich bereits in den progymnasmatichen Übungen finden. Die Vorteile der progymnasmatichen Erziehung und ihre Wirkung hat Clarke⁵⁹ deutlich gemacht. Durch die Romantik ist mit der Rhetorik auch der progymnasmatich Unterricht diskreditiert worden, aber ein fruchtbarer Rückgriff auf das vergessene Material wäre sicher erwünscht.

Waterbolk nimmt in seinem Aufsatz an, dass es nicht nur wirtschaftliche Gründe gewesen seien, die Emmius zur Wiederverwendung der Schülerübungen veranlasst haben: (S. 256; meine Übers.) 'Wird er nicht ein Vergnügen daran erlebt haben, hinter diesen schönen Handschriften mit ihren kleinen Unterschriften die Gruppe dieser oder jener Schüler wieder an seinem geistigen Auge vorbeiziehen zu lassen? Für die Antwort auf diese Frage müssen die Zettel weniger "einseitig" studiert werden als ich es getan habe.' Ich hoffe hiermit also, dieser Anregung von Waterbolk folgend, einen Ansatz zu einer 'anderseitigen' Studie gegeben zu haben.

An und für sich könnte ich mit diesem vorgeschriebenen *epilogus* meinen Beitrag beenden, aber ich frage mich, ob Emmius mit viel Vergnügen an Lodewijk Rudolfs (Ludovicus Rodolphi) zurückgedacht hat. Dieser ist nämlich der Autor des folgenden Textes:

libenter de te audiui quod adhuc bene valeas et cogites quam primum
profectione te dare et in pateram tua ad tuos veneas. precor ut
itineris bene succedit non facilis credis quam valde te expectam tui
artum propterea festina et bene vale.

Ludovicus Rodolphi⁶⁰

Ich bin davon überzeugt, dass Emmius mit grösserem Vergnügen den inhaltlich fast identischen, aber grammatisch viel besseren Brief, mit dem ich meinen Beitrag eröffnet habe, in Empfang genommen hat. Im erstgenannten Brief wurde wenigstens das ungrammatische *profectione te dare* nachträglich vom Autor selbst (oder von Emmius?) verbessert. Dieser Brief von Eggerik Egges Phebens an Ubbo Emmius, den die Ausstellungskommission unter

⁵⁷ Geel, *Niemand is meester geboren*, der seine Untersuchung zur 'Schreibgewandtheit' erst mit dem 19. Jh. anfangen lässt.

⁵⁸ Flower, *Problem-Solving Strategies*. Diese Arbeit hat Geel zum Vorbild gedient für seine Studie zum niederländischen System.

⁵⁹ Clark, *Rhetoric in Greco-Roman Education*, 208–212.

⁶⁰ Groningen, Universitätsbibliothek, MS 207 f. 83^v.

Vorsitz von Waterbolk nicht ohne Stolz an so prominenter Stelle im Katalog⁶¹ mit der Mitteilung abgedruckt hat, dass es sich hier um einen neuen Fund handle, fehlt in der Ausgabe des Briefwechsels von Ubbo Emmius, die vor 70 Jahren von Brugmans und Wachter besorgt worden ist.⁶² Übungsgemäss könnte man hier behaupten: *recte omiserunt*.

Ich hatte bereits einige Bedenken, als ich zum ersten Mal in diesem Katalog den Brief erblickte, sowohl wegen der Handschrift als wegen des doch ein wenig holperigen Lateins, wobei auch die Überschrift 'epistula' komisch wirkte: als ob Phebens seinem Freund Emmius doch vor allem klar machen wollte um welche Textsorte es sich handelte! Der Brief des Ludovicus war dann entscheidend für mein Misstrauen. Es ist doch vollends undenkbar, dass der versierte Stilist Eggerik Phebens in seinem 44. Lebensjahr⁶³ seinem intimen Freund Ubbo Emmius ein derart nichtssagendes Briefchen schicken würde. Wenn man jedoch davon ausgeht, dass es sich in diesem Falle nicht um einen Brief handelt, sondern um eine Briefübung,⁶⁴ dann käme Eggerik Phebens erst recht nicht in Betracht. Bei den genealogischen Untersuchungen, die ich daraufhin angestellt habe, stellte sich heraus, dass es sich um den Sohn von Eggerik, nämlich Eggo (lat. Eggaeus) handeln muss.

Der junge Eggaeus Phebens wurde am 13. Mai 1586 geboren und war demnach etwa 14 Jahre alt, als er im Jahr 1600 diese Übung machte. Er war ein vorzüglicher Schüler an der *schola latina*, wie man in der *oratio funebris*, mit der die Universität seinen Vater bei seinem Tode im Jahr 1615 ehrte,⁶⁵ und in einem *programma funebre* der Universität aus dem Jahr 1649 bei seinem eigenen Tod lesen kann. Hier wird gesagt: 'Sub ipsis ergo pueritiae annis tenerioribus, ilico disciplinis liberalioribus admoveri filius Eggo coepit, primaque illorum tyrocinia in patria urbe absolvit.' Es gibt auch noch eine wunderschön geschriebene griechische

⁶¹ Ubbo Emmius, 83.

⁶² Brugmans und Wachter, *Briefwechsel*.

⁶³ Für die wichtigsten Lebensdaten siehe Boeles, 'Het leven en de verdiensten van Eggerik Egges Phebens'.

⁶⁴ Im Groninger Programm waren diese Briefübungen für die zweitletzte Klasse vorgesehen und kommen damit genau vor den Progymnasmata in den beiden obersten Klassen: Ubbo Emmius, 12: 'Stylus exercebitur non solum in transferendis Teutonicis in latinum, sed etiam componendis suo Marte Epistolis ad imitationem bonorum autorum, et ludendis brevibus carminibus'. Auch bei Edward VI gibt es dieselbe Reihenfolge (vgl. S.262–263).

⁶⁵ Universitätsbibliothek, Groningen, Signatur 'IO G 4: *Oratio funebris in honorem Amplissimi Doctissimi atque Optimi Dni Eggrici (sic) Eggaei Phebens*.

Übung von Eggo,⁶⁶ in der sein Name voll ausgeschrieben steht. Nach seiner Schulausbildung hat der junge Eggo noch in Franeker, Genf und Marburg studiert, um sich nachher dem Dienst der Stadt und der Universität Groningen zu widmen.

Briefe haben sich Eggerik Phebens und Emmius vielleicht nicht geschickt — jedenfalls sind uns keine überliefert — , aber sie werden sich bestimmt mündlich über die Fortschritte des vielversprechenden Eggo Phebens unterhalten haben, schrieb er auch *projectione* statt *projectioni*. Den Inhalt dieser Gespräche überlasse ich der Phantasie des Lesers, weil ich mit der meinen bereits zu weit gegangen bin.

⁶⁶ Groningen, Universitätsbibliothek, MS 137, f. 76r.

A.H. VAN DER LAAN AND Y. KUIK

RAPTIM ET EBRIE SATIS
NEO-LATIN LETTERS FROM THE VAN EWSUM-
ARCHIVES IN GRONINGEN

During the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries the city of Groningen and the surrounding region, known as the Ommelanden, today harmoniously united in the province of Groningen, were great rivals. The city tried both politically and economically to force its will on the Ommelanden, which for their part tried to escape from this domination. Some of the noblemen leading the Ommelanden in this struggle belonged to the Van Ewsum family. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries members of this family played an important role in the Ommelanden. Onne van Ewsum (†1489) was one of the first prominent representatives, his son Wigbold (†1528) followed in his footsteps and his grandsons Johan (†1570) and Wigbold (1521–1584) were the last scions of the family with influence in the Ommelanden. Their leadership in politics and socio-economic affairs has already been elaborately studied by M. Hartgerink-Koomans.¹

Less is known about the intellectual life of these noblemen. We know that Onne van Ewsum moved in the circle of humanists at Aduard which included learned men such as Wessel Gansfort and Rudolph Agricola. Wigbold van Ewsum, too, was an educated man. He studied in Bologna and owned several Latin books. More information, however, is available about his sons (especially Johan). The Rijksarchief at Groningen contains a large corpus of about 1,350 letters written in Dutch, German, French, and Latin. By studying the Latin letters of this collection we have tried to gain an understanding of the intellectual life of Johan van Ewsum in particular.

The Van Ewsum-archives contain 59 letters in Latin by 38 correspondents. Two letters are anonymous. Eleven persons wrote two or more letters, thirty in total. The oldest letter in the corpus, dated 16 February 1531, was written by Sybrandus Bywema.² The most recent letter is dated 4 April 1572, and was written by a

¹ Hartgerink-Koomans, *Het geslacht Ewsum* (1938).

² Inventory no. 132 I.

certain Harkama.³ Most letters are addressed to Johan van Ewsum. Regrettably, only one of his own letters in Latin has been preserved.⁴ Letters that were not addressed to Johan were generally sent to one of his employees or friends and then passed on to him.

Of the letters that were not addressed to Johan, by far the most interesting are the two letters sent by Dionysius a Campo to Regnerus Praedinius (1510–1559), principal of the St. Maartensschool in Groningen. This famous humanist teacher was a close friend of both Johan and his brother Christoffer. The first is a long letter⁵ in which A Campo describes events that had taken place in Italy, i.e. a battle between Turks and Venetians and a conspiracy in Florence. The second letter,⁶ which is much shorter, accompanied a copy of Melanchthon's *Loci communes* and an account of the Council of Mantua. These were actually intended for Johan van Ewsum, but, A Campo writes, Praedinius was free to use them. A third letter,⁷ addressed to Johan, is also interesting. It is a kind of homily in the form of a letter and it discusses the definition of faith in Hebr. 11, 1, where it says: *Fides est rerum sperandarum υπόστασις et rerum invisibilium έλεγχος*. Unfortunately, this letter has not been preserved completely intact; some passages are therefore unclear. The identity of this A Campo has not yet been established.

Most correspondents fall into four categories: students and former students (Wigbold Bijwema, Dionysius a Campo, Sibrandus Groniensis, Onno and Wigbolt Ripperda, Johannes Frisius, Bartholomeus de Jonghe, Wilhelmus Ioannis), clergymen (Johannes Fusipedius, Johannes Dutmarus, Egbertus Ikinge alias Staels, Gotfridus Ludolphus, Regnerus Meynardus), relatives (Christoffer, Wigbold Jr, Onno, Jurgen, Joost) and subordinates or employees (Ludolphus Ensink, Wolterus, Hieronymus Gotfridus, Johannes Cuick, Johannes Lyphardus, Reynerus Woltinck). Our research, which was necessarily limited, produced biographical facts of only a few of the correspondents. Most remain completely unknown to us, and 18 of the 38 authors do not appear any further in the complete Van Ewsum-archives, which contain (apart from the corpus of letters) many official documents (legal records, title-deeds, etc.) and various other papers (bills, etc.).

³ Inv. no. 133 B.

⁴ Inv. no. 143 (7 November 1545).

⁵ Inv. no. 186 (8 August 1537).

⁶ Inv. no. 186 (25 June 1537).

⁷ Inv. no. 132 I (15 March 1537).

On the other hand there are two letters from well-known correspondents. First of all, one by Wigbolt Ripperda (1535–1573),⁸ who in 1572–1573 was commander of the military forces defending the city of Haarlem, when it was besieged by the Spaniards. Secondly, there is a letter by Gulielmus Gnapheus (Willem de Volder, 1493–1568),⁹ who was one of the first reformers in the Netherlands, and repeatedly suffered the consequences. He was principal of the Latin Schools at The Hague and Elbing (in Prussia); in later years he was appointed professor of philosophy at the recently founded (1544) University of Königsberg.

The letter by A Campo (on *Fides*, mentioned above) already indicates that Johan van Ewsum was very much interested in religious matters. Several other letters confirm that the correspondence concerned *non tantum de prophanis negotiis, verum et de Evangelica re* (Johannes Dutmarus).¹⁰ Albertus Holtmannus,¹¹ for instance, writes about the imminent danger for those who adhere to Protestantism. This warning was not without good reason, for Johan was reputed to be a friend of the Reformers. This friendship was something of an embarrassment to Johan van Ewsum because it could well raise difficulties with regard to his relations with the Catholic administration of Brussels. A number of letters confirm that privately Johan indeed sympathised with the protestants. Furthermore, there is a marvellous letter by Henricus Leddensis,¹² in which he professes his profound anxiety on observing several portents in the sky that convinced him that the Son of God would soon return.

Religion is not the only subject of the letters. The many student-correspondents who were supported financially by Johan van Ewsum, write to him about the progress of their studies. Their abundant words of gratitude and praise are mostly (and not surprisingly) followed by polite requests for more money. Some also relate recent events that occurred in their town of residence, or otherwise came to their attention. Sibrandus Groniënsis, for example, writes:

Tum adhuc episcopus studens adolescens egregius et fortis, quem praeses ad cenam vocabat, venit vesperi cum tribus ministris. Cena absoluta (nescio ob quod factum) ostium pessulo claudi et muniri iussit ipsumque apprehendere cum suis satellitibus conatus est

⁸ Inv. no. 132 VII (15 December 1563).

⁹ Inv. no. 133 B (27 March 1562).

¹⁰ Inv. no. 132 I (19 May 1537).

¹¹ Inv. no. 132 XI (25 June, s.a.).

¹² Inv. no. 132 XI (s.d.).

praeses. Ille per fenestram evasit ministris relictis intus; ipsius coquum vinctum ad castra pertraxerunt. Episcopus animo perturbatus et ad redimendum coquum suum cupidus castra solus petebat; quator ministros eum custodientes illic videbat. Ultro citroque verbis habitis solus ille ipsos quator profligabat. Tres vulneribus depictos reddebat quartumque sua auricula privabat. Postea impetum in ipsa castra faciebat suumque coquum invitis omnibus ex vinculis liberavit, quod factum referam in fortitudinis titulum. Equidem miror tantum licentiae et libertatis hic studentibus esse concessum, quod impune hoc faceret.¹³

It appears from the letters that most young men whose studies were financed fully or partially by Johan van Ewsum studied at Louvain, as did most students from Groningen in those days. When a university was founded at Geneva by Calvin in 1559, only Johannes Frisius and the Ripperda-brothers went there. Their journey proved to be an adventurous enterprise. It took them forty days, and Onno writes:

ob incognitos hominum et regionum mores nimium a vectoribus et cauponibus ubique in itinere nostro expilati sumus, ut pecuniae nobis perparum, cum in hanc urbem perveniremus, relictum fuerit.¹⁴

And, they found that the studies of their choice were not included in the curriculum. According to Wigbolt,

iuris civilis enim professione hic maximo cum nostro et aliorum quorundam studiosorum dolore carentes alii, nobis non ita utili studio incumbimus.¹⁵

The period in which all of these letters were written was characterized by numerous political and religious upheavals. These are frequently mentioned and commented upon by the correspondents. Johan's brothers Christoffer and Wigbold, for instance, report on the armed battle in Flanders between the forces of Charles V and Francis I. In the summer of 1542 Maarten van Rossum, Field Marshal of Gelre, besieged Louvain, where the Van Ewsum-brothers studied at that time. Christoffer writes:

valemus enim et vivimus non more studentium, sed militum, quoniam iam fere in omnibus rebus metamorphosis facta est, ita ut studentes codices, monachi cucullas reiicientes ad arma concurrunt, quia ex tribus milibus studentium vix quadringenti nobis supersunt, qui non in militiam aut Germaniam aufugerunt.¹⁶

Other letters give up-to-date accounts of battles between Turks

¹³ Inv. no. 132 XI (5 January [1534?])

¹⁴ Inv. no. 132 XI ([15 December] 1563).

¹⁵ Inv. no. 132 VII (15 December 1563).

¹⁶ Inv. no. 132 I (19 September 1542).

and Venetians in Italy and between Catholics and Huguenots in France, an uprising in Florence, the battle of Algiers (1541), student rioting in Toulouse, and the forthcoming visit of Mary of Hungary to Groningen on June 20, 1545.

It goes without saying that not all letters are interesting and lively: many deal with administrative matters and were written by employees and subordinates of Johan van Ewsum. They ask him for advice, advise him on decisions to be taken or on appointments to be made, etc. Often the contents are no longer clear, as the relevant facts are missing. These matters require further examination.

The Latin letters disclose that Johan van Ewsum was an erudite man. He probably studied in Louvain, where he became friendly with Praedinius. He mastered Latin, had a working knowledge of Greek, and was versatile in Roman law. Moreover, he possessed books such as the *Loci communes* by Melanchthon, a *Corpus iuris cum Summa Azonis* and an *Imitatio Christi* by Thomas a Kempis. Many correspondents in some way praise his learning. A Campo puts him on a par with Praedinius, to whom he writes:

mihi semper in votis fuit et tuum et Ewssemii candorem animique promptitudinem pro viribus assequi. [. . .] Nam ingenuis cum amicis ac minime fucatis mihi res est.¹⁷

Johannes Fusipedius, a former vicar in Oosterwolde, sending Johan van Ewsum an account of his extensive travels and visits to courts and universities in Sweden, Denmark and Germany, mentions his *nobilem urbanitatem et heroicam virtutem* (and speaks of Johan's mother Beetke as *matrona Attica eloquentia donata*).¹⁸ The abbot Johannes Dutmarus refers to Johan's *Latini sermonis industriam* at an early age.¹⁹ Others mention his *incredibilis amor artium studiorumque, optimarum artium studia, eloquentia, prudentia, benevolentia ergo studiosos bonarum literarum eximia*. Johan's passion for reading and writing Latin poems is evident from the letters of Fusipedius and Bernard Linge. In short, the letters present to us a man of learning interested in many aspects of science.

It is therefore not surprising that he made considerable effort to provide his sons with a proper education. For several years he engaged a tutor whom he entrusted with their upbringing. In 1569 Johan sent them to the Latin School in Münster and from there Onno, Jurgen and Joost wrote short letters in Latin

¹⁷ Inv. no. 186 (8 August 1537).

¹⁸ Inv. no. 132 VII (29 September 1563).

¹⁹ Inv. no. 132 I (19 May 1537).

to their father. One of Onno's letters²⁰ sets out the boys' daily schedule of activities. Their results were satisfactory, but they were forced to discontinue their studies for lack of money (!). Apart from the education of his sons, Van Ewsum also financed (as mentioned above) the studies of relatives, such as his nephews Ripperda, and others.

Finally, a comment should be made on the *Latinitas* of the correspondents. Some are very proficient and write both grammatically correct and stylistically fine Latin, others make frequent mistakes. One or two authors apologise for this in a rather remarkable way. Ludolphus Ensinck concludes his letter²¹ as follows: *Raptim namque et tempore nocturno hasce congeSSI literulas, cuius rei vel ipsa compositio testis est*, and Nicolaus Ruterus ends his short and syntactically completely incomprehensible letter²² with the words *raptim et ebrie satis*. Most correspondents, however, are able to express themselves in correct *and* classical Latin; clearly they are part of the humanist tradition that renounced medieval Latin and turned back to the Latin language of Antiquity. Even an initial, superficial analysis reveals traces of Cicero, Livy, Vergil, Terence, Plautus, Ovid, Martial, Pliny the Younger, Seneca and Ulpian. Only occasionally the vocabulary shows some influence of medieval Latin. Furthermore, some writers had a working knowledge of Greek (A Campo, Johan and Wigbold van Ewsum, Fusipedius, and Regnerus Meynardus).

It is evident that our study of these Latin letters is a mere introduction to a further and more thorough examination of the complete corpus of letters in the Van Ewsum-archives. Such an enterprise is likely to produce many interesting facts about the intellectual life of a distinguished family in sixteenth-century Groningen, a family that indeed — to quote Cicero — *cum Musis, id est cum humanitate et cum doctrina, habeat aliquod commercium*.

²⁰ Inv. no. 132 X (4 June 1569).

²¹ Inv. no. 254 (6 July 1565).

²² Inv. no. 133 B (s.d.).

P. MACK

AGRICOLA'S DIALECTIC AND THE TRADITION OF RHETORIC

When Rudolph Agricola chose the title *De inventione dialectica* he was proclaiming his work to be a dialectic, and invention to be part of dialectic, but he was also alluding to Cicero. I have no intention of contradicting Agricola, but in this paper I wish to examine his use of some doctrines from the tradition of rhetoric. Five aspects in particular will be considered: exposition, disposition, emotional manipulation, pleasing, and style. I shall argue that in some respects Agricola's treatment of these elements resolves problems in the received version, and thus that his work, although it is not a rhetoric, represents a renewal of the tradition of rhetoric. The paper will conclude with some remarks on the impact of Agricola's work within the rhetorical tradition.¹

De inventione dialectica is an original and unified synthesis of elements drawn from the traditional contents of rhetoric and dialectic. Agricola takes over doctrines from both subjects and combines them in an original way.² This view, which is the essential context for what I shall say about rhetoric, can be substantiated from the two tables which follow. Table 1 sets out the principal contents of *De inventione dialectica* together with an indication of the sources of each.³ Table 2 lists in parallel columns the main elements of rhetoric and dialectic in the order in which they occur in the traditional courses of each subject. Alongside each

¹ For Agricola bibliography in general see *Rodolphus Agricola Phrisius 1444–1485*, 313–344 and Huisman, *Rudolph Agricola*. Kees Meerhoff has kindly drawn two other items to my attention: Otto, 'Rhetorische Techné oder Philosophie sprachlicher Darstellungskraft?', and Ilg, *Das topisch-dialektische System der Sprache*. My book *Renaissance Argument*, of which sections 3, 4 and 5 are concerned with Agricola, is complete and I hope it will be published before too long.

² I made this argument in a paper, 'Rudolph Agricola's *De inventione dialectica* as a renewal of the traditions of rhetoric and dialectic' at the conference of the International Society for the History of Rhetoric at Göttingen, July 26–29 1989, from which tables 1 and 2 below are taken.

³ Throughout this paper I am using the Cologne 1539 edition by Alardus, Huisman no. 42, reprinted Nieuwkoop 1967 and Frankfurt 1967. Page numbers in brackets in the text are to this edition. In the notes it is abbreviated as *DIID*. For this article, I have not been able to consult the new edition and German translation by Dr Lothar Mundt.



X. Portrait of Rudolph Agricola, Groningen, Groninger Museum.

list is a column giving cross-references where appropriate to show where the elements of the traditional courses appear (in part or in full) in Agricola's scheme. The number refers to the book, the letter to the section of the book keyed on the left hand side of table 1. The contents are listed in parallel so that the information is more easily visible. I don't mean to imply that elements from the different subjects which appear on the same line of table 2 are in any way related.

Table 1 The Scheme of *De inventione dialectica*

<u>Section</u>	<u>Chapter nos.</u>	<u>Sources</u>
Book 1		
A. Introductory	1	<i>Brutus</i> , Original
B. The Topics	2-27	<i>Inst. or.</i> , 5.10, Cic., <i>Top.</i> , Original (<i>De diff. top.</i> Ari., <i>Top.</i> , <i>Categ.</i>)
Book 2		
A. Introd. What is dialectic? Teaching, moving, pleasing	1-5	Original (Aristotle, <i>Partit. or.</i>)
B. Question (Matter) Divisions of the question Handling of questions	6-14	<i>De diff. top.</i> , Ari., <i>Top.</i> <i>De int.</i> , <i>Ad Her.</i> , <i>De inv.</i> , Original
C. Argumentation/ Exposition (Instrument)	15-24	<i>Ad. Her.</i> , Original, Peter of Spain, Boethius, Ari., <i>Top.</i> , <i>Soph. el.</i>
D. Practice (Treatment)	26-30	Original
Book 3		
A. Moving	1-3	<i>Rhet.</i> , <i>De or.</i> , <i>Inst. or.</i> , Original
B. Pleasing	4	<i>Poet.</i> , Original
C. Copia and brevity	5-7	<i>Inst. or.</i> , <i>Ad Her.</i>
D. Disposition	8-15	<i>Categ.</i> , <i>Inst. or.</i> , <i>Ad Her.</i> , <i>Post. Anal.</i>

Table 2 Rhetoric and Dialectic in *De inventione dialectica*

<u>Rhetoric</u>	<u>DID</u>	<u>Dialectic</u>	<u>DID</u>
Invention:		Predicables	1B
<u>Exordium</u>	2C 3D	Categories:	
Narration rules	2C passim	Substance	2B
Status theory	2B	Quantity	
Special Topics		Relatives	
(General Topics)	2B	Quality	2B
Forms of			
Argumentation	2C	Post-predicaments	3D
Refutation	2C	Proposition:	
Amplification	3C	Quantity	2B
Appeals		Quality	2B
Humour		Contraries	1B
Disposition:		Modals	2B
Varying 4 part form	3D	Syllogism:	
Argument order	3D	Figures	2C
Deliberative speech		Moods	2C
Epideictic speech		Advice	2C
Style:		Topics:	
3 Kinds		Forms of	
		Argumentation	2C
Qualities		Maxims and	
		Differences	
Tropes		List of Topics	1B
Figures		Definition	1B
Memory		Division	1B
Delivery		Sophisms:	
		Kinds	
		Strategy	

The column of cross-references in table 2 and the column of sources in table 1 show that Agricola draws material from both subjects (and from quite a range of doctrines within each). A comparison of the scheme of contents of *De inventione dialectica* in table 1 with the sequence of the traditional courses in rhetoric and dialectic in table 2 shows that Agricola's scheme is unprecedented in the traditional courses. Since there is no other model for it, it may be taken as original.

It would require a more detailed review of the contents of *De inventione dialectica* than I can attempt to *prove* in this paper that the scheme is also unified, but I can mention here a few factors which help in reaching this conclusion. The work is centred on the topics, which are presented in a new and very detailed version at the beginning (1B) and which are to be applied to the question

(formulated in 2B) to produce arguments (by methods discussed in 2D) and material for moving and pleasing (3A, 3B). Two aspects of language introduced in the first chapter recur throughout the book and give it its structure: that the functions of language are teaching, moving and pleasing; and that language can be divided into argumentation and exposition. The book is equipped with summaries and running examples which show how the different sections fit together.⁴ The summaries also emphasize the need to draw together information about subject-matter, audience and purpose at the points where decisions are to be made about which arguments to emphasize and how to organize the composition. The book can be said to be unified, in other words, both because it is centred on a small number of doctrines which recur, and because the book explains how the different aspects of writing can be (and must be) considered together.

1. Exposition

Exposition is one of the key terms which Agricola uses to bring the concerns of *De inventione dialectica* together. His concept of exposition is derived from rhetoric, from the part of the oration known as the narration. He probably took the term *expositio* from *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, which states 'narration is the exposition of the events which occurred or which might have occurred'.⁵ In this sentence *expositio* appears to be the genus to which *narratio* belongs. Thus, part of Agricola's development of the idea is a generalisation and an extension of it. In rhetoric, narration is the second element of the four part oration. In Agricola, exposition is a kind of discourse that can appear in different places in many different kinds of text. Some texts can even consist entirely of exposition.

Agricola *defines* exposition in opposition to argumentation, as a kind of discourse appropriate to an audience which follows willingly. For this audience it is enough to set out what one wants to say. He then analyses two passages from the *Aeneid* to show the stylistic difference between exposition and argumentation. Argumentation is more thickly packed than exposition, and it involves feelings which are more vehement. Exposition tends to involve a simpler, more lucid style, which depends on a careful

⁴ *DTD*, 175, 375–377, 449–450. The running example about the philosopher and his wife (also expressed as Cato and Marcia): *DTD*, 235, 247–250, 355–356, 368–372, 375–376.

⁵ *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, 1.3.4.

sequence of statements, rather than on asserting strong connections between premises and conclusions (258–260).

All the same, Agricola insists that exposition plays an important role in persuasion. By analysing the speech of Sinon, from book 2 of the *Aeneid*,⁶ he shows how persuasion (in this case misleading persuasion) can be effected by an ordering and selection of statements, which leaves to the audience the discovery of connections, and the construction of arguments (262–264).

Once he has established that exposition is a distinct stylistic form with a role in persuasion, Agricola distinguishes three uses of exposition. Exposition may please — as in poetry, or it may explain — as in history, or it may create belief — as in oratory, philosophy and textbooks (297). It is this third category, exposition which aims to create belief, with which Agricola is concerned.

Here we notice a difficulty in the argument. Agricola began by distinguishing exposition, which merely states, from argumentation, which seeks to convince. Now he finds that the part of exposition which interests him is the part which aims at creating belief. But if it aims at creating belief, that ought to make it part of argumentation. This apparent contradiction reflects a slippage which occasionally occurs in *De inventione dialectica*. Sometimes Agricola insists on the breadth of possible linguistic forms, where at other times he writes as though syllogistic argument and the four-part oration were the basic paradigms of language. I see this as a slipping back into old habits. For traditional rhetoric and dialectic syllogism *is* the paradigm of all argument and the four-part oration *is* the basic structure of all communication. Generally Agricola contests this, insisting on the value of other ways of arguing and other forms of expression, but on occasion he finds himself making the old expectations the basis for one of his points.

In the case of exposition the contradiction is not disastrous since much of what Agricola says about persuasive exposition *is* appropriate to exposition generally. Exposition which aims at creating belief must be both convincing in itself and suited to the argument being made.

In order to be convincing, an exposition must be argumentative (*argumentosa*), consistent with the facts, and consequential. The exposition will be argumentative if it includes the causes of

⁶ *Aeneid* 2, 57–198. The passage is discussed further in my 'Rudolph Agricola's Reading of Literature', 31–33.

things. It will be consistent with the facts if it agrees with the characters, places, times and events involved. It will be consequential, if the preparatory facts are set out in such a way that the conclusions follow, and that the audience is prepared for them and made ready to accept them (298–299).

Suiting the exposition to the argument you are making is much harder. It involves sorting the facts to determine which are favourable, which are neutral, and which are unfavourable. One ought to begin one's exposition with something favourable, even if that involves going some way back into the history of the case. In the same way one has to imagine what opponents would make of neutral and unfavourable facts and attempt to anticipate and disallow their interpretations (302, 306).

Agricola's account of exposition originates from, and is continually buttressed by, analysis of literary examples.⁷ In terms of the traditional rhetorical account of narration, one might say that Agricola assigns brevity and clarity to grammar, and develops the notion of plausibility within his own work, sometimes on the basis of ideas in Quintilian.⁸ It also appears that behind Agricola's generalisation of narration, and his anchoring of exposition in stylistic analysis, the old models of the four-part oration and the syllogism are waiting to reassert themselves.

2. Disposition

Agricola is conscious of the originality of his account of disposition. In the letter to Occo which announces the completion of *De inventione dialectica* he writes of having written more on disposition than any previous Latin author.⁹ In introducing his chapters he refers to the difficulty of attempting to provide rules for disposition considering that Quintilian believed it impossible to do so (413). Although disposition is one of the five tasks of the orator, the design of the traditional rhetoric syllabus means that large scale disposition is usually pre-empted by what has been done in invention. Invention is the section of rhetoric devoted to discovering the material to be used in the oration. Naturally it precedes disposition. Since, however, the invention section of the manual is always arranged in four parts corresponding to the

⁷ *DTD*, 258–260, 262–264, 299, 302–305.

⁸ *Institutio oratoria*, 4.2.52–60 contains some general remarks on making the *narratio* plausible. 4.2.76–80, 101–102 have some suggestions for difficult cases.

⁹ 'Scripsi de dispositione plura quam quisquam qui extet apud nos', Hartfelder, 'Unedierte Briefe von Rudolf Agricola', 19.

four parts of the judicial oration, by the time you get to disposition the only element of choice remaining is whether or not to upset the usual order of the four parts. This pre-empts general discussion of disposition and it also has a rather reductive effect on invention because, for the most part, at each stage of invention you are presented with a choice among two or three alternatives, depending on your view of the audience. It seems to me that this pre-empting of disposition is a major failing of the traditional account of rhetoric. Agricola improves on this by making the process of invention more open and more general, and by postponing all discussion of ordering to a stage after the main material, and the chief arguments, have been found.

Agricola's discussion of disposition begins with two fundamental theoretical distinctions. He sets out three types of order of presentation: natural order (as when one year follows the next), arbitrary order (when there is no fixed order or when we do not follow it), and artificial order (when we upset the received order and place later things first, as when Aeneas's sea voyage precedes the description of the fall of Troy (413–414).

Agricola also distinguishes four types of natural order, or four senses of priority. We speak of priority in relation to time, in relation to the necessity of existence (for example when 'animal' is prior to 'man'), in relation to place, and in relation to dignity (414). These four senses of priority seem to be taken from the discussion at the end of Aristotle's *Categories*.¹⁰

From these theoretical distinctions Agricola proceeds to consider some examples of large-scale construction. Since poetry aims chiefly at delight its order is correspondingly free. Sometimes the order of the poem follows the character speaking in the poem, sometimes it arises from the events. According to Agricola the order of the *Aeneid* follows the poet's viewpoint. Vergil wants to establish Aeneas in Africa before relating the fall of Troy and Aeneas's wanderings. Agricola points out that in Terence's *Andria*, the shipwreck of Phania, perhaps the earliest event of the story, is made known almost at the end. In history, order of time is to be preferred, but Agricola cites examples from Livy and Tacitus in which a historian will group together events connected by geography, even if that involves jumps in the temporal sequence (416–418).

In considering the order to be followed in textbooks, Agricola refers to Aristotle's instructions in *Posterior Analytics*.¹¹ He agrees

¹⁰ *Categories*, 14b9–24.

¹¹ *Posterior Analytics*, 71a1–2, 71b20–25.

that one must move from the better known to the less well known, but he is anxious to avoid spending too much time at the beginning of a work confuting previous opinions. He suggests a sequence of topics to correspond to Aristotle's progress from general to particular (418–419). Agricola also discusses some examples of alternative ways of organising textbooks, such as: the elder Pliny describing the visible creation beginning with the heavens and moving to the earth and its inhabitants, and Valerius Maximus organising his biographies according to the virtues each life exhibits. He also discusses more arbitrary orders such as those of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* and Tacitus's *Germania* (422–423). He goes on to consider Cicero's reasons for altering the normal sequence in several of his orations (426–427).

Having opened up the question of overall organisation, Agricola descends to more local disposition, discussing the considerations which dictate ordering of separate questions, ordering of separate arguments bearing on each question and ordering of propositions contributing to each argument (428–443). In each case he provides a few general principles from rhetoric and dialectic, such as the necessity of beginning and ending with something favourable (433, 438),¹² observing logical priority (429), disposing of counter arguments (438), the avoidance of excessive art (441), and then elaborates these principles through discussion of examples. The sequence ends with a discussion of ordering of questions in a disputation (which seems to involve quite a lot of disguised or misleading questioning) (446–449) and a summary of the method of disposition as follows:

Let us now bring all that pertains to disposition into some sort of summary. The first requirement for anyone who wishes to do well at disposition is that he should lay out as it were before his eyes the whole harvest of his invention, that is everything he is thinking of saying. Then he should decide carefully what he wants to bring about in the mind of the hearer. Then he should compare the things themselves, the parts of the things, the force and nature of them singly and together, first among themselves and then all together with the precepts. Then he will see without difficulty when the order of time should be followed, when things should be separated into their species and single things should be distinguished as if by certain boundaries: when one should be derived from another, depending on whichever is nearest or most suitable. Then he should determine how to please the audience, how to make his point and win it, and what order of questions, argumentations and propositions to observe. Disposition is to be treated thoroughly and with great care, since skill in this part is rightly praised. Just as

¹² Cf. *Institutio oratoria*, 7.1.10, 17, 23.

wealth, the gift of fortune, often belongs to the unwise, but the true use of it is the property of cautious and learned men: so *copia* of invention is sometimes given to ungoverned and almost mad intelligences, but beauty of disposition and order are formed by skill and judgement. Of these, as the former is a sign of a happier nature so the latter indicates a more cultivated discipline. Both are to be wished for, but the latter is more praiseworthy.¹³

In contrast to the rhetorical tradition, then, Agricola reopens the question of disposition. He insists that the ordering of material involves an act of choice on the part of the writer, which must be made on the basis of all the arguments and ideas discovered, and the purpose and circumstances of the individual work. The account begins with principles derived from literary criticism and logic, to which are added further rules and practical suggestions from *Posterior Analytics* and Quintilian, but Agricola always illustrates and modifies his principles through discussion of examples. As a whole, the account serves to emphasize the range of possibilities available, and the freedom of the author to respond to the circumstances of each assignment. Finally one would want to insist on the pedagogical value of Agricola's summary. Agricola manages to place disposition within a sequence of practical activities, as well as to offer principles, models and discussion.

3. Emotional Manipulation

Moving and pleasing are both treated quite briefly in *De inventione dialectica*, but perhaps the surprising thing is that they are included at all in what is ostensibly a dialectic manual. In spite of the importance of emotional manipulation for the theory of rhetoric, few rhetoric textbooks give more than a token account of it.¹⁴ Aristotle's *Rhetoric* discusses emotions systematically and at

¹³ 'Ut ergo quae ad dispositionem pertinent, in summam quandam redigamus, opus est in primis, quisquis bene disponere volet: ut totam inventionis suae sylvam, hoc est, omnia quaecunque dicturus est, velut conspectui suo subiiciat. Tum quid in animo auditoris efficere velit, diligenter expendat. Deinde res ipsas, rerumque partes, et vim naturamque singularum, omniumque, et inter se conferat, et cum praeceptis omnia. Tum non difficulter videbit, ubi temporum sequenda ratio, ubi per species res digerenda, et quibusdam velut limitibus singula discernenda: ubi aliud ex alio, ut quicque proximum aptissimumve fuerit, ducendum. Tum quid tribuendum voluptati, quomodo victoriae certaminique serviendum, quis quaestionum ordo, quis argumentationum, quis propositionum servandus. Est autem diligenti multaque cura tractanda dispositio, quando veram haec pars ingenii laudem meretur. Sicut enim opes, fortunae munere imprudentibus persaepe contingunt: recte autem administrare eas, circumspecti consultique viri est proprium: sic inventionis copia indomitis et insanis prope nonnunquam datur ingeniiis, decor dispositionis et ordo arte iudicioque formatur. Quorum ut illud naturae felicioris, sic hoc cultioris doctrinae signum est: optanda quidem utraque istud tamen iustius laudes.' *DID*, 449–450.

¹⁴ Solmsen, 'Aristotle and Cicero on the Orator's Playing upon the Feelings'.

length, but other rhetorics concentrate their treatment of emotion on two aspects: amplification and *fantasia* (the power of the orator to feel emotion and hence to convey it in delivery).¹⁵ The most popular basic handbooks, *Rhetorica ad Herennium* and *De inventione*, refer to emotional manipulation only in discussing the invention of material for the peroration.¹⁶

Agricola first introduces moving as an aim of language in the first chapter of book 1, in which he is most concerned to show that the primary concern of dialectic is teaching, which is achieved through using the topics (1). In chapter four of book 2 he argues that material for arousing emotions is derived from the topics. He analyses a passage from the *Aeneid* to show how an emotional effect can be secured by piling in and repeating logically connected material discovered through the topics. He argues that the skill which Cicero and the tragic poets show in arousing emotion is related to their skill in discovering logical connections (198–199).

Taking the example of pity, he argues that it springs from two propositions: that something which has happened or which is about to happen is harsh, and that the person involved is undeserving of this unpleasant experience. Then he analyses the peroration to *Pro Milone* paragraph by paragraph to show that all Cicero's manoeuvres are different ways of establishing, dwelling on and repeating these two propositions (199–201). The theory comes from Aristotle; though it is also repeated in Cicero's *De oratore*,¹⁷ but the analysis of this much discussed passage from *Pro Milone* is pointed and original. In book 3 he enlarges on his basic theory of emotion, adding a definition and some reflections on how to handle the nature of the thing which has happened or is about to happen, and the character of the individual involved. The principal emotions aroused in orations and other compositions are hatred and pity. The speaker will rapidly be able to work out from his intention and from his knowledge of the subject-matter and the audience which of these emotions is called for (378–380).

Agricola considers examples in which emotion is imitated stylistically, and in which it is aroused using a combination of logical consequence, piled-in arguments and descriptions, and appropri-

Brian Vickers, on the other hand, regards emotional manipulation as the key constituent of all rhetorics, *In Defence of Rhetoric*, 74–77, 276–286, 295–305.

¹⁵ Aristotle, *Rhetoric*, 2.2–11. *De oratore*, 2.44.185–53.214. *Institutio oratoria*, 6.2.20–36.

¹⁶ *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, 2.30.47–31.50. *De inventione*, 1.53.100–56.109.

¹⁷ *Rhetoric*, 1385b11ff. *De oratore*, 2.51.206ff.

ate language. This leads on to his discussion of amplification (382–384).

Because quickly aroused emotions can also subside quickly it is important to build up emotional reactions gradually. This is the function of amplification — making a subject seem worthy of great emotion. One can make something seem great by showing that it is essential to preserving what the particular audience, or people in general, already regard as important. Things can be made to seem great by comparisons and by lively descriptions. The topics are helpful in both these approaches (386–389).

One can find similarities between Agricola's discussion of amplification and the four methods of amplification recommended by Quintilian.¹⁸ However, Quintilian treats amplification as part of style, where Agricola treats it as a product of reasoning — effected by logical connections and comparisons.

It is this importing of dialectic into the handling of emotions which is Agricola's most distinctive contribution. In establishing conditions for an emotion he is simplifying from Aristotle. In his theory of piling in more and more arguments and details, he is characteristically working from close analysis of examples. Earlier accounts of emotion had laid great stress on the imagination of the speaker, on his or her need to feel emotions in order to communicate them.¹⁹ This is rather the way in which we might speak of a great actor or actress. Agricola's account is more generative and more explanatory than that, and it presents a procedure which anyone ought to be able to follow. It lacks the elements of mystery and individual talent, but that reflects Agricola's interest in treating emotional manipulation as part of invention, rather than as part of delivery.

4. Pleasing

Pleasing is the third function of language identified at the beginning of the work (1). In book 2, pleasing is excluded from dialectic and assigned to rhetoric on the grounds that it depends entirely on the audience. In book 3, however, pleasing becomes part of Agricola's subject since it plays a role in the content of a work and since things which it would otherwise be wrong to include, can become strokes of genius if they delight the audience and make them more attentive (394, 205). Pleasing has two

¹⁸ Augmentation, comparison, reasoning and accumulation, *Institutio oratoria*, 8.4.3–27.

¹⁹ E.g. *Institutio oratoria*, 6.2.30–35, 26–27.

aspects: expression and content. Under content, Agricola gives a list of things which please (whatever is great, admirable, unexpected, the investigation of things which are hidden, information about antiquity or far away places, famous sayings, deeds of great men). He explains how these can be brought into what we are writing through comparisons, metaphors, oblique beginnings, and through digressions (394–396). In considering how pleasure may arise from the way something is expressed Agricola is led into a more general discussion of aesthetics.

In this aspect the first thing is that the work (*oratio*) should contain strong emotions, conversations of character, plans and unexpected outcomes of issues. Although these things may seem to belong to the subject-matter, the fact that they please comes from the expression. The reason is, that if we see those same things, for the most part, they not only do not please, but actually offend; therefore in a piece of writing (*oratio*) the pleasure is not so much in the thing itself as in the imitative language which it is expressed by. And just as in painting, most things are very pleasing solely because of the imitation, and we admire not so much the subject-matter, which is shown in the painting, as the skill of the imitator. Similarly when in a written composition (*oratio*), words are given to characters according to the nature and condition of each, and a representation (*figura*) of minds and all their emotions is shaped, and the language succeeds in accomplishing this effect, that the subject-matter seems not to be expressed but rather enacted and, through a sort of imaginative illusion, the mind of the listener establishes itself as though in the midst of the action and its upheavals. This, because it comes about by virtue of the language and not by the nature of the subject-matter should therefore correctly be attributed to language. Of all (types of writing) the poem is most capable of this charm. Because the language does not follow from the subject-matter, but rather the subject-matter is suited to the delight of language, and, everything is shaped so as to be most pleasurable, therefore the poem has the greatest freedom to strive for this beauty in language. History is next, more severe and more perplexed as to how it can divert and still preserve the truth. A political speech, both in narrations and even while arguing, attributes emotions and their expression to true or imagined characters, and it indulges itself to no small degree in this gracefulness of language. Nor indeed did the philosophers lack this good quality, in their dialogues. One can see in Plato that the disputing characters are so carefully shaped that you seem not to hear the words but to watch the expressions, not of Plato but of his characters.²⁰

²⁰ 'Qua in parte primum est, ut habeat oratio motus animorum, colloquia personarum, consilia eventusque rerum inopinatos. Quae quidem quanquam ad res pertinere possint videri, ex oratione tamen capiunt, quod delectant. Argumento est, quod eadem haec magna ex parte, si videamus, non modo non

The passage begins by transferring commonplaces about painterly imitation to the verbal arts.²¹ The idea of mimesis is then extended so that the words spoken, the reality implied, and the mind of the listener are envisaged as a series of reflecting imitations. This has interesting consequences for the valuation and writing of poetry and history.

After his theoretical discussion, Agricola devotes three chapters to techniques for pleasing. As always, the principles he establishes are elaborated and refined by analysis of examples. These three chapters constitute the first attempt to give a separate treatment of *copia* and brevity as two different ideals of style (400–411).²²

5. Style

In formal terms Agricola excludes style from *De inventione dialectica* since he believes style to be the main concern of rhetoric, which he describes as preoccupied with ‘embellishment and elegance of language and all the baits for capturing ears’.²³

delectent, sed offendant: idcirco in oratione, non tam res ipsa, quam imitatio orationis qua exprimuntur ista, voluptati est. Et quemadmodum in pictura, pleraque gratissima sunt propter solam imitationem, nec tam rem (quae pictura expressa est) quam ingenium miramur imitantis: sic cum in oratione, personis sua pro cuiusque natura conditioneque verba tribuuntur, et animorum affectuumque omnium figura effingitur, idque consequitur oratio, ut non dici sed agi videatur res, et inani quadam imagine audientis animus velut medium se ipse intra actum iactationemque rerum constituit, id quoniam sit orationis virtute, non rerum natura, idcirco est etiam orationi iuretribuendum. Cuius quidem gratiae capacissimum est omnium, poema. Quia enim non rem sequitur oratio, sed voluptati orationis res aptatur, utque maxime placitura sunt sic omnia finguntur, idcirco summa est ei captandae venustatis istius in oratione libertas. Proxima est historia, severior tamen et contractionis frontis, ut quam, illesa veritate, ludere oporteat. Civilis etiam oratio in narrationibus, saepe etiam et inter argumentandum, vel veris personis vel fictis, affectus suaeque verba tribuit, et non parum hac orationis gratia sibi indulget. Ne in dialogis quidem philosophi expertes huius laudes fuere. Est apud Platonem videre, tam diligenter effectas disserentes personas, ut non Platonis sed personae, non verba audire, sed vultus intueri videaris.’ *DID*, 396–397.

²¹ Pliny the Elder, *Historia Naturalis*, 34.38; 35.60–61, 65–66. Baxandall, *Giotto and the Orators*, esp. text IV, and his discussion of it, 70–78, *Painting and Experience in Fifteenth-Century Italy*, 117–121. *Poetics* 1448b4f is most pertinent, but Agricola may not to have known it.

²² In Cicero and Quintilian *copia* had been an incidental term implying success in inventing material with the idea of ‘a broad range of ideas and arguments’ rather than ‘a style which is thick in texture’, which seems to be the renaissance sense. Erasmus’s methods for producing *copia* of thought can be derived from the chapters of *DID* on *copia* and amplification. *De oratore*, 1.19.85, 2.14.58; *Institutio oratoria*, 5.10.100, 7. proem. 1, 10.1.69, 10.5.3; *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, 1.1.1.

²³ ‘...ornatum orationis cultumque et omnes capiendarum aurium illecebras...’, *DID*, 192.

However, Agricola often finds himself involved in discussions which have a bearing on style. We have seen how he used stylistic analysis to make his fundamental distinction between exposition and argumentation (258–260). He considered the vocabulary associated with emotions, and the stylistic means for the depiction of people in the grip of emotions (382–383). In the same way style was involved in his theoretical discussion of pleasing and in the practical instructions for *copia* and brevity (396–411). Some of his topics involve features often treated as aspects of style — for example his discussions of etymology, similars and comparisons.²⁴

Two points may be made about this. Firstly, in spite of his theoretical exclusion of style, in practice Agricola has to treat aspects of style as part of his analysis of thinking. He is aware that decisions about the invention of material involve decisions about language use. Secondly, in his discussions of argumentation and exposition, *copia* and brevity, Agricola investigates the tone and texture of language. In so doing he is laying the groundwork for an approach to style which differs from (and which may have more explanatory power than) rhetoric's traditional account of the three styles and the numerous tropes and figures.²⁵

So far, then, I have been arguing that many of the preoccupations of *De inventione dialectica* have their sources in rhetoric. I have tried to show that Agricola often handles issues from rhetoric in original and unexpected ways, that he combines close analysis of text examples with theoretical observations drawn from a range of sources, and that he provides procedures and sequences for putting his observations into practice. It is particularly striking that doctrines from dialectic are often used to clarify points in rhetoric, for example when he uses *Categories* and *Posterior Analytics* in his discussion of disposition, or when the topics and argumentation are brought into his thoughts about moving and pleasing. The same point could be made in reverse in that when he discusses the *quaestio*, Agricola combines status theory with teaching from *De interpretatione* and when he discusses argumentation he makes use of the criteria of style and usefulness. I am

²⁴ *DID*, 117–119, 132–146.

²⁵ Although the treatment of style is one of the constant features of the rhetoric manual, the three levels of style seem inadequate to analysing the available range of styles (compare, for example, Agricola's remarks on the stylistic differences between the three best known Roman satirists, *DID*, 382–383) while the figures are too numerous for most purposes (and there are too many confusions of terminology).

not arguing that Agricola's dialectic is really a rhetoric. Rather I am trying to insist that Agricola is concerned with thinking and the thinking part of expressing oneself, and that this involves him in combining rhetoric, dialectic and his own observations, at the local level, as well as in the structure of his work.

But I want to end with some observations about Agricola's *Nachleben* in the rhetorical tradition. I think it would be fair to say that recent research has identified two waves in the early influence of Agricola in the sixteenth century. Lisa Jardine has been studying the group of Louvain humanists who first published Agricola's writings.²⁶ Kees Meerhoff has been looking at a group of rhetoric teachers who taught in the arts faculty at Cologne, several of whom then went on to Paris.²⁷ This group includes Phrissemius (the author of the first commentary on *De inventione dialectica*), Latomus (who wrote the most important of the epitomes), Omphalius, and by association also Sturm (who was not in Cologne, but who met Omphalius at Louvain and whom Ramus names as the first to teach Agricola in Paris).²⁸ These men were employed primarily as teachers of rhetoric and they taught *De inventione dialectica* in part because they found it a dialectic course which was suited to their aims in rhetoric. Paradoxically therefore, and this comes out in the commentary and the epitomes, even though they taught rhetoric alongside dialectic, they were more interested in the dialectical side of *De inventione dialectica*. They tended to neglect many of Agricola's teachings on the rhetorical side because they planned to teach that in a less radical way, basing themselves on the established classical rhetoric manuals and on Erasmus's *De copia*. This doesn't prevent Latomus, for example, echoing Agricola and writing of dialectical invention as a separate subject;²⁹ but it may explain the way in which Phrissemius's commentary and the epitomes are weighted towards the dialectical material at the expense of the rhetorical content.

There are, however, two other ways that I know of in which

²⁶ This will be the subject of her forthcoming book, *Distinctive Discipline*. I am grateful to Professor Jardine for showing me a draft of the early chapters. See her contribution to *Rodolphus Agricola Phrisius 1444–1485*.

²⁷ This forms the subject of a paper he has given at the International Society for the History of Rhetoric. I am grateful to Professor Meerhoff for showing me a copy of this paper. It may be published separately or it may form part of his forthcoming book on Melanchthon.

²⁸ On all these authors, see *Contemporaries of Erasmus*.

²⁹ B. Latomus, *Epitome commentariorum dialecticae inventionis Rodolphi Agricolae*, Paris 1548 (Huisman no. 61), a2r-v. Compare Alardus, *DID*, a3vff.

rhetorical teachings of Agricola were taken up, and there may have been others. Kees Meerhoff has suggested that Omphalius's commentary on *Pro Lege Manilia* seems to take its lead from Agricola.³⁰ There is also an interesting use of Agricola in some sixteenth century editions of Erasmus's *Parabolae*, as Margolin has shown in his edition of that work.³¹ Lycosthenes's edition of the *Parabolae*, first published in Basel in 1557, which reorganises the similes and gives more precise references, also adds to the prefatory materials. In particular, Lycosthenes quotes Agricola's whole chapter on comparisons, one of the most acute chapters in the topics section of *De inventione dialectica*. This is a very apposite and intelligent inclusion on Lycosthenes's part and it may have brought one of Agricola's most interesting passages to the attention of many late sixteenth century readers, since this edition was reprinted many times.

What I am suggesting then is that people who are employed to teach rhetoric are an important channel for Agricola's influence. The preference for his work shown by some of them got *De inventione dialectica* established in Cologne and Paris, the two cities in which the work was most often printed in the sixteenth century. This channel may have acted as a restraint on the influence of the rhetorical aspects of *De inventione dialectica* but it may also have opened for the work other avenues of influence, which are less predictable and which may have been more widely diffused.³²

³⁰ Agricola's commentary is printed at *DD*, 461–471. Omphalius's appeared in Paris in 1534.

³¹ Erasmus, *Opera omnia* (ASD), I.V, 34–54.

³² I am extremely grateful to Fokke and Frouke Akkerman, Gerda Huisman and Arjo Vanderjagt for their hospitality, friendship and encouragement during my stay in Groningen.



XI. Porträt von Regnerus Praedinius in *Effigies & vitae Professorum Academiae Groningae & Omlandiae*, Groningen 1654.

F. POSTMA

REGNERUS PRAEDINIUS (c.1510–1559),
SEINE SCHULE UND SEIN EINFLUSS¹

Die Stadt Groningen nannte im vorigen Jahrhundert eine Strasse und eine Schule nach ihm und ehrte so das Andenken des berühmten Schulrektors des 16. Jahrhunderts, Regnerus Praedinius.² Mit dieser Ehrenbezeugung knüpfte die damalige Stadtverwaltung an eine schon lange bestehenden Tradition an. Denn noch keine vier Jahre nach Praedinius' Tod, im Februar 1563, erklärte sein Schüler der Baseler Hochschullehrer Johannes Acronius, im Vorwort seiner der Groninger Stadtregierung gewidmeten Ausgabe der *Opera omnia*³ des Praedinius, diesen für einen eben so grossen Mann zu halten wie die zwei berühmten Groninger vor ihm: Wessel Gansfort und Rudolf Agricola. Wie diese zwei grossen Gelehrten hatte Praedinius die Stadt Groningen in der Fremde berühmt gemacht. Und wie er ihre Leben beschrieben hatte, so verdiente auch Praedinius eine eigene Biographie.

Und dann, damit Ihr, die Ihr Gelehrten seid und Gelehrten hegt, imstande sein werdet ihn zu verbinden mit und auf den gleichen Rang zu stellen als Eure berühmten Mitbürger Herr Wessel und Rudolf Agricola, von denen er in seiner Erläuterung zum siebten Kapitel des Lukasevangeliums erklärt hat, nach bestem Wissen und Gewissen Biographien geschrieben zu haben, hoffe ich, dass ein gelehrter Mann, der den Praedinius gut gekannt hat, auch dessen Leben ihren Leben zufügt. Denn diese drei Männer haben Eurer auch in anderen Hinsichten reich blühenden und sehr edlen Stadt sehr viel Lob in der Welt draussen verschafft.⁴

¹ Ich danke meinem Kollegen Dr. R. Ebeling für seine Hilfe bei der Übersetzung dieses Aufsatzes ins Deutsche.

² In der niederländischen Geschichtsschreibung hat die Gestalt des Praedinius bisher wenig Beachtung gefunden. In den Gesamtdarstellungen der Geschichte Groningens und der niederländischen Reformation greift man noch immer auf die Dissertation Diest Lorgions, *Verhandeling over Regnerus Praedinius* (1862) zurück sowie auf die paar Seiten, die Lindeboom ihm in *Het Bijbelsch Humanisme in Nederland* (1913), 167–172 widmet. Die einzige Veröffentlichung über Praedinius in jüngster Zeit ist Dankbaar, 'Dubbel duel te Groningen: Luther contra Erasmus en Praedinius contra Luther'.

³ *Regneri Praedinii Frisii Groningensis, viri clarissimi atque doctissimi, Scholae quondam Groningae Rectoris, Opera, quae supersunt, Omnia*, Basileae, per Ioannem Oporinum [1563]. Hiernach zitiert als: Praedinius, *Opera* 1563.

⁴ 'Deinde ut vos, qui et docti estis doctosque amatis et fovetis ipsum coniun-

Leider hat sich Acronius' Wunsch nicht erfüllt. Keiner von Praedinius' Zeitgenossen hat uns von ihm eine Lebensbeschreibung hinterlassen. Ein Fehlen um so grösser wenn wir bedenken, dass Praedinius am Ende seines Lebens nur seine religiösen Schriften gut genug fand um zu bewahren und dass er alle anderen vernichtete.⁵ Wohl erschien fünf Jahre nach Acronius' Ausgabe der *Opera omnia*, im Jahre 1568, in Genf bei dem bekannten Martyrologen und Verleger südniederländischer Herkunft, Jean Crespin, eine Neuauflage der Werke des Praedinius.⁶ Crespin widmete seine Ausgabe den Schülern des Praedinius, von denen einige während ihres Studiums in Genf bei ihm gewohnt hatten.⁷ In seinem sich auf ihre Informationen stützenden Vorwort zeichnet er Praedinius als den wahren christlichen Gelehrten, bei dem das Betreiben der weltlichen Wissenschaften Hand in Hand geht mit dem Studium der Theologie. Beide unterstützen sich und durchdringen einander. Zugleich enthält Crespins *Praefatio* — und dies ist wichtig — einige interessante Einzelheiten über Praedinius' Leben, die nirgendwo sonst mitgeteilt werden und so das Fehlen einer Biographie einigermassen wettmachen.

Ein christlicher Gelehrter vom gleichen Rang wie Agricola und Gansfort, das war, so dürfen wir nach dem Vorgehenden schliessen, die Vorstellung, die man in Groningen und darüberhinaus von Praedinius hatte. Dieses Bild, protestantisch eingefärbt, ist seitdem massgebend geblieben. Wir finden es um 1600 bei kalvinistischen Intellektuellen wie Johannes Arcerius und Doede van Amsweer,⁸ und es erhielt seine offizielle Sanktion 1654, als die 1614 gegründete Universität anlässlich ihres vierzigjährigen

gatis, eodemque loco habeatis cum doctissimis et clarissimis vestris, D. Wesselo et Rodolpho Agricola quorum etiam vitas in Enarratione septimi Capitis D. Lucae ait se ingenue conscripsisse, utinam nunc aliquis doctus, qui Regnerum optime novit, et ipsius vitam illorum vitae adiungat. Tres enim hi viri vestrae Reipublicae Groningensi, alioquin florentissimae nobilissimaeque, plurimum laudis apud externos addiderunt.' Praedinius, *Opera* 1563, Praefatio, α3v–α4r.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Praefatio, α2v.

⁶ Wahrscheinlich weil das sechsjährige Privileg des Oporinus noch nicht abgelaufen war, erhielt diese Edition als neuen Titel eine Aufzählung der wichtigsten Schriften des Praedinius: *De fidei antecessoribus etc. . . . Regnero Praedinius Frisio Groningensi Autore. Quibus subiunctae sunt nonnullae aliae eiusdem Autoris commentationes*, . . . I. Crispini. M.D.LXVIII. Hiernach zitiert als: Praedinius, *Commentationes* 1568. Siehe für Crespin: Gilmont, *Jean Crespin. Un éditeur réformé du XVIe siècle*.

⁷ Praedinius, *Commentationes* 1568, Praefatio, *iir. Zu diesen Schülern des Praedinius vgl. weiter: Feith & Feith, 'Reisjournaal van Jr. Frederik Coenders van Helpen', 141–142.

⁸ 'Et postmodum in schola vestra clarissimo doctissimoque et piissimae memoriae

Bestehen einen Band mit Biographien ihrer Professoren veröffentlichte. Diese Festschrift beginnt mit den Lebensbeschreibungen von Agricola, Gansfort und Praedinius.⁹

Im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert nahmen die Darsteller der religiösen Ansichten des Praedinius, J.J. Diest Lorgion, und der Kenner des biblischen Humanismus hiezulande, J. Lindeboom, wiederum denselben Standpunkt ein: Praedinius verbindet mit seinen evangelischen Auffassungen das vom Humanismus und der *Devotio Moderna* geprägte Groningen des 15. Jahrhunderts mit dem calvinistischen Groningen der niederländischen Republik.¹⁰

Wie fast alle traditionellen Geschichtsvorstellungen hat auch das hier beschriebene Bild von Praedinius den Vorteil der Einfachheit. Eine komplizierte geschichtliche Realität wird auf Mass geschnitten und dadurch für unser Begriffsvermögen fassbar. Der harte Kern dieser Vorstellung ist ohne Zweifel Praedinius' Gefühl der Verbundenheit mit seinen beiden Vorgängern. Es inspirierte ihn zum Schreiben ihrer Biographien, und auch in anderer Hinsicht hat er sich bemüht, die Erinnerung an Agricola und Gansfort lebendig zu halten. Insbesondere mit Wessel Gansfort fühlte er sich verwandt. So erzählte er seinen Schülern, was er in seiner Schulzeit von seinem Lehrmeister, Gansforts ehemaligem *famulus* Goswinus van Halen, über jenen gehört hatte;¹¹ und Besucher wie 1557 der Rostocker Gelehrte David Chytraeus, durften einen Blick auf seinen teuersten Besitz werfen, Gansforts Unterkiefer, den er wie eine Reliquie bewahrte.¹² Praedinius'

homine ἀρχιδιάσκαλῳ D. Regnero Praedinio (quem honoris causa nomino, cujusque nunquam non libentissime jucundissimeque, ut et Rodolphi Agricolae nostri et Vesseli, cui vulgo cognomentum erat Gansevoet, manium recordor) institutus, et ad hasce literas illo quasi μυσσηγέτωι et Mystagogo adductus sim: . . . Arcerius, *Jamblichi Chalcidensis & Protrepticae Orationes ad Philosophiam lib. II* (1598), Praefatio. Zur Urteil Amsweers über Praedinius vgl. *Een trouwhertige ende droevige vermaninghe aen de Verstroyde Wigheweken* (1612).

⁹ *Effigies et vitae Professorum Academiae Groningae et Omlandiae*, Groningen 1654, 12–18.

¹⁰ Vgl. Diest Lorgion, *Praedinius*, 85–86. Siehe für Lindebooms Urteil über Praedinius die prägnante Aussage auf S. 169 seines *Het Bijbelsch Humanisme in Nederland*: 'In Praedinius zien wij de zwerige geestesbeschaving van den humanist al bedenkelijk wijken voor het stijve exclusivisme van den gereformeerden predikant.'

¹¹ Siehe die in Anm. 73 angeführte stelle.

¹² 'et in familiari colloquio de Wesselo (cuius ossa inferioris maxillae, velut reliquias sacras, mihi monstrabat) de Luthero, de Erasmo Roterodamo, de Religionis emendatione nostro tempore facta, et de Anabaptistarum in vicino Groningensi agro, varijs ac monstrosis sectis, sermones adhuc in auribus mei ἐναυλοῖ sonant.' Chytraeus, *Saxonia ab anno Christi 1500* (1611), 520.

Gefühle waren aufrichtig, aber wir würden ihn völlig missverstehen, wenn wir in ihm einen zweiten Gansfort sähen. Dafür waren die Unterschiede zwischen den beiden Männern zu gross. Praedinius' Werk hatte einen eigenen Charakter, und sein Leben spielte sich, im Gegensatz zu dem des durch Europa ziehenden Theologen Gansfort, nahezu völlig innerhalb der Mauern Groningens ab. Trotz dieser Unterschiede aber verglichen seine Zeitgenossen ihn am Ende seines Lebens mit Gansfort und Agricola und sahen in ihm einen Befürworter der Reformation.

Praedinius' lebenslängliche Bindung an Groningen begann in der Schule. Wahrscheinlich kurz nach 1520 verliess der junge Regnerus seinen Geburtsort Winsum und kam in das grossstädtische Groningen, wo die Brüder des Gemeinen Lebens ihn in ihren Konvikt aufnahmen. Dieser Konvikt hat in Praedinius' Schulerziehung eine grosse Rolle gespielt. Leiter war der Rektor des Fraterhauses, der eben erwähnte Goswinus van Halen, und innerhalb der Mauern des Konviktes geschah das Gleiche wie in den anderen Konvikten der Bruderschaft. Nachdem sie am Tage in die Schule gegangen waren, repetierten die Konviktuale unter Goswinus' und seiner Mitarbeiter Aufsicht ihre Hausaufgaben für den nächsten Tag.¹³

Die Schule, in die Praedinius und seine Mitschüler gingen — unter ihnen befand sich der spätere Reformator Hardenberg¹⁴ — war die Sankt-Martins-Schule, die Stadtschule bei der damals noch neuen Sankt-Martins-Kirche, wo Nicolaus Lesdorp Rektor war. Das Groninger Schulwesen hatte einen guten Ruf. Graf Enno II. von Ostfriesland zum Beispiel hielt 1529 den Groninger Unterricht für ebenso gut wie den der berühmten Schulen von Deventer und Zwolle.¹⁵ Es ist jedoch schwierig festzustellen, wie die Verhältnisse während Praedinius' Schulzeit wirklich waren.

¹³ Im Gegensatz zu Diest Lorgion, der meint, dass das Fraterhaus eine eigene lateinische Schule besass, bin ich der Meinung, dass das nicht der Fall war. Die wichtigsten Indizien dafür sind das Fehlen von Urkunden im Archiv des Fraterhauses bezüglich einer derartigen Schule sowie der Plan der Groninger Stadtregierung von 1594, nicht nur die Sankt-Martins-Schule wieder einzurichten, sondern auch die alte Unterrichtsanstalt im Fraterhaus mit ihren Lehrern und Aufsehern (*cum lectoribus ac inspectoribus*) wieder ins Leben zu rufen. Vgl. *Inventaris van het klerken- of fraterhuis te Groningen*, und Roos, *Ubbo Emmius, Programma bij de aanvaarding van het rectoraat der latijnse school te Groningen*, 9. Siehe auch: Mars, 'De latijnse school en het fraterhuis te Harderwijk', 154ff.

¹⁴ Diest Lorgion, *Praedinius*, 37.

¹⁵ '... alsdan willen wy mit vlite darna trachten, dat to Norden ein gemene lavelicke particular (lateinische Schule, F.P.) na Ordeninge als to Zwolle, Deventer, Gröningen oder süs opgerechtet weerde.' Bartels, *Abriss einer Geschichte des Schulwesens in Ostfriesland*, 6.

War die Sankt-Martins-Schule eine Schule mit einer zweijährigen Oberstufe, wie die Schule in Zwolle und sicherlich auch die Deventer Sankt-Lebuinus-Schule, wo bereits ein Teil des universitären Artesunterrichts gegeben wurde?¹⁶ Es könnte sein. Lesdorp war ein Schüler des grossen Erneuerers der Deventer Schulpraxis, Alexander Hegius, und Praedinius begann sein Universitätsstudium nicht im üblichen Alter von vierzehn Jahren, sondern als Sechzehnjähriger mit Kenntnis des Griechischen, was für die Anwesenheit einer solchen Oberstufe in der Sankt-Martins-Schule spricht.¹⁷ Es ist aber ebenfalls möglich, dass Praedinius diese Ausbildung im Fraterhaus als eine Art von Privatunterricht von Goswinus van Halen erhalten hat. Van Halen war auch ein Schüler von Hegius und sicherlich ein grösserer Gelehrte als Lesdorp. Ausserdem lässt die von ihm hinterlassene literarische Produktion auf ein ziemliches Mass an frei verfügbarer Zeit schliessen. Eher als der als Rektor vielbeschäftigte Lesdorp war Van Halen wahrscheinlich in der Lage, einige begabte Schüler auf die Universität vorzubereiten.¹⁸

Wichtiger jedoch als die Frage der intellektuellen Ausbildung ist die geistige Beeinflussung des Praedinius durch Goswinus van Halen. Diese weist unmissverständlich in humanistische und erasmianische Richtung, obwohl auch evangelische Akzente nicht fehlen. Der aus dem limburgischen Haelen stammende Goswinus war ein bedeutender Mann im Groningen des jungen Praedinius.¹⁹ Er war mit dem Leiter der städtischen Politik, der mächtigen Persona der Sankt-Martins-Kirche, Wilhelmus Frederici, befreundet,²⁰ und verkörperte wie kein anderer in der Stadt die Bindung mit der Blütezeit des Groninger Humanismus im letzten Viertel des fünfzehnten Jahrhunderts. Im Gefolge von Agricola und Gansfort hatte er die Abtei von Aduard besucht und dort

¹⁶ Post, *Scholen en onderwijs in Nederland gedurende de middeleeuwen*, 99–101. Einen Hinweis auf eine zweijährige Oberstufe zu jener Zeit in Zwolle und Deventer stellt auch das friesische Gutachten von 1523 für Karl V. dar, in Franeker 'to legghen eijnen Universiteit off eijnen Schole glijck Swoll of tho Deventer is . . .' Zitiert bei Postma, 'Friese intellectuelen en patronage in de zestiende eeuw', 115.

¹⁷ Akkerman, 'Onderwijs en geleerdheid in Groningen tussen 1469 en 1614', 22.

¹⁸ Diese Annahme findet bei Gerdes Unterstützung: 'Praedinius in ea quae Groningae erat Domo Fratrum Hieronymianorum liberalium artium ac disciplinarum studio est innutritus . . .'. Gerdes, *Historia reformationis sive annales evangelii*, III, 192.

¹⁹ Für Goswinus van Halen noch immer massgebend: Van Rhijn, 'Goswinus van Halen'.

²⁰ Zu Wilhelmus Frederici vgl.: Zuidema, *Wilhelmus Frederici*.

den Zusammenkünften des sogenannten Aduarder Kreises beige-wohnt, von denen er am Ende seines Lebens noch so beein-druckt war, dass er das damalige Aduard 'eine Akademie' nannte.²¹ Dennoch war Goswinus nicht ein Mann der Vergangenheit. Er kannte Erasmus und korrespondierte während Praedinius' Schulzeit mit Luthers Kollegen Melanchthon. Für Letzteren verfasste er seinen von J.B. Kan veröffentlichten Lebensbericht *Agricolae*,²² während er den Wittenberger gleichzeitig über Gansforts und *Agricolae* Kritik an der Kirche informierte.²³

Diese aufgeschlossene evangelische Haltung ist wahrscheinlich das Wichtigste gewesen, das Goswinus seinen Schülern mitgegeben hat. Damit war er übrigens noch keineswegs ein Anhänger der Reformation. In seinem berühmten für Hardenberg 1528 er-stellten Gutachten über die guten Autoren zum Beispiel, ist der traditionelle Unterschied zwischen Geistlichen und Laien noch völlig intakt.²⁴ Zwar hat auch Hardenberg alle von den Humanis-ten gelesenen Autoren zu kennen, aber als Mönch — Harden-berg war nach der Schule in die Abtei von Aduard eingetreten — sollte er auch andere Akzente setzen als der humanistische Laie. Die Warnung steckt schon im Beginn:

Aber nach meinem Urteil genügt es, Ovid und derartige Schriftsteller einmal gelesen zu haben. Vergil, Horaz und Terenz hat man mehr Aufmerksamkeit zu widmen, wenn Leute unseres Standes sich über-haupt mit Dichtern beschäftigen müssen.

In dieser im übrigen wie ein humanistischer Topos klingen-den Autorenauferzählung fällt ferner die Bedeutung auf, die Goswinus dem Bibelstudium und der Kenntnis der Kirchenväter beimisst. Augustin steht dabei für ihn an erster Stelle, und zwar vor Hieronymus, Ambrosius, Chrysostomos, Gregor (von Nyssa?) und den grossen mittelalterlichen Theologen Bernhard von Clairvaux und Hugo von St. Victor. Die weltlichen Autoren hat Goswinus nicht in eine bestimmte Reihenfolge gebracht. Doch fällt auch hier der fortschrittliche Charakter des Groninger Humanismus auf. Neben römischen Autoren wie die für das Latein unentbehrlichen Cicero und Sallust, erwähnt Goswinus nämlich auch die Griechen Plutarch, Thucydides, Herodot, Plato und

²¹ Van Halen an Hardenberg, Groningen, 1528: Gansfort, *Opera*, **4r.

²² 'De Rhod. Agricola', in Kan, ed., *Wesseli Groningensis, Rhodolphi Agricolae, Erasmi Roterodami Vitae*, 5–9.

²³ Van Rhijn, 'Goswinus van Halen', 8.

²⁴ 'Sed, meo iudicio, satis est semel legisse Ovidium et quidquid ejus est farinae. Virgilio, Horatio, Terentio majus est studium impendendum: si ullum est studium nostrae conditionis hominibus Poëtis impendendum.' Gansfort, *Opera*, **5r.

Aristoteles. Autoren, die, Aristoteles ausgenommen, den meisten westeuropäischen Intellektuellen zu diesem Zeitpunkt nur dem Namen nach bekannt waren.

Wahrscheinlich kurz nach dem Sommer 1526 hat Praedinius sich von Goswinus und seinen Mitbrüdern verabschiedet. Wir finden ihn im Herbst jenes Jahres als Student in Löwen, wo er sich am 18. Oktober zusammen mit drei anderen Groningern an der Universität immatrikulierte.²⁵ Seine Absicht war, so dürfen wir annehmen, sich in Löwen auf dem Lehrerberuf vorzubereiten. Ob er dabei schon an eine Stellung in Groningen dachte, wird von Crespin in seiner Praefatio — unsere einzige literarische Quelle für Praedinius' Aufenthalt in der brabantischen Universitätsstadt — nicht mitgeteilt. Unwahrscheinlich ist dies jedoch nicht angesichts der abrupten Weise, in der man Praedinius noch vor dem Ende seines Studiums nach Groningen zurückrief, um ihn zum Rektor der Sankt-Martins-Schule zu ernennen:

Nicht so lange danach in sein Vaterland zurückgerufen, erhielt er, obwohl noch nicht völlig erwachsen, den Auftrag, das Rektorat der Groninger Schule zu übernehmen.²⁶

Besonders das 'iussus est' ('erhielt er den Auftrag') kann als ein Hinweis auf frühere Vereinbarungen zwischen Praedinius und der Groninger Stadtregierung interpretiert werden.

Dass Praedinius in Löwen studiert hat und nicht an der von Groningern und Friesen ebenfalls stark besuchten Universität von Köln, ist kennzeichnend für die Modernität und Weltklugheit seiner Mentoren. Während Köln 1526 noch eine vorwiegend mittelalterliche Universität war, stand Löwen dank des 1517 unter Aufsicht von Erasmus gegründeten *Collegium Trilingue* in der Vorhut der humanistischen Bewegung Europas. Wollte man in Groningen Ware für sein Geld bekommen, dann war Praedinius' Ausbildung an diesem Institut eine zwingende Notwendigkeit. Nirgendwo in Europa waren die Möglichkeiten, die Bibel und die Antiken nach der neuen, von Erasmus propagierten philologischen Methode zu studieren, so gut wie hier. Zwar muss gleich hinzugefügt werden, dass die Proteste der Verfechter der alten mystischen Methoden der Textauslegung noch immer nicht verstummt waren, doch hatten diese auf Praedinius keine

²⁵ Reussens, Wils und Schillings, edd., *Matricule de l'université de Louvain*, III, 768.

²⁶ 'Non ita multo post in patriam revocatus, scholae Groningensi praeesse prope adolescens iussus est.' Praedinius, *Commentationes* 1568, Praefatio, *iiiiv.

Auswirkung.²⁷ Zusammen mit Altersgenossen aus dem gesamten Gebiet der Niederlande und anderen Ländern lernte er von den berühmten Hochschullehrern für Griechisch und Latein, Rutger Rescius und Conradus Goclenius, die Kniffe der humanistischen Philologie.²⁸

Praedinius hat in Löwen fleissig studiert. Er war sogar so strebsam, dass er, laut Crespin, seine Gesundheit schädigte und krank wurde. Dem gleichen Gewährsmann zufolge markierte die Krankheit eine Wende in Praedinius' Leben. Während seiner Krankheit habe er die Nutzlosigkeit der Philosophie als Trost für den Menschen erkannt, und er habe sich entschlossen, nach seiner Genesung alle seine Kräfte dem Studium des Bibels zu widmen. Kurze Zeit nach dieser doch wohl sehr paradigmatisch angelegten Bekehrungsgeschichte²⁹ wurde Praedinius, wie gesagt, nach Groningen zurückgerufen und dort, trotz seines jugendlichen Alters, zum Nachfolger seines alten Rektors Lesdorp ernannt. Wenn diese Geschichte wahr ist — und es gibt im Hinblick auf die Groninger Gewährsleute hinter Crespins Praefatio kaum Anlass, den Kern zu bezweifeln — dann hat Praedinius' Studium in Löwen höchstens drei bis vier Jahre gedauert und ist er im Laufe des Jahres 1530 Rektor der Sankt-Martins-Schule geworden.

Trotz seines kurzen Aufenthalts am *Collegium Trilingue* ist das Studium an der wohl meist erasmianischen Institution in den Niederlanden für Praedinius von grosser Bedeutung gewesen. Ein überzeugter Erasmianer war Praedinius in den Augen seiner Freunde, als er nach Groningen zurückkehrte.³⁰ Diese Liebe zu Erasmus ist ein Leben lang für Praedinius kennzeichnend geblieben. Wir finden sie in seiner Zweitältesten Schrift, *De intercessione divorum* von 1534,³¹ doch auch in den aus seinen letzten fünf Lebensjahren stammenden Marginalien in der bekannten

²⁷ Zum *Collegium Trilingue* während der Studienzeit des Praedinius vgl.: De Vocht, *History of the Foundation and Rise of the Collegium Trilingue Lovaniense*, II.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, II, 93–94, 99–101, 316–324, 581–582 und 241–248.

²⁹ 'In eodem illo stadio disciplinae quum ita vehementer literis operam daret ut valetudini minime serviret, incidit in morbum, ac periculose aegrotavit. In quo morbo quum illi tenuis admodum consolatio in Philosophiae studio inveniretur, nec aegritudinem ac vulnera conscientiae sanare philosophicis praeceptis posset, statuit, si convalesceret, seriam sacris literis operam navare.' Praedinius, *Commentationes*, Praefatio, *iiiiv.

³⁰ 'Erasmistam me solitus es appellare', schrieb er dem unbekannten Freund, der ihn herausforderte, über das Anrufen der Heiligen zu schreiben. Praedinius, 'De intercessione divorum', in *Opera* 1563, 531.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 526–545.

Groninger Lutherbibel,³² in denen er öfters gegen Luthers bissigen Kommentare zu Erasmus' Übersetzung des Neuen Testaments vom Leder zieht.³³ Doch gibt es einen Riesenunterschied zwischen dem Autor der *De intercessione divorum* und dem Mann der Marginalien. In der *De intercessione divorum* begegnen wir einem Menschen, der bei all' seiner Kritik an der Kirche — die kleine Schrift ist ein Angriff auf die Fürbitte der Heiligen —, fest an die Reform der Kirche durch den Papst oder ein Konzil glaubt; in den Marginalien haben wir es mit der Arbeit eines Mannes zu tun, der sich völlig in protestantische Richtung entwickelt hat, und der, wie die ganze protestantische Welt, das Papsttum für eine verderbliche Institution hält.³⁴ Nun war eine derartige Entwicklung bei den christlichen Humanisten des 16. Jahrhunderts gewiss nicht ungewöhnlich; was aber Praedinius von den meisten seiner Kollegen unterscheidet, ist dass wir uns bei ihm aufgrund seiner Schriften ein Bild seiner religiösen Ansichten machen können.

Das zentrale Merkmal in Praedinius' theologischem Werk ist, das kann man nicht genug betonen, seine Bindung an die Bibel. Überall, auf jeder Seite seiner Schriften, bemüht er sich, Bibeltexte zu analysieren. Die Art, in der er das tut, zeugt von seinem grossen philologischen Können, seinem Widerwillen gegen theologisches Spekulieren und seinem Respekt vor den Kirchenvätern und der Lehre der alten Kirche. Wahrscheinlich ist, dass es vor allem seine Abneigung gegen theologische Spekulationen gewesen ist, die ihn in protestantische Richtung getrieben hat. Zu welchem Zeitpunkt er das Vertrauen in die katholische Kirche verloren hat, ist aus Mangel an zuverlässigen Daten nicht mehr genau festzustellen. Doch gibt es wenigstens zwei Hinweise, die vermuten lassen, dass dies schon sehr früh stattgefunden hat. Der erste ist, dass die *De intercessione divorum* die einzige Schrift des Praedinius ist, in der er sich ausdrücklich zur katholischen Kirche zählt;³⁵ der zweite Hinweis ist die folgende Mitteilung in, wiederum, der Praefatio des Crespini:

³² Zur Groninger Lutherbibel, Universitätsbibliothek Groningen HS 494, vgl.: Kingma, *De Groningse Luther-Bijbel*.

³³ Vgl. Dankbaar, 'Dubbel duël'.

³⁴ Dies geht vor allem aus seiner Erklärung des 17. Kapitels der Apokalypse hervor. Er kommt dort zu dem Schluss, dass die Frau auf dem Tier die Stadt Rom darstelle, die wegen des Papsttums zu Grunde gehen werde. Praedinius, 'Argumentum capitis decimiseptimi Apocalypseos divi Ioannis theologi', in *Opera* 1563, 546–551.

³⁵ 'Rogo tamen, ut si quid materiae Theologicae voles posthac disputari, ad istum modum vestrae Ecclesiae tibi partes sumas, mihi nostrae injungas; alioquin

Als man ihm die Leitung der Schule anvertraut hatte, griffen einige ihn wegen seiner religiösen Ansichten an; und nachdem er sein Amt niedergelegt hatte, besuchte er Basel und anschliessend Italien, wo er mit dem gleichen Eifer wie vorher die 'studia humanitatis' betrieb. Gegen Ende des Jahres aber kehrte er in sein Vaterland zurück, und er bekam das Amt, das man ihm genommen hatte, zurück.³⁶

Obwohl Crespin keine Aussagen über das Jahr macht, in dem Praedinius frei oder unfreiwillig eine Reise nach Italien unternahm, scheint viel für 1536 zu sprechen. Denn in diesem Jahr begaben sich die Stadt Groningen und die mit ihr verbundenen 'Ommelanden' unter die Gewalt ihres neuen Landesherrn, des katholischen Karl V., was sicherlich die Stellung der Evangelischen innerhalb der Stadt geschwächt hat.³⁷ Ausserdem wissen wir aus der *De intercessione divorum*, dass Praedinius' Amtszeit als Rektor in jenem Jahr ablief, und dass er nichts mehr begehrte als eine Reise nach Basel — Erasmus' wegen — und nach Italien zu machen.³⁸ Beide Dinge zusammen machen die Abwesenheit des Praedinius — und damit seine ausgesprochene evangelische Gesinnung — 1536 sehr wahrscheinlich.³⁹

Vor dem Hintergrund dieser Zäsur zeichnet sich die allgemeine Richtung der geistigen Entwicklung des Praedinius klar ab. Gestärkt durch seine unbehinderte Rückkehr nach Groningen hat Praedinius wahrscheinlich gleich nach seiner Heimkehr das Studium der Bibel wiederaufgenommen⁴⁰ und in den zwanzig

responsurus non sum.' *Ibid.*, 544. Neben dieser an Deutlichkeit nicht zu übertreffenden Passage gibt es noch drei andere Stellen, an deren Praedinius die 'ecclesia romana' 'nostra' nennt. Zwei davon stehen ohne Zweifel in seinen früheren Schriften, während im dritten Fall die Kirche des Westens mit der des Ostens verglichen wird. *Ibid.*, 67, vgl. 149 und 260.

³⁶ 'Scholam quum obtineret, non vitavit aliquorum propter Religionem invidiam, abdicatusque eo munere, Basileam, deinde Italiam inquit; ubi non minore quam antea ardore humanitatis studia tractavit. Vertente anno, patriam simul et ereptam provinciam repetit.' Praedinius, *Commentationes* 1568, Praefatio, *iiiiiv.

³⁷ Die Annahme Karls V. als Herrn von Stadt und Provinz fand am 26. Juni 1536 statt: Formsma, *De wording van de Staten van Stad en Lande tot 1536*, 87.

³⁸ 'Proinde exacto hoc altero triennio, in quod meam operam Senatui addixi, constitui per vos atque Helvetiam, vel in Italiam, vel in Galliam proficisci.' Praedinius, *Opera* 1563, 545.

³⁹ Übrigens deutet nichts darauf hin, dass Praedinius in Basel Erasmus noch begegnet ist (dieser starb in der Nacht vom 11. auf den 12. Juli 1536).

⁴⁰ Ein Hinweis darauf sind die beiden hiernach (Anhang II) von A.H. van der Laan veröffentlichten Briefe des in Löwen studierenden Dionysius a Campo vom 15. März und 25. Juni 1537. In dem ersten, der über Hebräer 11, 1: 'Der Glaube nun ist die Sicherheit der Dinge, auf die man hofft, und der Beweis der Dinge, die man nicht sieht' handelt, ist Praedinius eine Art Mitempfänger. In dem zweiten Brief ist er der Vermittler, der ein von a Campo gekauftes

Jahren, die ihm noch gegeben waren, das Oeuvre geschaffen, das wir von ihm kennen. Der Geist, aus dem heraus er all' diese Jahren gearbeitet hat, ist der des Gläubigen, der die Wahrheit der Bibel über alles stellt. Am deutlichsten wird dieser Biblizismus in Praedinius' Erläuterungen zu schwierigen Passagen in den vier Evangelien sichtbar sowie in seinen Anmerkungen zu Paulus' erstem Brief an die Korinther und dessen Römerbrief. Wir begegnen dieser Gesinnung aber auch in seinen Aufsätzen über ethische und Glaubensprobleme, in denen er die Ergebnisse seiner Forschungen zusammenfasste.

Wie reformatorisch geprägt Praedinius' Werk hierdurch geworden ist, wird klar, wenn wir seine Schriften in die Hand nehmen. Alle wichtigen protestantischen Standpunkte, von der Rechtfertigung durch den Glauben allein bis hin zur Ablehnung des päpstlichen Primats, werden darin unterschrieben. Zwar lässt Praedinius seine Überlegungen fortwährend von eigenen Argumenten ausgehen, doch zeigt sich seine Vertrautheit mit reformatorischem Denken oft so offensichtlich, dass die Entlehnung unverkennbar ist. Ein Paradebeispiel für derartige Übernahmen ist seine bündige Widerlegung der Plenipotenz des Papstes. In seinem Kommentar zum Matthäusevangelium angelangt beim Kapitel 16, zieht er die bekannten Verse 18 und 19 über Petrus als Felsen der Gemeinde und dessen damit verbundene Schlüsselgewalt heran und macht in wenigen Sätzen klar, dass der Glaube an Jesus als den Christus das Fundament der Kirche sei, und das ihr, in ihrer Verkündigung des Evangeliums, die Schlüssel gegeben seien, um jenem der da glaubt, die Vergebung der Sünden zu verbürgen, während derjenige, der nicht glaubt, ohne Zweifel verlorengelange.⁴¹ Calvin brauchte in seiner *Institution*, um das dasselbe darzulegen dazu fast zwei Kapitel.⁴²

Nun war die Widerlegung der päpstlichen Plenipotenz im Protestantismus des 16. Jahrhunderts ein Gemeinplatz, der wenig Erläuterung brauchte. War derlei Erklärung aber doch nötig, dann war Praedinius sehr wohl fähig, sie zu geben. Das zeigt er etwa in der *De intercessione divorum*, wo er in klarer Auseinandersetzung darlegt, dass man die Anrufung der Heiligen aus der früh-christlichen Martyrerverehrung zu erklären habe.⁴³ In dieses

Exemplar der *Loci communes* des Melanchthon an Van Ewsum schicken muss. Aus beiden Briefen geht das biblische Interesse des Praedinius und seines Freundes Van Ewsum klar hervor.

⁴¹ Praedinius, *Opera*, 162–163.

⁴² Calvin, *Institutio christianae religionis*, IV, 6 und IV, 11, 1–5.

⁴³ Praedinius, *Opera*, 533.

Profil von Humanismus und Bibelfestigkeit passen auch zwei andere Elemente in Praedinius' Werk: seine scharfe Verurteilung der anabaptischen Ansichten über die Inkarnation und die Taufe⁴⁴ sowie sein Plädoyer für eine strenge Kirchenzucht. Insbesondere den letzten Punkt hält er für wichtig. Denn Christus selbst hat, so sagt er in seiner grossen Abhandlung *De excommunicatione ecclesiastica*, in Mt. 18, 15–17 schon Regeln für die Zuchtübung gegeben.⁴⁵ Paulus hat diese nachher aufgegriffen und weiter ausgearbeitet, insbesondere in den Briefen an die Gemeinde von Korinth und seinem Brief an Titus. Hätte man in der Vergangenheit diese auf den Herrn selbst zurückgehenden Vorschriften konsequent befolgt, wäre die Kirche nie so tief gefallen wie es jetzt der Fall sei.⁴⁶

Die meist systematische Darstellung seiner theologischen Position hat Praedinius in seiner Abhandlung *De fide, eiusque antecessionibus et consecutionibus* gegeben.⁴⁷ Diese ist eine Auseinandersetzung in grossem humanistischen Stil. Der Einfluss des Erasmus erhellt aus dem klaren dialektischen Aufbau, dem Nebeneinander biblischer und antiker Beispiele sowie in der ständigen Betonung des Gegensatzes Geist-Fleisch. Dennoch ist Praedinius an keiner Stelle seines Werkes so wenig erasmianisch wie in der *De fide*. Wo Erasmus sich in seiner Debatte mit Luther für die Willensfreiheit des Menschen ausspricht,⁴⁸ da bekennt Praedinius sich ohne Vorbehalt zur Prädestination. Am deutlichsten sind in dieser Hinsicht die letzten Seiten der *De fide*. Die dort von Praedinius gezogene Schlüsse über die Auserwählung und die Folgen des Sündenfalls gefielen noch im 17. Jahrhundert dem strengen Calvinisten Jacobus Trigland so gut, dass er die Passagen fast vollständig in seine niederländische Kirchengeschichte (1650) übernahm.⁴⁹ Kein Wunder übrigens, denn Praedinius ist an dieser Stelle strikt reformatorisch. Der Mensch, so lesen wir, ist durch den Sündenfall zu lauter Fleisch geworden und, auch wenn er das Gute zu tun versucht, voller Sünden. Zwar hat Gott ihm das Vermögen zu Gottesfurcht und Rechtfertigkeit

⁴⁴ Praedinius kommt zu den Verurteilungen in seinen Erläuterungen zu Joh. 1, 14 und Joh. 3, 23. Praedinius, *Opera*, 210 und 236–237.

⁴⁵ Praedinius, 'De excommunicatione ecclesiastica', *Opera*, 92–134.

⁴⁶ 'Nunquam potuisset tanta vis scelerum Ecclesiam invasisse, sed nec adeo effuse etiam nunc grassari, si excommunicatio aut neglecta non fuisset ullo tempore, aut iam tandem in suum locum restituta.' *Ibid.*, 92.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 1–29.

⁴⁸ Ein ausgewogenes Urteil über diese Debatte findet sich bei Augustijn, *Erasmus en de Reformatie*, 142–160 und 186–210. Vgl. auch Boyle, *Rhetoric and Reform*.

⁴⁹ Trigland, *Kerkelycke Geschiedenissen, begrypende de waere en bekommerlycke geschillen in de Vereenigde Nederlanden voorgevallen*, 94–96.

gelassen, doch macht er davon vorzugsweise keinen Gebrauch.

Von dieser Art der Gottesfurcht und der Rechtfertigkeit, von denen ich behaupte, dass noch einige Kenntnis davon in ihm geblieben und zu deren Übung er noch immer fähig ist, davon sage ich, dass ein jeder, der seine Taten gewissenhaft überdenkt, einsehen wird, dass er oft die Anwendung dieser zwei Tugenden wissentlich verworfen hat. Und das zum Nachteil der Menschen und bei Verachtung Gottes. Ja, ich bin sogar der Meinung, viele würden gestehen, dass sie das auch taten als sie in der Stille stark zur Übung dieser Tugenden bewegt wurden, es sei aus eigenem Antrieb, es sei von Gott dazu angeregt.⁵⁰

Deshalb, so Praedinius, ist die einzige Chance auf Rettung für den Mensch im Heiligen Geist als Bewirker des Glaubens an Christus gelegen. Keiner jedoch kann diesen aus sich selbst heraus erwerben. Gott schenkt ihn nur jenen, die er, wie Paulus sagt, dazu bereits vor der Schöpfung angewiesen hat. Trotz dieses Supralapsarismus spricht Praedinius jedoch nicht von einer doppelten Prädestination. Gott ist barmherzig und trifft die Wahl zum Heil. Derjenige, der verlorenggeht, muss das seiner eigenen Schuld und Übertretung zuschreiben.⁵¹

Viel näher bei Erasmus befindet sich Praedinius mit seinem Standpunkt hinsichtlich der zweiten, die Geister der westeuropäischen Christenheit spaltenden Frage: der Abendmahlslehre. Die Sache kommt, wie die Prädestination, in seinen Schriften nur einmal zur Sprache, und zwar an der Stelle, an der er sie wohl besprechen musste: bei der Behandlung von Paulus' erstem Brief an die Korinther, Kap. 11, 24–34.⁵² Diese Besprechung hat einen merkwürdigen, zwiespältigen Charakter. Praedinius beginnt mit der Feststellung, dass über die Natur des Abendmahls und über die Weise des Feierns zwischen der römischen Kirche einerseits und den deutschen und schweizerischen Theologen andererseits ein heftiger Streit wütet. Letztere lehnen die römische Lehre der Transsubstantiation ab, sind sich aber zugleich untereinander bei weitem nicht darüber einig, in welcher Weise der Herr bei der

⁵⁰ 'De hoc igitur genere pietatis et iusticiae, cuius dixi et notiones quasdam reliquas factas neque ademptam omnino facultatem efficiendi, si quis suum animum volet perscrutari, reperiet manifesto utriusque officia abs se sciente volenteque saepius reiecta esse, idque cum aliqua sane et hominum iniuria et Dei contempione. Quin opinor non parum multos confessuros esse, et tum quoque se istud fecisse, cum ad alterius earum virtutum functionem commoverentur quadam maiore seu animi seu numinis tacita cohortatione.' Praedinius, 'De fide', in *Opera*, 26.

⁵¹ 'Quae si ita sunt, videtur proxima quaedam causa sui interitus a se ipsis existere, culpamque eius, quod non donentur felicius fide ac spiritu, posse ipsos merito in se conferre.' *Ibid.*, 27.

⁵² Praedinius, 'In divi Pauli priorem epistolam ad Corinthios, commentarius'. *Ibid.*, 373.

Sakramentsfeier gegenwärtig ist. Der Grund für diesen bedauernden Zustand sucht Praedinius in der Sündigkeit der Menschen.

Aber, so gross sind unsere Sünden geworden, dass man die Sache, die durch ihr Wesen, ihre Bedeutung und Feier, am meisten die christliche Einheit festigen müsste, zum Objekt andauernder Streitigkeiten geworden ist.⁵³

Und das, wo doch die Kirche über 700 Jahre das Sakrament ohne Streitigkeiten gefeiert hat. Denn erst Rhabanus Maurus hat es als erster gewagt, Erklärungen zu geben, wonach dann die Doctoren der Scholastik ganze Bücher über das Abendmahl vollgeschrieben haben. Am besten wäre es denn auch, so lautet seine Schlussfolgerung, zu diesem alten Zustand zurückzukehren und sich mit der Sicherheit zufrieden zu geben, dass Christus das Abendmahl, wie auch die Taufe, zu unserem Heil eingerichtet hat.⁵⁴

Nachdem er die Abendmahlsfrage so zum Adiaphoron reduziert hat, geht Praedinius mit den folgenden Versen vom 1 Kor. 11 jedoch weiter. Und hier wird er deutlicher. Der Kern dieser Verse ist, so stellt er mit Recht fest, Paulus' Warnung vor einer unwürdigen Art das Abendmahl zu feiern. Ein jeder, der das tut, ruft den Zorn Gottes auf sich herab. Dabei handelt es sich nicht nur um die äusserlichen Missbräuche in Korinth — Zusammenkünfte voller Unordnung, Fressgier und Trunkenheit —, sonder ebenso sehr um die richtige geistige Gesinnung: der Gläubige muss sich der Bedeutung des Erlösungswerkes Christi bewusst sein. Nur wenn er das Abendmahl in dieser Gesinnung feiert, wird der Tod des Herrn in gebührender Weise verkündet und kommt die Erinnerung daran zu ihrem Recht. Feiert er dagegen das Abendmahl wie die Korinther, dann ist er schuldig am Leib und Blut des Herrn.⁵⁵ Mit diesen Aussagen, ausgesprochen mit dem Ziel, sich auf einen überparteilichen Standpunkt zu stellen, steht Praedinius in seinem Werk zum sovielten Male den Protestanten näher als der alten Kirche. Eigentlich folgt er

⁵³ 'Verum ita merentur nostra peccata, ut quae res debebat sua ipsius natura, vi ac usu, vel potentissime concordiam Christianorum confirmare, ea (pro nefas) trahatur etiam in perennem materiam saevissimorum certaminum.' *Ibid.*, 373.

⁵⁴ 'Quid ergo est, convenit utrumque sacramentum καὶ συνάξεως καὶ βαπτίσματος nobis ad salutem Christum instituisse.' *Ibid.*, 373.

⁵⁵ 'Probet Seipsum Homo, etc. Ut ne edat ἀνάξιος corporis Christi pro ipso dati, et sanguinis effusi. Inquiret igitur in se, suamque fidem et religionem, ut ne quid discrepet cum ratione mortis Domini, quam edendo annuntiabit ac profitebitur. alioqui tenebitur corporis Christi impie aestimati, neglecti, affectique iniuria.' *Ibid.*, 375.

der von Erasmus im *Enchiridion* verkündeten Abendmalsauffassung, auf der sich auch die schweizerischen Reformatoren beriefen.⁵⁶ Wie Erasmus unterstreicht Praedinius die innerliche Gesinnung des Kommunikanten so stark, dass er den für die katholische Kirche wesentlichen Opfercharakter der Messe faktisch auf Null reduziert.

Es ist nach allem nicht schwierig, Praedinius' Position in der protestantischen theologischen Welt zu bestimmen. Seine Auffassungen stimmen am meisten mit denen der reformierten Theologen in der Schweiz und Ostfriesland überein. Bullinger, Oecolampadius und dem Leiter der ostfriesischen Reformierten, dem polnischen Edelmann Johannes a Lasco, steht er nahe. Mit Oecolampadius und a Lasco verbindet ihn seine Zuchtauffassung,⁵⁷ mit Bullinger teilt er die Auserwählung zum Heil, obwohl dieser seinen Supralapsarismus nicht unterschreibt.⁵⁸ Damit nähert sich Praedinius die Position Calvins.⁵⁹ Nur in der Abendmahlslehre geht Praedinius weniger weit als die Ostfriesen und Schweizer, doch ist es angesichts seines 'offenen' Standpunktes in dieser Sache kaum vorstellbar, dass er in der Schweiz oder in Ostfriesland von der Abendmahlsfeier ausgeschlossen worden wäre. Diese Affinität mit den Schweizern und Ostfriesen wird durch einen Brief von Bullingers Kollegen Pellicanus an a Lasco von März 1545 treffend bestätigt. Pellicanus schreibt darin, dass man in Zürich mit grosser Zustimmung die gerade von dem jungen Emder Gerhard tom Kamp mitgebrachten Schriften von a Lasco und Praedinius zur Kenntnis genommen hat.⁶⁰

Sich zur Reformation bekennen, das konnte man im 16. Jahrhundert auf vielerlei Art und Weise. Es reichte von der Teilnahme an heimlichen Zusammenkünften und dem Lesen verbotener Bücher bis hin zur Leitung der Reformation in einer Stadt oder Region in der Art eines Calvin oder Bullinger. Zwischen

⁵⁶ Vgl. Augustijn, *Erasmus. Vernieuwer van kerk en theologie*, 100–101. Siehe auch: Augustijn, *Erasmus en de Reformatie*, 171–173.

⁵⁷ Zur Zuchtauffassung des Oecolampadius vgl.: Baker, 'Church Discipline or Civil Punishment'. Zu a Lasco ist wichtig: Dankbaar, 'Over de voorgeschiedenis van het ouderlingenambt, bepaaldelijk in Oost-Friesland'.

⁵⁸ Siehe für Bullingers Auserwählungslehre: Baker, *Heinrich Bullinger and the Covenant*.

⁵⁹ Einen guten Überblick über die unterschiedlichen Standpunkte der hier erwähnten Reformatoren gibt Van Schelven, *De Nederduitse vluchtelingenkerken der XVIe eeuw in Engeland en Duitsland*, 313–329.

⁶⁰ 'Legimus omnia tua et quae Gerardus habet Regneri scripta et suavissime arident, tanquam conformia Verbo Dei, rationi consona, ac fidei morumque profectui aptissima simul.' C. Pellicanus an J. a Lasco, Zürich, 3. März 1545. Gabbema (Hrsg.), *Epistolarum*, 105–107.

diesen zwei Äussersten lag eine Reihe von Möglichkeiten, deren Grenzen die örtlichen Umstände bestimmten.

Im Groningen des Praedinius waren die Grenzen weitgesteckt, der Spielraum jedoch nicht unbegrenzt. 1536 hatte die Provinz Karl V. als Herrn akzeptiert, und damit war eine ungehemmte Entwicklung in protestantische Richtung unmöglich geworden. Dennoch stellte sich, wie wir sahen, heraus, dass die Freiheit unter der neuen Ordnung für Praedinius gross genug war, um als Rektor der Sankt-Martins-Schule im Amt bleiben zu können. Zwar versuchte die niederländische Regierung von Brüssel aus mittels Inquisition und 'Plakkaten' den Protestantismus soviel wie sie nur konnte zu bekämpfen, bis Groningen jedoch drang die Inquisition nicht vor. Die Erklärung für diese in den habsburgischen Niederlanden einzigartige Situation liegt in den für die Provinz sehr günstigen Bedingungen, unter denen man Karl V. als Herrn angenommen hatte.⁶¹ Die bestehenden Gesetze blieben in Kraft, und es gab nur einen Regierungsvertreter in der Provinz: den 'luitenant van de Hoofdmannenkamer'. Als Stellvertreter des Statthalters der nördlichen Provinzen sass er zwar den Sitzungen des wichtigsten Rechtskollegiums der Provinz, der 'Hoofdmannenkamer' vor, mehr als ein *primus inter pares* war er aber nicht. Seine Hauptaufgabe war, die Regierung über die Ereignisse in Groningen auf dem Laufenden zu halten und — allerdings ohne grossen Erfolg — ihre Wünsche dort kennbar zu machen.⁶² Die faktische Macht in der Provinz blieb infolge dessen auch nach 1536 in den Händen der aus Groninger Stadtregenten und 'Ommelander' Junker bestehenden lokalen Machtelite. Diese hatte wie Praedinius ihre geistige Prägung in der Zeit des Goswinus van Halen und Wilhelmus Frederici erhalten.

Die Religionspolitik dieser humanistischen und hoch gebildeten Gruppe war darauf gerichtet, Zwietracht und religiös inspierte Aufwiegelei zu verhindern.⁶³ Die alten Formen wurden dabei aufrechterhalten, ansonsten aber war vieles möglich, besonders in den 'Ommelanden', wo die Junker und 'eigenerfden' die Pfarrer einsetzten.⁶⁴ In der Stadt Groningen gewann diese schon in den zwanziger Jahren begonnene Politik der Pazifikation und Komprehension 1538 in der bekannten Anordnung für die

⁶¹ *Historie van Groningen*, 183.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 184.

⁶³ Mellink, 'Uit de voorgeschiedenis van de reformatie in Groningen', 143.

⁶⁴ Zu den Verhältnissen auf dem Lande vgl. Hartgerink-Koomans, *Het geslacht Ewsum*, 169–193.

Prediger Gestalt.⁶⁵ Den Pfarrern wurde unter Androhung der Verbannung vorgeschrieben, sich in den Predigten nicht anzufinden, keine komplizierten theologischen Fragen zu erörtern und der Verachtung der alten Zeremonien entgegenzutreten.

Die Beschränkungen, die diese Politik Praedinius bei der Verkündung seiner Ideen auferlegte, waren erheblich. Beispielsweise liess sich die Behandlung der Religionspolitik in der Schule nicht mit einer derartigen Richtlinie vereinbaren. Länger als ein paar Jahre jedoch hat er sich wahrscheinlich nicht den Mund verbieten lassen. Umso mehr nicht, da in dieser Periode sein Ansehen infolge der ungeahnten Blüte, die die Sankt-Martins-Schule unter seiner Leitung zu erreichen begann, schnell anstieg. Um 1540 nämlich wurde die Sankt-Martins-Schule endgültig in die auserwählte Gruppe der vier oder fünf Spitzschulen der nördlichen Niederlande aufgenommen. Das waren Haarlem, Utrecht, Deventer, Zwolle und nun also auch Groningen.⁶⁶ Ebenso wie ihre grösste Konkurrentin, die Deventer Sankt-Lebuïnus-Schule mit ihren 1300 Schülern,⁶⁷ hatte die Sankt-Martins-Schule nun ein neunjähriges Unterrichtsprogramm, in dem neben der üblichen Unterrichtssprache Latein, auch das Griechisch auf dem Studienplan stand, und in dem die beiden obersten Klassen erste Bekanntschaft mit dem Lehrstoff der Artesfakultät machten.⁶⁸ Den Unterricht in diesen Klassen, der Sekunda und der Prima, gab Praedinius wahrscheinlich zum grössten Teil selbst, und er hat rastlos danach gestrebt, so vollständig wie möglich zu sein. Am Ende seines Lebens war er in der Tat so weit, dass er mehr als seine Kollegen in den anderen Städten bot. Neben den Artesfächern lehrte er dann auch die Grundregeln der medizinischen Wissenschaft und die Grundbegriffe des römischen Rechts.⁶⁹

Wie eindrucksvoll Praedinius' Leistung auch war, ganz allein hat er das Groninger Bildungswesen nicht gross gemacht. Neben

⁶⁵ Mellink, 'Uit de voorgeschiedenis van de reformatie in Groningen', 142.

⁶⁶ Von vier oder fünf ist die Rede, weil die lateinische Schule in Zwolle es ab 1550 nicht mehr schafft, in jedem Jahr die zwei obersten Klassen anzubieten. Post, *Scholen en onderwijs in Nederland gedurende de middeleeuwen*, 99–100.

⁶⁷ 'Estque dictum oppidum tam affectum studiis literariis quod habeat plerumque scholam mille trecentorum scholasticorum.' F. Sonnius in seiner Denkschrift zu einer neuen kirchlichen Einteilung der Niederlande. Vgl. *Documents inédits sur l'Erection des nouveaux Diocèses aus Pays-Bas*, I, 113.

⁶⁸ Das neunjährige Unterrichtsprogramm geht aus einer Gehalterhöhung des 'magister nullanorum' (der Klasse vor der Octava) im Jahre 1585 hervor. Boeles, 'Iets over de St. Maartens en Der A scholen te Groningen 1562–1595', 147.

⁶⁹ 'Nec in jurisprudentia quidem aut Medicina rudes esse patiebatur.' Praedinius, *Commentationes*, Praefatio, *iiiiiv.

ihm stand der ebenfalls fähige Rektor der zu Unserer Liebfrauenkirche zur A gehörigen A-Schule, Garlacus Verrutius. Verrutius stand der Kirche kritisch gegenüber, und seine Schule war so gut, dass unsere Quelle, die Trauerrede des Franeker Professors Lollius Adama für seinen Kollegen, Henricus Schotanus, sie auf die gleiche Linie mit der viel grösseren Sankt-Martins-Schule stellt.⁷⁰ Wie das Verhältnis zwischen den beiden Schulen genau war, wird aus Adamas Bericht leider nicht deutlich. Kommunizierende Röhren aber mit Austausch von Lehrern, wie man vielleicht aufgrund der von Adama verwendeten Bezeichnung 'Zwillingsschule'⁷¹ annehmen könnte, waren die Schulen nicht. Beide Einrichtungen waren selbstständig, wie aus der eigenen Oberstufe der A-Schule geschlossen werden kann.⁷² Für Praedinius bedeutete Verrutius' Anwesenheit, dass er einen Bundesgenossen hatte. Denn auch Verrutius war der Meinung, dass er das Recht habe, sich in der Schule über die Religionsfrage auszusprechen. Die Art, in der die beiden Rektoren dabei vorgehen, war inoffiziell, aber effektiv. Das Fach Bibelauslegung stand in keiner der beiden Schulen auf dem Lehrplan, aber dem bekannten Ommelander Chronisten Abel Eppens zufolge behandelten Praedinius und Verrutius in den obersten Klassen

voele quaestiones ex sacris, nadat dussche tijden eysscheden und die materie van controversien gelegen.⁷³

Nicht als ein selbstständiges Fach, sondern im Verlauf des üblichen Unterrichts in 'philosophica, medica und juridica' und während anderer Fächer. Praedinius' Erläuterungen schwieriger Bibelstellen sind wahrscheinlich zu einem erheblichen Teil als Grundlage für diese 'illegale' Arbeit entstanden.⁷⁴

Indem er so die Sache anging, hat Praedinius aus den ihm zur Verfügung stehenden Möglichkeiten das Maximum geschöpft. Ein Reformator wie Bullinger oder Calvin ist er damit bestimmt nicht geworden, doch reichte sein Aktionsradius weit. Aus dem

⁷⁰ 'Florebat tum prae caeteris scholis vicinis omnibus licet celebratis, Daventriana, Svollana, Harlemensi, maxime Groningana, in una urbe gemina; et utraque percelebris, . . .'. Adama, *Oratio in funere clarissimi viri, D. Henrici Schotani*.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*

⁷² Adama erwähnt als Beweis für die Qualität der A-Schule u.a., dass Verrutius seinen Sohn, den späteren Syndikus der 'Ommelanden', Hieronymus Verrutius, für die Universität ausgebildet hat. *Ibid.*

⁷³ *De kroniek van Abel Eppens*, I, 89.

⁷⁴ Hinweise dafür sind die unverkennbar auf Kontroversen gerichtete Analyse der behandelten Texte und die typisch auf ein Schülerpublikum zugeschnittenen Anekdoten, von denen die Mitteilungen über Goswinus van Halen als Famulus Gansforts die auffälligsten sind. Praedinius, 'Difficilium aliquot locorum in evangelio Lucae, enarratio', *Opera*, 198.

gesamten Gebiet der nördlichen Niederlande und Nordwestdeutschlands kamen während seines Rektorats die Schüler herbeigeströmt, um sich bei ihm und Verrutius, aber vor allem bei ihm, auf das Universitätsstudium vorzubereiten. Aufschlussreich ist in diesem Zusammenhang eine Mitteilung Adamas in seiner soeben zitierten Trauerrede. Praedinius habe, so Adama, die Sankt-Martins-Schule in ein so hervorragendes Institut verwandelt, dass Henricus Schotanus' Mutter nach dem Tod ihres Mannes den gemeinsamen Hof verkauft habe und mit Henricus und seinen beiden Brüdern nach Groningen gezogen sei, um sie dort bei Praedinius' Nachfolger Nicolaas Sasscher in die Schule zu geben.⁷⁵

Neben der gründlichen Vorbereitung auf die Universität, die seine Schule bot, war für Praedinius' Anziehungskraft auf die Jugend vor allem seine grosse pädagogische Begabung ausschlaggebend. Als Lehrer war sein Name legendär. Sein Ruf lebte noch Dezennien nach seinem Tod fort. 1593 zum Beispiel bekannte der gelehrte friesische Historiker Suffridus Petrus, dass er es 33 Jahre zuvor abgelehnt habe, Praedinius' Nachfolger zu werden, da er bei einem derartigen Vorgänger nur eine schlechte Figur habe machen können.⁷⁶ Auch der oben erwähnte David Chytraeus wusste sich mehr als vierzig Jahre nach seinem Aufenthalt in Groningen noch genau zu erinnern, worüber Praedinius in seinem Beisein in der Sankt Martins-Schule doziert hatte: das kleine Handbuch des Galenus.⁷⁷

Suffridus Petrus und David Chytraeus waren Aussenstehende, die über Praedinius berichteten. Wie aber reagierten die direkt Beteiligten, die Schüler, auf ihren Lehrmeister? Auch hier haben wir lobende Zeugnisse von einigen unter ihnen, zum Beispiel von Johannes Arcerius und Doede van Amsweer.⁷⁸ Es ist jedoch die Frage, ob wir aus einer kleinen Anzahl verstreuter Mitteilungen Schlüsse hinsichtlich hunderter Groninger, Frie-

⁷⁵ Adama, *Oratio*.

⁷⁶ 'Nam cum ille tam singulari gratia poluisset apud suos auditores, ut sibi persuasum haberent omnes, similem eius alterum natum non esse, non dubitabam contemptum iri eum qui non idem et eodem modo praestaret quod Regnerus, etiamsi forte praestaret plus ac melius.' Suffridus Petrus, *De scriptoribus Frisiae*, 99.

⁷⁷ 'Regnerus Praedinius, Scholae Groninganae Rector, excellenti ingenio, varia et recondita eruditione, eloquentia singulari, et docendae ac gubernandae juventutis mirabili quadam dexteritate praeditus, ex his terris decessit: cujus, biennio ante ipsius obitum, Groningae parvam artem Galeni Graecam, frequenti Scholasticorum agmini, erudite et facunde explicantis, auditor fui.' Bemerkung zum Jahr 1559. Chytraeus, *Saxonia ab anno Christi 1500*, 520.

⁷⁸ Siehe Anm. 7.

sen und Ostfriesen ziehen dürfen, die bei Praedinius in die Schule gegangen sind. Wiederum gibt der scharfe Beobachter Abel Eppens nützliche Information mit der Bemerkung:

bij de joeget und in alle universiteten sijn discipulen wat anders soechten dan to Coln und Loven angenommen worde.⁷⁹

Anders gesagt, Praedinius' Schüler lehnten die religiösen Auffassungen ab, die an den Bollwerken des alten Glaubens, den Universitäten von Löwen und Köln, verkündet wurden. Stattdessen suchten sie eine neue und ohne Zweifel protestantische Antwort auf ihre Lebensfragen.

Hier nun stoßen wir auf ein neues und interessantes Phänomen: in den letzten zehn Jahren von Praedinius' Rektorat entwickelten sich nämlich neben Köln und Löwen auch Heidelberg und Basel zu wichtigen Studienorten für friesische und groningische Studenten. Basel zog vom 1. September 1548 bis Ende Dezember 1565 22 Studenten aus Groningen und 12 aus Friesland an, Heidelberg in derselben Periode 10 Friesen und 9 Groninger.⁸⁰ Die beiden traditionellen Universitäten behielten zwar mit insgesamt 382 friesischen und groningischen Studenten in diesen Jahren die Oberhand, betrachtet man die Zahlen jedoch genauer, entsteht ein interessanteres Bild. Es stellt sich nämlich heraus, dass in Löwen und Köln 312 Friesen eingeschrieben waren gegenüber nur 70 Groningern, von denen wiederum nur 11 in Köln studierten. Natürlich ist mit den Zahlen dieser vier Universitäten noch nicht alles darüber gesagt, wo Groninger und Friesen in jener Periode studierten. Selbst wenn wir uns die Zahlen zweier anderer deutscher Universitäten mit Studenten aus Friesland und Groningen, nämlich Wittenberg und Rostock, ansehen, wird dieses Bild einer wachsenden Hinwendung nach Heidelberg und Basel in den Jahren nach 1550 nicht wesentlich gestört. In Rostock finden wir, ziemlich gleichmässig über die ganze Periode vom 1. Januar 1540 bis zum 31. Dezember 1559 verteilt, 15 Groninger und 11 Friesen, Wittenberg aber bietet einen ganz anderen Anblick. Dort studierten vom 1. Januar 1523 bis zum 31. Dezember 1559 17 Groninger und 29 Friesen, doch die Zahl der Groninger Studenten betrug in der Periode 1550–1559 nur noch 4, während die friesischen Immatrikulationen dann sogar auf eine einzige zurückgingen.

Dürfen wir nun dieses wachsende nordniederländische Interesse an einem Studium an den reformierten Akademien

⁷⁹ *De kroniek van Abel Eppens*, I, 149.

⁸⁰ Zum Nachfolgenden vgl. den Anhang am Ende dieses Aufsatzes.

von Basel und Heidelberg dem Konto des Praedinius zugute schreiben? Es gibt deutliche Hinweise in diese Richtung. In erster Linie ist da natürlich die oben festgestellte Verwandtschaft zwischen Praedinius' theologischen Auffassungen und der schweizerischen Reformation. Ein Faktor, der noch mehr Gewicht erhält, wenn wir bedenken, wie wenig Praedinius, wie seine Marginalien in der Lutherbibel beweisen, Luther mochte.⁸¹ Eine zweite wichtige Tatsache ist die 1549 erfolgte Berufung von Praedinius' Schüler Acronius zum Hochschullehrer in Basel, wodurch ein Studienaufenthalt in dieser Stadt für Groninger und Friesen — Acronius kam aus dem friesischen Akkrum — etwas Selbstverständliches erhielt.⁸² Und last but not least ist von zwei von Praedinius' Schülern, den Brüdern Frederik und Evert Coenders, bekannt, dass ihr Vater Derk Coenders von Helpman sie auf Praedinius' Anraten hin an den Universitäten von Basel und Lausanne studieren liess.⁸³

Mindestens ebenso wichtig wie der sich verlagernde Studentenstrom ist die zweite Tatsache, die aus den untersuchten Matrikeln hervorgeht: der unverhältnismässig grosse Unterschied zwischen den Studentenzahlen aus Groningen und Friesland. Friesland hatte am Vorabend des niederländischen Aufstandes etwa 100.000 Einwohner, während die Groninger Einwohnerzahl auf etwa 60.000 geschätzt wird.⁸⁴ Dennoch hat Friesland in der Periode 1548–1565 in Löwen und Köln mit 312 Immatrikulationen mehr als viermal soviel Studenten wie Groningen mit seinen 70 Einschreibungen. Ziehen wir die Universitäten von Heidelberg, Basel, Rostock und Wittenberg zu unserem Vergleich hinzu, dann ändert sich zwar das Verhältnis zugunsten Groningens — nämlich 342 Friesen gegenüber 115 Groningern —, aber doch nicht in dem Masse, dass der Unterschied verschwände. Auch eine Aufteilung der Kategorie 'sonstige Friesen' in der Tabelle löst, da es sich hier überwiegend um Ostfriesen handelt, unser Problem nicht. Die einzig mögliche Erklärung ist meines Erachtens, dass für Groningen gilt, was auch an anderen erstklassigen Schulen die Regel war, für einen grossen Teil der Schüler von Praedinius und Verrutius war die Prima der Abschluss ihrer Ausbildung.⁸⁵

⁸¹ Dankbaar, 'Dubbel duël', 42–45.

⁸² Guggisberg, 'Die niederländischen Studenten an der Universität Basel', 251.

⁸³ 'Anno 1557 jam sedecim annorum adolescens cum per biennium sub Regnero Praedinio studuissem a parente consilio rectoris Regneri cum fratre meo . . . in academiam ablegatus fui profectusque ut sequitur.' Feith, 'Reisjournaal van Jr. Frederik Coenders van Helpen', 122.

⁸⁴ Faber, *Drie eeuwen Friesland*, II, 562; *Historie van Groningen*, 128.

⁸⁵ Vgl. Schindling, 'L'école latine et l'Académie de 1538 à 1621', 78–79.

Als Rektor der besten und erfolgreichsten lateinischen Schule zwischen Utrecht und Bremen war Praedinius für die Groninger Stadtregierung Gold wert. Die Zahl der Schüler an den Groninger Schulen wuchs ständig, und die Bürgerschaft fuhr nach dem Urteil Abel Eppens' gut dabei.⁸⁶ Das bedeutete aber nicht, dass jeder in der Stadt Praedinius wohlgesinnt war. Hin und wieder gab es Pläne, ihn aus der Stadt zu entfernen.⁸⁷ Besonders in Praedinius' letzten Lebensjahren wuchs die Kritik an seiner reformatorischen Gesinnung so sehr, dass seine Position auch in Brüssel zur Diskussion stand. Dass er dennoch bis zu seinem Hinscheiden am 18. April 1559 im Amt bleiben konnte, verdankte er ausser seinen pädagogischen Verdiensten vor allem der Unterstützung durch einige mächtige Beschützer, wie den vornehmen Junker Johan van Ewsum,⁸⁸ Bürgermeister Reint Alberda, Derk Coenders und den Steuereinnahmer von Groningen und Sekretär der Provinzialstaaten, Hieronymus Frederici.⁸⁹ Von diesen vieren hat Letzterer — ein Sohn des Wilhelmus Frederici — für Praedinius die grösste Bedeutung gehabt. Doctor Hieronymus, wie er oft genannt wird, gehörte zu den reformatorisch Gesinnten der ersten Stunde und hat in der illegalen reformatorischen Gemeinde in Groningen eine führende Rolle gespielt.⁹⁰

Die Geschichte der Groninger Kreuzgemeinde ist aus verständlichen Gründen grösstenteils in Nebel gehüllt. Die Gründung einer reformierten Gemeinde in Groningen durch den Emdener Kirchenrat versties gegen das Gesetz, stand im Widerspruch zu der Komprehensionspolitik der Stadtregierung und musste folglich insgeheim stattfinden. Wann das genau geschah, ist unbekannt. Zwar nennt der katholische Historiker L.J. Rogier

⁸⁶ 'Und sindt alnu to Gronningen twe rectorren, Garlacus Verrutius und Regnerus Praedinius, beyde inlandsche geboeren, die hoer particulare schoelen seer vernoempt makeden . . ., und instituerden den joeget am besten, dat ock ut Westvreslandt, Westerlandt (die westniederländischen Provinzen, F.P.) een grote toloep an den scoelen beyde tho Ae und tho S. Merten gespoeret worde und den borgerije groot vordell gaf.' *De kroniek van Abel Eppens*, 88–89.

⁸⁷ 'Et quant au maistre d'escolle, j'ay entendu qu'il y a maintes années qu'il s'y est tenu et a grande vogue apprendant fort bien la jeunesse es lettres humaines, mais estant de très suspecte doctrine, de sorte que bien souvent l'on a esté en paine comment l'on s'en pourroit faire quicte.' Viglius an Emanuel Philibert von Savoyen. Arras, 20. Dezember 1558. Archives Générales du Royaume, Brüssel, *Papiers d'état et de l'audience*, 289, 361v–362r.

⁸⁸ Hartgerink-Koomans, *Het geslacht Ewsum*, 185–187.

⁸⁹ Mellink, 'Uit de voorgeschiedenis van de reformatie in Groningen', 146–153.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.* Siehe auch Van Booma, 'Enkele bronnen voor de ontstaansgeschiedenis van de Hervormde Gemeente te Groningen'. *Geloven in Groningen*, 138 und 140.

1550 als das Anfangsjahr reformierter kirchlicher Aktivitäten in Groningen, aber ganz sicher ist das nicht.⁹¹ Sein Gewährsmann, der Groninger Kirchenhistoriker des 19. Jahrhunderts, H.H. Brucherus, teilt nämlich nur mit, dass der aus Friesland stammende Prediger Feito Ruardi 1550 vom Emdener Kirchenrat zum ersten Mal nach Groningen geschickt wurde, wonach er dort Mitte der fünfziger Jahre einige Jahre in Folge gearbeitet hat.⁹² Was es vor Ruardis Eintreffen an reformiertem kirchlichen Leben in Groningen gegeben hat, wissen wir nicht. Ohne Bedeutung aber für die spätere Entwicklung ist das Jahrzehnt 1540–1550 bestimmt nicht gewesen. Es gab Kontakte mit der reformierten Welt, und daran waren Doctor Hieronymus und Praedinius beteiligt.

Die Beziehungen zwischen dem reformatorisch gesinnten Groningen und führenden Reformierten haben ihre Ursprung aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach in den in den Jahren 1541–1542 von reformierter Seite unternommenen Versuchen, Albert Hardenberg 'auf das Papsttum verzichten zu lassen'. Hardenberg, der nach seiner Schulausbildung Mönch im Kloster Aduard geworden war, hielt sich zu dieser Zeit noch im Kloster auf, aber war während seines Theologiestudiums in Löwen und Mainz einige Jahre zuvor mit dem Protestantismus in Berührung gekommen. In Aduard suchten ihn u.A. a Lasco und der spanische Protestant Francisco Dryander oder Enzinas auf.⁹³ Enzinas besuchte anschliessend auch Praedinius, der mit ihm über die Briefe des Paulus diskutierte.⁹⁴ Nach Hardenbergs Fortgang aus Aduard und a Lascos Ernennung zum Superintendenten von Ostfriesland im folgenden Jahr ändert sich das Bild. Von jenem Zeitpunkt an sind Doctor Hieronymus und Praedinius die wichtigsten Groninger Wortführer und sie orientieren sich an Emden und a Lasco.

Ein wichtiger bindender Faktor hierbei war die gemeinsame Abneigung gegen den Anabaptismus. Diese Abneigung, die übrigens in Groningen und Ostfriesland nie zu blutiger Unterdrückung wie in katholischen Gebieten geführt hat, erhielt 1544 durch die Konfrontation mit der extravagantesten Variante des

⁹¹ Rogier, *Geschiedenis van het katholicisme in Noord-Nederland*, I, 573.

⁹² Brucherus, *Geschiedenis van de opkomst der kerkhervorming in de provincie Groningen*, 90–91 und 126–127. Siehe auch: Smid, 'Kirchliche Beziehungen zwischen Groningen und Ostfriesland im 16. Jahrhundert', 32–33.

⁹³ *Mémoires de Francisco de Enzinas*, I, 9–13. Siehe auch: *Johannis a Lasco opera tam edita quam inedita*, II, 551–557.

⁹⁴ Van Schelven, ed., 'Een brief van Praedinius', 54–56.

niederländischen Täuferturns, dem Davidjorismus, einen neuen Impuls. Der Davidjorismus, dessen Lehre kurz zuvor (1542) von dem Begründer der Sekte, dem Delfter Glasmaler David Joris, in dem sogenannten *Wonderboeck* dargelegt worden war, hatte in Groningen und Ostfriesland eine grosse Anhängerschaft. Diese fiel aber wegen des von Joris gehuldigten Prinzips des 'Heuchelns' wenig auf.⁹⁵ Die Konfrontation mit dieser Gruppe war Folge des von a Lasco Anfang 1544 unternommenen Versuchs, diese Sekte zusammen mit den anderen anabaptistischen Strömungen in die ostfriesische Landeskirche zu inkorporieren. Nachdem er anfangs durch das 'Heucheln' seiner Gesprächspartner auf einen Irrweg geführt worden war und keinen Einwand gegen die Aufnahme der Joristen in die ostfriesische Kirche sah, änderte a Lasco seine Meinung. Er schob den Beitritt auf die lange Bank, fragte um neue Informationen hinsichtlich der Lehre des David Joris und unterbrach schliesslich den Kontakt. Die Sache endete, gemäss den Reichsgesetzen, im Sommer 1544 mit der formellen Ausweisung der Sekte aus Ostfriesland.⁹⁶

Der Beitrag 'Groningens' an diesen Ablauf kam von Doctor Hieronymus. Dieser besass einen Exemplar des *Wonderboeck* und war durch eigene Nachforschungen viel besser als a Lasco über die Ansichten des David Joris informiert. Insbesondere Joris' messianische Anmassung und seine Heuchelei stiessen ihn ab. Kurz vor Ostern 1544, als a Lasco noch mit den ostfriesischen Joristen im Gespräch war, eröffnete er eine scharfe Kampagne gegen David Joris und dessen Anhängerschaft. Im Groninger Rat griff er sie heftig an. Zugleich schickte er a Lasco eine aus zwanzig Punkten bestehende Zusammenfassung der Lehre Joris'.⁹⁷ Wie weit er in seinem Kampf gegen die Joristen zu gehen bereit war, zeigte Hieronymus im Mai desselben Jahres, als in Deventer Joriaen Ketel, einer der wichtigsten Mitarbeiter David Joris', verhaftet wurde: er informierte den Deventer Magistrat über Ketels Beziehungen und war damit mitverantwortlich für dessen Exekution.⁹⁸ Ob auch Praedinius an dieser Sache beteiligt war, ist unbekannt; ausgeschlossen ist es angesichts seiner Freundschaft mit Hieronymus und seiner Verurteilung des Anabaptismus aber nicht. Überdies wissen wir, dass einige Jahren nach Ketels Exekution, 1547, einer der Protagonisten auf joristischer Seite, Nicolaas Meyndertsz. van Blesdijk, eine Verteidigungsschrift gegen

⁹⁵ Zu David Joris vgl.: Bainton, *David Joris*, Leipzig 1937.

⁹⁶ Zijlstra, *Nicolaas Meyndertsz. van Blesdijk*, 61–74.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 74–74.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 76–78.

die Anschuldigungen des Hieronymus verfasste, und dass er diese neben dem Steuereinnahmer auch zwei anderen Groningern zuschickte,

welcke in menschelijcke of vrye consten geleert sijn en die een tyt lanck herwaerts gepredickt hebben die vryheit des evangelij.⁹⁹

Eine Umschreibung, die sehr wohl zu Praedinius und seinem heimlich mit dem Jorismus sympathisierenden Kollegen Verrutius passt.¹⁰⁰ Wie dem auch sei, feststeht, dass die Ereignisse von 1554 die Beziehungen zwischen Groningen und Emden intensiviert haben.

Die Bande wurden noch enger geknüpft, als im Sommer 1545 Gerhard tom Kamp aus Zürich zurückkehrte. Tom Kamp, Ältester der reformierten Gemeinde in Emden und Korrespondent Bullingers, ist bis zum Tod von Praedinius und Doctor Hieronymus der feste Verbindungsmann zwischen den Emder Kirchenrat und den Groninger Reformierten gewesen.¹⁰¹ An den regelmässigen Beratungen zwischen ihm, Praedinius und Hieronymus werden wir zu denken haben, wenn wir das Gremium suchen, in dem die Idee eines eigenen Pastorats für die Groninger Reformierten entstanden ist. An erster Stelle wird dabei, wie auch anderswo, die Überlegung gestanden haben, dass man die Groninger Reformierten gegen die Anziehungskraft des konkurrierenden Täufertums wappnen musste.¹⁰²

Die eigentliche Blütezeit der Beziehungen zwischen dem reformierten Emden und Groningen begann um 1555. Vorab ging eine Periode voller Probleme, in der man infolge des Sieges Karls V. im Schmalkaldischen Krieg (1547) und des Versuchs des Kaisers, die Protestanten durch das Interim und das Konzil in die katholische Kirche zurückzuführen, a Lascos feste Hand vermissen musste. Im Rahmen dieser Politik musste a Lasco wie Butzer und viele andere reformierte Theologen 1549 das Reich verlassen. Zusammen mit ihnen begab er sich nach dem England Eduards VI., wo die Regierung ihm die Leitung der evangelischen Ausländergemeinde in Londen anvertraute.¹⁰³ Auch Praedinius hat wahrscheinlich die Chance gehabt, das Rektorat

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 81.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 83.

¹⁰¹ Pollet, *Martin Bucer*, I, 260.

¹⁰² Diesen Grund gaben zum Beispiel die reformatorisch gesinnten von Dokkum (Friesland) an, als sie 1562 Emden um einen eigenen Pfarrer baten. Bibliothek der Grossen Kirche, Emden, Repositur 320a. Siehe auch: Smid, 'Kirchliche Beziehungen zwischen Groningen und Ostfriesland im 16. Jahrhundert', 32.

¹⁰³ Siehe für a Lascos Aufenthalt in England: Dalton, *Johannes a Lasco*, 324–426.

der Sankt-Martins-Schule gegen einen Lehrstuhl an einer englischen Universität einzuwechseln, er hat diese aber nicht wahrgenommen.¹⁰⁴ Er blieb in Groningen und fand sich dort so gut wie möglich mit den neuen Umständen ab. Bessere Zeiten kamen erst 1554, als a Lasco, gezwungen durch die Thronsbesteigung der katholischen Maria Tudor, England verliess und nach Ostfriesland zurückkehrte.¹⁰⁵ Die Kontakte intensivierten sich namentlich dadurch, dass a Lasco in seinem Gefolge eine kleine Gruppe protestantischer südniederländischer Intellektuellen mit sich führte, zu denen Praedinius und Doctor Hieronymus in den nachfolgenden Jahren eine feste Beziehung aufbauten.

Ein erstes Zeichen dieser sich entfaltenden Beziehung ist wahrscheinlich in Praedinius' Auftrag von Ende August 1554 an Gerhard tom Kamp zu sehen, für ihn von dem sich in Geldnot befindlichen Genter Gerard de Mortaigne Bücher zu kaufen.¹⁰⁶ Bei dieser einmaligen finanziellen Unterstützung blieb es nicht. Ab 1555 trafen regelmässig südniederländische Glaubensflüchtlinge zu Besuch in Groningen ein. So besuchte 1556 ein anderer Genter, der spätere Märtyrer Karel de Koning, Doctor Hieronymus, während zwei Jahre später Gerard de Mortaigne Gast des Steuereintnehmers war.¹⁰⁷ Praedinius erhielt in dieser Zeit seine Lutherbibel von dem Groninger Ostfriesen Christoffel van Ewsum, sein bedeutendster Besucher aber war der Junker aus Jennelt nicht.¹⁰⁸ Das war der flämische Protestant und Humanist Johannes Utenhove, der ihn 1556 um Mithilfe bei seinem Plan bat, die Bibel ins Niederländische zu übersetzen. Ein früherer Versuch war wegen Utenhoves eigentümlicher Sprachauffassung gescheitert.¹⁰⁹ Obwohl auch dieser zweite Versuch Ende 1556 wegen Utenhoves Reise nach Polen scheiterte,¹¹⁰ ist es doch interessant zu sehen, welche Männer Utenhove zusammengeführt hatte, um ihm bei seinem Unternehmen beizustehen. Ausser Praedinius sollten auch Tom Kamp, Mortaigne, Cassander und der Tole-

¹⁰⁴ 'Vocatus est eo [in Angliam] Philippus Me[lanchthon], Petrus Martyr et Bernardinus [Ochius]. Dominus a Lasco nisi a suo Rege vocabitur, eo est abiturus, si poterit illis prodesse. Vocandus quoque est Regnerus praeceptor meus, et non dubito quosdam ex vobis sollicitari.' G. tom Kamp an K. Pellikan, Emden, 20. Februar 1548. Zentralbibliothek Zürich, Ms. 47, f. 154v.

¹⁰⁵ Dalton, *Johannes a Lasco*, 426–440.

¹⁰⁶ R. Praedinius an G. tom Kamp, Groningen, 23. August 1554. Gabbema, *Epistolarum*, 168–173. Siehe auch: Ritter, 'Eine ostfriesische Lutherreliquie', 135.

¹⁰⁷ *Ecclesiae Londino-Batavae Archivum*, II, 86–87, und Brucherus, *Geschiedenis van de opkomst der kerkhervorming in de provincie Groningen*, 125.

¹⁰⁸ Ritter, 'Eine ostfriesische Lutherreliquie', 126–144.

¹⁰⁹ Pijper, *Jan Utenhove*, 125–142.

¹¹⁰ Utenhove reiste als Mitarbeiter des a Lasco nach Polen, um dieses Land für die Reformation zu gewinnen. *Ibid.*, 142–149.

ranzprediger Pieter de Zuttere einen Beitrag leisten.¹¹¹ Alle waren geschulte Humanisten, von denen neben Praedinius insbesondere Mortaigne und Cassander als Gelehrte bekannt waren.

In der Zeit zwischen diesen Besuchen konzentrierte Praedinius sich auf seine Bibeluntersuchungen. Im Juli vollendete er seinen Kommentar zu Paulus' Brief an die Römer,¹¹² während er gleichzeitig die Lutherbibel mit seinen korrigierenden Anmerkungen zu Luthers Angriffen auf Erasmus' Übersetzung des Neuen Testaments versah.¹¹³ Während dieser Arbeit liess Praedinius sich einmal zu einem Gefühlsausbruch verleiten. In seiner Bemerkung zu Mt. 7, 15–18: 'An den Früchten erkennt man den Baum', beklagt er sich leidenschaftlich über die amtierende Stadtregierung. Bürgermeister und Rat hätten den hohen Normen und Prinzipien aus den Tagen des Wilhelmus Frederici Schande gemacht. Sie seien, so schreibt er, Tyrannen geworden, die das Vaterland zugrunde richteten, und die wegen ihrer Gefühlslosigkeit von der Bevölkerung gehasst würden.¹¹⁴ Obwohl ohne jegliche Zeitangabe und faktische Erläuterung, kann dieser Zornesausbruch sich eigentlich nur auf das im Mai 1558 erlassene Verbot beziehen, Konventikel zu halten und fremde Prediger zu beherbergen, was Feito Ruardis nahezu zweijährigem Aufenthalt in der Stadt als Pastor der Kreuzgemeinde ein Ende setzte.¹¹⁵

Dieser Beschluss der Stadtregierung hat einen Schatten auf Praedinius' letztes Lebensjahr geworfen. Er folgte auf die erneute Verkündung der Anordnung von 1538 und war ohne Zweifel das Ergebnis des Drängens des 1557 neu ernannten 'luitenant van de Hoofdmannenkamer', Johan de Mepsche.¹¹⁶ Dennoch erlitt die Stadtregierung wahrscheinlich keine Niederlage, als sie sich entschloss, auf die Forderung des 'luitenant' einzugehen. Eher haben wir es wohl mit einer wohlüberlegten Konzession zu tun, gemacht, um die religiöse Einheit in der Stadt wiederherzustellen und die eigene Autorität zu schützen. Drei Monate vor dem Verbot nämlich hatte das von ihr kontrollierte Wahlgremium den 'protestantisierenden' Johannes Eelts zur Persona der Sankt-Martins-Kirche gewählt.¹¹⁷ Dessen Predigten,

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, XVI–XVII.

¹¹² Praedinius, 'In sacrosanctam divi Pauli epistolam ad Romanos annotationes'. *Opera* 1563, 491.

¹¹³ Siehe Anm. 32.

¹¹⁴ Zum Text dieser Notiz vgl.: Boeles, *Het tweehonderdvijftig jarig bestaan der hervormde gemeente te Noorddijk*, 40–43.

¹¹⁵ Mellink, 'Uit de voorgeschiedenis van de reformatie in Groningen', 151.

¹¹⁶ Zu De Mepsche vgl.: Nanninga Uiterdijk, 'Dr. Johan de Mepsche'.

¹¹⁷ Vgl. hierzu: Van Dijk, 'Dr. Johannes Eelts'.

so werden Bürgermeister und Rat gedacht haben, würden die Konventikelbesucher in die alte Kirche zurückbringen und damit die religiöse Zweiteilung der Stadt aufheben können. Um diesen Prozess zu beschleunigen, konnte man die Konventikel verbieten und fremden Predigern den Aufenthalt in Groningen untersagen. Ein derartiges Vorgehen bot ausserdem den Vorteil, dass De Mepsche und die Regierung keinen Grund mehr hatten, in die inneren Angelegenheiten der Stadt einzugreifen.

Wenn solche Überlegungen die Stadtregierung zu ihrem Entschluss verholffen haben, und es gibt gute Gründe anzunehmen, dass dies in der Tat der Fall war,¹¹⁸ dann hat sie in ihrer Beurteilung der Person des 'luitenant' einen schweren Fehler gemacht. Der in Groningen geborene De Mepsche war ein überzeugter Katholik und loyaler Diener des Hauses Habsburg. Ausserdem war er mit dem mächtigen Präsidenten des Geheimen Rates, Viglius van Ayta, befreundet, wodurch er einen direkten Zugang zur Brüsseler Zentralbehörde hatte.¹¹⁹ Als er denn auch entdeckte, dass zwar Feito Ruardi Groningen verlassen, Johannes Eelts aber ein eben so grosser Ketzer war, weigerte er sich, noch länger tatenlos zu bleiben. Ende September reiste er nach Brüssel und informierte dort den Geheimen Rat über die religiöse Zustände in Stadt und Provinz. Seine Hauptklage galt Eelts. Dieser besass, so geht aus dem von diesem Konferenz überlieferten Bericht hervor, nicht die Priesterweihe und wird als 'adhérant à la secte des Zwyngliens' bezeichnet.¹²⁰ Zugleich beklagte sich De Mepsche über Praedinius, der in der Schule die Schüler mit seiner ketzerischen Lehre indoktrinierte:

endocrinant ses escolliers en icelle de sorte qu'ilz en sont fort entachez au grand dangier et perdition de leurs âmes et entière ruyne du bien publicque d'illec.¹²¹

Obwohl De Mepsches Analyse durchaus den Tatsachen entsprach, wurde nichts aus seinem Vorschlag, Groningen von allen protestantischen Elementen zu säubern. Viglius, der in diesen Monaten über seinen Vertrauensmann Sonnius mit dem Heiligen Stuhl über die bekannte kirchliche Neueinteilung von 1559 unterhan-

¹¹⁸ Der wichtigste Grund scheint mir zu sein, dass die Stadtregierung auch nach Eelts' Fortgang im Herbst 1558 diese Politik fortsetzte und 1559 den stark 'protestantisierenden' Steven Silvius zur Persona der Sankt-Martins-Kirche berief. Vgl. *Historie van Groningen*, 215.

¹¹⁹ Zu De Mepsches Beziehung zu Viglius vgl.: Postma, *Viglius van Ayta als humanist en diplomaat*, 79, 84 und 86.

¹²⁰ Geheime Rat an K. von Lalaing, Brüssel, 1. Oktober 1558. Archives Générales du Royaume, Brüssel, *Papiers d'état et de l'audience*, 289, 335r.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, 335v.

delte,¹²² fand ein derartiges Einschreiten inopportun und verhinderte es.¹²³ Einen Erfolg jedoch verbuchte De Mepsche mit seiner Reise: bei seiner Rückkehr nach Groningen hatte Eelts sein Amt niedergelegt und die Stadt verlassen.¹²⁴

Praedinius ging es inzwischen weniger gut. Dem Konventikelverbot folgte Ende August der schwere persönliche Verlust durch den Tod seines Freundes Doctor Hieronymus.¹²⁵ Bei dessen Beerdigung zeigte er sich noch einmal in all' seiner Kraft. In einer bewegenden Ansprache lobte er Gerhard tom Kamp zufolge den Sohn des Wilhelmus Frederici als den Beschützer der Freiheit der Provinz, der sich immer über die Flüchtlinge und Verfolgten erbarmt habe, und ein Mann sei, wie ihn die Stadt in fünfzig Jahren nicht besessen habe und in hundert Jahren nicht wieder haben werde.¹²⁶ Der Kenner der nordniederländischen Reformationsgeschichte A.F. Mellink nennt dieses Zeugnis exaltiert,¹²⁷ doch passen solche Qualifizierungen in die humanistische Tradition, und dieses Urteil entspricht genau dem, das wir in Praedinius' Schriften über Doctor Hieronymus lesen.¹²⁸

Einige Monate danach offenbarten sich bei Praedinius die ersten Symptome der Krankheit, der er am 18. April 1559 erliegen würde.¹²⁹ Auch in seiner letzten Lebensphase blieb Praedinius den Auffassungen, die er sein Leben lang gehegt hatte, treu. Er bestimmte einen Teil seines Nachlasses für die Diakonie der reformierten Gemeinde in Emden,¹³⁰ und verbrannte in einem Akt puritanischer Frömmigkeit seine gesamten Aufzeichnungen über die weltlichen Autoren des Altertums, weil diese 'die heilige Wahrheit nicht vollkommen widerspiegelten'.¹³¹ Den Kern seines

¹²² Dierickx, *De oprichting der nieuwe bisdommen in de Nederlanden onder Filips II*, 46–49. Siehe auch: Postma, 'Nieuw licht op een oude zaak: de oprichting van de nieuwe bisdommen in 1559'.

¹²³ Viglius an Emanuel Philibert von Savoyen, Arras, 20. Oktober 1558. Archives Générales du Royaume, Brüssel, *Papiers d'état et de l'audience*, 289, 361r–362r.

¹²⁴ Van Dijk, 'Dr. Johannes Eelts', 23.

¹²⁵ Mellink, 'Uit de voorgeschiedenis van de reformatie in Groningen', 152.

¹²⁶ Feith, 'Twee brieven van Gerardus tom Campo', 53–55.

¹²⁷ Wie Anm. 124.

¹²⁸ Praedinius, 'In divi Pauli priorem epistolam ad Corinthios, commentarius.' *Opera* 1563, 410.

¹²⁹ Feith, 'Twee brieven van Gerardus tom Campo', 50.

¹³⁰ *Die Kirchenratsprotokolle der reformierten Gemeinde Emden*, I, 204.

¹³¹ 'Publice in Schola etiamsi fere singulis diebus quatuor integras horas praelegeret, tamen domi nihilominus varia alia meditatus est ac scripsit, in Platonem, Aristotelem, Demosthenem, et Galenum: in Latinos, Ciceronem et Quintilianum: quae, dum sanctam veritatem perfecte non redolerent, rupit, ac multorum lachrymis Vulcano traditit.' Praedinius, *Opera* 1563, Praefatio, *5v.

Glaubens brachte er in seiner Grabschrift 'Sit Jesus mihi Christus', 'Sei Jesus mir der Heiland', zum Ausdruck.¹³²

Praedinius' Leben hat nicht lange gedauert, nur etwa fünfzig Jahre. Doch darf die darin zusammengeballte Aktivität nach allen Massstäben als eindrucksvoll bezeichnet werden. Mit Recht hat die Überlieferung ihn auf die gleiche Stufe mit den zwei anderen Grossen des Groninger Humanismus gestellt, Agricola und Gansfort. Leider wissen wir über Praedinius viel weniger als über diese beiden Figuren. Seine nachgelassenen Schriften sind unvollständig, und neben seinen Anmerkungen in der Lutherbibel und in einigen anderen Büchern sind nur drei Briefe von ihm bekannt.¹³³ Dies erklärt auch, dass das hier skizzierte Bild unvollständig ist. Doch sind, scheint mir, die wichtigsten Aspekte der Person des Praedinius wohl angedeutet worden: seine Liebe zur Bibel und seine pädagogische Begabung. Vor allem letzterer wegen ist er zu einem bedeutenden historischen Gestalt geworden. Praedinius war der grosse Rektor des Humanismus im Norden der Niederlande. Von der Sankt-Martins-Schule aus hat er seine Spuren durch das intellektuelle und geistige Leben der friesischen Länder gezogen. Fast alle Groninger und einen Teil der friesischen Anführer im Kampf gegen Spanien und die katholische Kirche hat er inspiriert.¹³⁴ Darüber hinaus hat Praedinius zusammen mit Hieronymus Frederici in Groningen an der Wiege des reformierten Protestantismus gestanden. Der protestantische Charakter und das hohe intellektuelle Niveau der friesisch-groningischen Elite in den ersten Jahren der niederländischen Republik sind, so kann man sagen, zu einem erheblichen Teil die Hinterlassenschaft dieses begabten Bauernsohns aus Winsum.

¹³² Eine Abbildung des Grabsteins des Praedinius mit eingraviertem Grabschrift in *Effigies et vitae*, 232.

¹³³ Zwei dieser Briefe sind im 17. Jahrhundert von dem friesischen Historiker S.A. Gabbema veröffentlicht worden. Der dritte wurde 1928 von dem Kirchenhistoriker A.A. van Schelven entdeckt und veröffentlicht. Gabbema, *Epistolarum*, 168–173 und 175–177; Van Schelven, 'Een brief van Praedinius'.

¹³⁴ Einen Eindruck von der Bedeutung von Praedinius' Unterricht vermittelt Boeles in seiner Geschichte der Franeker Hochschule. Nicht weniger als vier Franeker Professoren der ersten Stunde hatten die Sankt-Martins-Schule besucht: Henricus Schotanus, Lollius Adama, Johannes Arcerius und Julius a Beyma. Boeles, *Frieslands Hoogeschool en het Rijks Athenaeum te Franeker*, II–2, 40, 52, 59 und 66.

ANHANG I

Friesische und groningische Studenten an den Universitäten von Löwen, Köln, Wittenberg, Rostock, Heidelberg und Basel in der Zeit des Praedinius

		Friesland	Groningen	Sonstige Friesen*
Löwen	1540–1548	149	57	39
	1548–1565	165	59	41
Köln	1540–1548	11	6	1
	1548–1565	147	11	18
Wittenberg**	1523–1540	15	9	4
	1540–1548	13	4	11
	1548–1565	1	4	29
Rostock	1540–1548	4	6	9
	1548–1565	7	10	49
Heidelberg	1540–1548	0	0	–
	1548–1565	10	9	–
Basel	1540–1548	1	0	–
	1548–1565	12	22	–

* 'Sonstige Friesen' habe ich alle diejenigen genannt, die ich nicht als Groninger, Friesen oder Ostfriesen habe identifizieren können.

** Meine Zählung beginnt mit dem ersten Jahr nach 1517, in dem sich Friesen und Groninger an der Wittenberger Universität immatrikuliert haben.

Die Angaben in dieser Übersicht stammen aus:

Album Academiae Vitebergensis ab Anno Christi MDII usque ad Annum MDLX, hrsg. von C.E. Foerstemann, Leipzig 1841.

Die Matrikel der Universität Rostock, hrsg. von A. Hofmeister, 4 Bde., Rostock 1889–1904 (repr. Nendeln/Liechtenstein, 1976), Bd. II.

Die Matrikel der Universität Köln, hrsg. von H. Keussen, Ph. Notbrock, M. Groten und M. Huiskes, 7 Bde., Bonn-Düsseldorf 1928–1981, Bde. II, III und IV.

Matricule de l'université de Louvain, hrsg. von E. Reussens, J. Wils und A. Schillings, 10 Bde., Brüssel 1903–1967, Bde. III, IV und V.

Guggisberg, H.R., 'Die niederländischen Studenten an der Universität Basel von 1532 bis zum Ende des 17. Jahrhunderts'. *Basler Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Altertumskunde* 58–59 (1959), 231–288.

Nauta, G.A., 'Waar studeerden de Groningers vóór de stichting hunner Academie?' *Groninger Volksalmanak* 1910, 169–195.

Wal, J. de, 'Nederlanders studenten te Heidelberg'. *Handelingen en Meededeelingen van de Maatschappij der Nederlandsche Letterkunde te Leiden over het jaar 1886*, Leiden 1886, 1–155.

ANHANG II

Dionysi a Campo litteras duas
edidit A.H. van der Laan

Sequuntur Dionysi a Campo epistulae duae, quarum prima ad Johannem Eusemium, secunda ad Regnerum Praedinium missa est. Manuscriptorum orthographiam Latinam retinui, nisi quod scripsi *i* pro *j* et semper *u*, cum A Campo aliquoties scripserit *v*; tum pro littera, quae *e-caudata* dici solet, scripsi *ae*. Vice abbreviatorum verba tota enotavi; signum . litteram incertam indicat. Denique signa diacritica, quae lectoribus auxilio sint, ad nostri aevi consuetudinem accomodavi. Epistolae primae autographa lacunas, quarum longitudinem aestimare temptavi, continet.

Epistola no. 132 I (15.03.1537).

Salutem in eo, qui nobis aeternam peperit salutem. S...lum exisse uid.. [*lacuna circa XV litterarum*] .d abs te/ literarum adfertur nihil. Sed neque salutatiuncula quidem antiqu [*lacuna circa XX litterarum*] propter .e/ hac culpa a me inculsari doleo, qui incredibili tui desiderio [*lacuna circa XX litterarum*] tuum fidei/glutinium aut improba mea instantia, ut qui ualeas [*lacuna circa XXV litterarum*] o ratio apud/ te audiat, ego ceterique amici, qui ea rogitant, pernos [*lacuna circa XX litterarum*] .um et operam/ omnem luseris, quin bene coepta foeliciter ad umbilicum deducere satag [*lacuna circa X litterarum*] .omitat Calumniator/ ille, qui omnem mouet lapidem, quo nos in pristinae uitae sordes impella<t> [*lacuna circa V litterarum*] ad quas rerum affluentia/ ac uoluptas nos plurimum inuitant. Hinc usuuenire solet, ut his tenebri<s omni>no excaecati salutis/ faciamus naufragium. At placidissima nauigatione in eum uitae portu<m> te appulisse mihi/ persuadeo, ut illius insidias expertus uinci haudquaquam possis; quod non tuis uiribus, sed Dei/ misericordiae acceptum ferre oportet. Nam aduersus hoc hostium genus non externis armis, sed/ pura in Deum fide defendimur. Dabis igitur operam, ne quando quod sartum est, rescindatur./ Cuperem tecum ceram multis agere, quae literis commendare neque tu mihi author fueris./ Ut autem sponte currenti calcaria addam, fide gustum adiungo copiosiore, quem ego non ex/ quouis uulgari, sed ipso pedialectore doctore accepi nefasque iudicaui, si hoc te fraudem bono./ Interpretatur enim (quantum fieri potuit) paucis eam, quae est apud Pauli Hebreos XI, fidei definitionem./

Fides, inquit, est rerum sperandarum ὑπόστασις, id est fulcrum, tibi-
cen, id est ein understyl, darmen dat/ gebau mit understijlet. Latinus
interpret in hac epistola aliquoties uertit sustentiam/ (id est subsis-
tentiam, id est ein understehung, bestehung oder bestendig dingk),
cum monet, ne se sub/ducant iugumque humeris excutiant, accusans
quosdam, quod abiecerint sustentiam. Sumpta figura loquendi/ ab
his, qui humeros iugo subyciunt, quoad sustinent durantque sub onere,

perstant fideles in suscepto/ iugo. Sin humeros subtrahant oneri, nihil utiles sunt neque sibi neque a quo onus susceperunt./ Quomodo spiritus Abacuc 2 ad hoc alludit et Hieremias in Threnis cap. 2. Bonum est uiro, si portauerit/ iugum Domini ab adolescentia. Sedebit solitarius et leuabit super se (scilicet iugum), quod dicitur: non excutiet/ quamlibet pressus. Nam si subduxerit se (inquit Abacuc), non placebit animae meae. Ut si quis fa/mulus corbem ouorum in humeros a domino sustulisset, deinde grauatus onus procyeret, inutilis censendus/ sit et domino ingratus perdiditque sibi ac domino uniuersum in se susceptum bonum. Ita imposuit nobis Dominus/ corbem uerbi factorumque suorum ueluti corbem spiritu fidei fortiter credendum ac quodammodo portandum ad/ finem usque uitae, ea lege, ut siquando ingrauesceret, ipsum inuocaremus se alleuaturum data gratia./ Nam hac ratione iugum suum et onus leue latuque commodum dixit, alioqui in se est ualde graue./

Credenda autem sunt quae facta sunt, quod facta sint et speranda, quae futura repromissa/ sunt. Atque ad futura promissa tantum accommodata ista prior pars definitionis, ut uidelicet crederemus/ firmiter fore, quae in Christo nobis promissa sunt. Spes enim futurorum est./

Fides¹ est rerum inuisibilium ἔλεγχος, id est credens repraesentatio, propositio, [lacuna circa V litterarum] fidelis, comprehensio,/ imaginatio, indicium siue, ut interpret Chrisostomus uertit, conuictio, id est ein begro [lacuna circa V litterarum] g, inhalt, antzeig,/ ut cum quis sibi proponit inuisibilia, id est concipit ea tanquam praesentia sibi su [lacuna circa X litterarum] pars non tantum/ futurarum est rerum, sed et praeteritarum. Nam tam quae praeterite f [lacuna circa XX litterarum] sunt, quam quae/ futura sunt. Inter praeterita sunt (inquit), quod Deus creauerit . [lacuna circa XXX litterarum] quod Christus/ pro nobis mortuus sit et resurrexerit et ascenderit. Nam omnia [lacuna circa XXX litterarum] .modum/ et quaecumque ex uerbo credimus esse futura etiamnum, ut communem r [lacuna circa XXX litterarum] .aporum/ totum sub hac posteriore fidei parte compraeenderit. Sed prior [lacuna circa XXX litterarum] um/ sperandarum rerum meminit, futurorum tantum est. Complectitu<r> [lacuna circa V litterarum] .t [lacuna circa XXX litterarum]/ Estque definitio essentialis demonstrans, quid proprie sit fides in effectum [lacuna circa XXV litterarum]/ commendatitia definitio. Sicut illa dialectices definitio apud Petrum Hispanum trad [lacuna circa XXV litterarum]/ utrum definitiones sint essentialia an commendatitiae. Nam hae poste [lacuna circa XXX litterarum]/ rem (ut uocant) per essentialia, commendatitiae definitiones s. [lacuna circa XXX litterarum]/ Item: non est Deus sicut Deus noster. Item: cur quaeris nomen meum [lacuna circa XXX litterarum]/ definitio apud Esaiam IX,5: Pater futuri saeculi, princeps pacis [lacuna circa XXXV litterarum]// {uerso} [lacuna circa V litterarum] ..tionem prae se ferunt eius, quem describunt. Et officium eius dignitatesque sonant potius,/ [lacuna circa X litterarum] essentialia. Sic

¹ Ante hoc uerbum in margine: Altera defi. pars.

enim tum definiendus sit Christus. Christus est f<i>lius/ [*lacuna circa X litterarum*] ine homo factus, sicut Iohannes descripsit: verbum caro factum est. Nam illa, quod sit [*lacuna circa V litterarum*]/ [*lacuna circa X litterarum*] pacis, accidentalia tantum sunt, cum eius commendatione coniuncta. Paulus Graece su [*lacuna circa V litterarum*]/ [*lacuna circa X litterarum*] ζ, ἐλπίζομένων ὑπόστασις, πραγμάτων ἔλεγχος οὐ βλεπομένων, quod [*lacuna circa V litterarum*]/ [*lacuna circa X litterarum*] reddas. Der gelouff ist ejne stoening, id est ein understelsel oder vaste hoffnung/ [*lacuna circa V litterarum*] zuversicht (nam est metaphora uocis ab externis ad spiritualia) der verhoepffter/ [*lacuna circa V litterarum*] .g, unnd der unsichtbarer vurstelsel (verstae mit eijnen gelouuigen hertz oder/ [*lacuna circa V litterarum*] ist). Nam de fide agit ac proinde van eijner stoening unnd vurstelsel, dat/ vastlig gelouft dat geen, dat idt nit en seht, dat idt sich vurstelt oder/ vurbildt. Hoc igitur loco fides non usurpatur simpliciter proprie pro ea, qua credimus/ credenda, sed etiam qua speramus haec ipsa fiducia. Salutatis igitur matre, sorore ac/ fratribus et magistro Reynero feliciter uale. Louanii Iouis a Dominica Letare anno 1537./

Tuus ex animo Dionysius.

Epistola no. 186 (25.06.1537).

S.P. Excusationem tuam boni consului quamlibenter, Praedini ornatisime. At uenae incisio quod minus foeliciter ceciderit, mihi admodum ac non secus atque tibi molesta fuit. Principiis igitur obsta, ne teipsum neglexisse uideare. Eussemium nostrum ex me salutabis plurimum, cui Philippi Locos Communes Latinitate donatos ac rec<o>gnitos unacum ratione Mantuani consilii per Paulum Romanum pontificem indicti mitto, sic tamen, ut iis pro uoto uti liberum sit, ne ueteris necessitudinis iure frustreris. Bene uale, mi Praedini. Louanii postridie Johannis Baptistae 1537. Si nouarum rerum cupidus sis, ex tabellario disces.

Διο πεδῖαν.²

² Διονύσιος Πεδῖανος = Dionysius a Campo.

C.G. SANTING

FREDERICUS MOORMAN (†1482)

The Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich owns many works by the humanist Theodericus Ulsenius.¹ The greater part of Ulsenius's writings survives only in copies made by his friend, the Nuremberg humanist historian and physician Hartmann Schedel. The Schedel Library was sold to Duke Albrecht von Bayern (†1579), the founder of the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek.² The Schedel Codex, now Clm 528, like most of the manuscripts copied by Schedel, is not a very impressive paper volume; nevertheless, it was beautifully bound on the commission of Schedel. The second half of Clm 528 is a collection of poetry and a few pieces of prose by the early Dutch humanists Rudolph Agricola, Rudolph von Langen, Bartholomaeus Coloniensis and Antonius Liber. Nearly all their poems can be found in printed editions.³ But the manuscript also contains a hitherto unknown collection of poems by Fredericus or Fridericus Moorman.

Moorman has always been regarded as a rather mysterious acquaintance of Rudolph Agricola. Students of Dutch humanism knew only that he had written two poems about Agricola's return to Groningen, one dedicated to Wessel Gansfort and another to Agricola himself. In a letter dated 3 April 1480, in which he invited Moorman for a visit to Groningen, Agricola thanked him for these panegyrics and gave him the best wishes of their mutual friend Antonius Vrije van Soest. The tone of this letter is laudatory: Agricola praises Moorman for his 'remarkable erudition, unknown in the North, whose level, even in Italy, was reached by only a few'.⁴ This high regard for Moorman was shared by Erasmus who expressed identical praise in a letter to Cornelius Aurelius.⁵

¹ On Ulsenius, see Santing, *Geneeskunde en humanisme*.

² On Schedel and his library: Stauber, *Die Schedelsche Bibliothek*.

³ Santing, 'Theodericus Ulsenius, alter Agricola?'

⁴ See on this: Van der Velden, *Rodolphus Agricola*, 124–126. Agricola, Epistula nr. 20: Agricola to Moorman, Selwerd 3 April 1480 (= Erasmus, *Opus epistolarum*, 316–317); see the list in *Rodolphus Agricola Phrisius 1444–1489*, 321–326.

⁵ Erasmus, *Opus epistolarum*, nr. 23; Tilmans, *Aurelius en de Divisiechroniek van 1517*.

Moorman is also mentioned in a letter by Agricola addressed to Adolphus Occo later that year.⁶ Agricola informed Occo about their *conterraneus* or fellow countryman Moorman, who had visited him in Groningen and had wanted to know everything about Occo. In this letter Agricola described Moorman as a very learned and refined man, who was a good teacher excelling in lyric poetry.

Until recently these two poems by Moorman on Agricola and the letter of thanks for these eulogies by Agricola was all that was known about their relationship.⁷ All three are preserved in the library of the Alsatian humanist Beatus Rhenanus in Schlettstadt, now the French town Sélestat.⁸ Beatus Rhenanus was a pupil of Jakob Wimpfeling and he knew most of the famous German humanists of the sixteenth century. It is entirely possible that at the home of one of these congenial spirits he came upon the poems with the letter and copied them, but it is equally possible that the poems were presented to Rhenanus by Gansfort's biographer Albert Hardenberg (†1574).⁹ In Rhenanus's collected letters there is one letter by Hardenberg to Rhenanus dated 22 March 1545. Hardenberg suggests somewhat casually that the two men knew each other rather well. Rhenanus was also informed that Hardenberg had recently visited the famous abbey *Magna Adwerdiana*, where some interesting material was presented to him.¹⁰ Hardenberg promised Rhenanus that he would certainly see these things, at least if he succeeded in extracting them from the hands of the monks of Adwert. Considering that the poems and the letter were about Groningen, it can be assumed that in the mid-sixteenth century these texts were still present at the Adwert library.

Recently Professor Worstbrock wrote a short lemma on Moorman in the *Verfasserlexikon*.¹¹ Here he states that Moorman studied at the university of Rostock, at that time a very popular university among the Dutch. Indeed, the name Moorman can be

⁶ Agricola, Epistulae nr. 22: Agricola to Adolphus Occo, Cologne 19 October 1480.

⁷ Agricola, Epistulae, nr. 20: Selwerd 3 April 1480.

⁸ Sélestat, Bibliothèque Humaniste et Municipale, MS K 984A.

⁹ See on him: Spiegel, *D. Albert Rizäus Hardenberg*. For his relations with Gansfort: Akkerman and Santing, 'Rudolf Agricola en de Aduarder academie', esp. 11–12.

¹⁰ *Briefwechsel des Beatus Rhenanus*, nr. 391, 528–530: 'Fui interim in Frisia abbatia celeberrima, cui Magna Adwerdiana nomen est, in qua vetera quaedam deprehendi. Quae si habere per amicos monachos potero, dabo operam, ut tu ea videas, si videbuntur digna.'

¹¹ *Verfasserlexikon* VI, 700–702. See also: *Contemporaries of Erasmus*, s.v.

found in the matricles of Rostock university. Surprisingly, three Moormans, presumably brothers, studied at Rostock. *Ludolphus Morman*, who came from the East Frisian town Emden, immatriculated on 14 June 1466. On 29 October 1469 *Fredericus Morman de Emida* payed his lecture fees, and in that same year Ludolphus took his degree as a *magister artium*. Five years later, a third Moorman, called Martinus, subscribed to the university.¹²

In all likelihood Moorman did not conclude his studies at Rostock but continued his education at Cologne. It is probable that the *Fredericus Moerman de Groningen* who immatriculated in 1472 at Cologne is the same person as our *Fredericus Morman de Emida*.¹³ East Frisia and Groningen were closely connected, as is also evident in the family relations of both Agricola and Adolph Occo. From the reading of Moorman's poems it is clear, moreover, that he knew Groningen well; he must have payed more visits to Groningen than only the one in the Summer of 1480.

After his studies, Moorman became a member of the Brethren of the Common Life and went to live as a friar at Munster for several years. There he was a close friend of Rudolph von Langen, the dean of the Munster Cathedral.¹⁴ It must have been through Von Langen, who was very much interested in education, that Moorman began to teach at the Munster Latin school. It is known that he tried to impart some knowledge to Agricola's less than brilliant halfbrother Hendrik. In connection with this, Agricola praises Moorman's abilities as a teacher in a letter to Alexander Hegius, and he mentions the fact that Moorman used to give extra lessons after school.¹⁵

In the course of 1480, Moorman was given orders to move to the House of the Brethren at Marburg an der Lahn.¹⁶ Moorman seems to have had a strong dislike for Marburg, where he was without humanist friends and proper books, as we learn from poems in Clm 528. Rudolph von Langen had apparently sent him some books because in 1481 Moorman received *Compendiosa doctrina . . . de proprietate sermonum* (Venice 1476) by Nonius Marcellus, and a *De verborum significationibus* by Sextus Pompeius Festus (Treviso 1475).¹⁷ This cannot have been enough to keep

¹² Hofmeister, *Die Matrikel der Universität Rostock*, 152?, 155, 163, 164, 187.

¹³ Keussen, *Die Matrikel der Universität Köln I*, 1472 nr. 32: 'Fred. Moerman de Groeningen'.

¹⁴ Parmet, *Rudolf von Langen*, 17, 59.

¹⁵ Agricola, *Epistulae* nr. 21: Agricola to Hegius, Groningen 20 September 1480.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ Heinemeyer, 'Die Marburger Kugelherren als Wegbereiter der Universität',

Moorman alive, since already in 1482 Von Langen mourned his friend in an *epicedion*.¹⁸

Some of the poems of our corpus are addressed to Antonius Liber and this gives us an indication about the way the collection was put together and how it arrived at Nuremberg. Theodericus Ulsenius was a Dutch humanist and medical doctor, who came to Nuremberg around 1492 to become a townphysician. However, before that, Ulsenius practised in the towns of Kampen and Deventer. Antonius Liber held the position of *secretarius* of Kampen and it can be assumed that they knew each other very well.¹⁹ Presumably Ulsenius copied the collection of Moorman's poems which were at that time in the possession of Liber.²⁰ The fact that Liber's daughter Barbara later sold manuscripts by Rudolph Agricola and that Clm 528 also contains some — at that time unpublished — work by Agricola, strengthens this hypothesis.

Ulsenius was acquainted with most of the humanistically oriented intellectuals of the northeastern Netherlands, who for their part were often connected with either Moorman, Liber or Agricola. In his Deventer years, Ulsenius, for instance, befriended Alexander Hegius, who could also have presented him with some interesting poetry. With regard to the Moorman poems, however, Liber remains the most likely intermediate.

It is common knowledge that early humanists often transcribed each others' work, before it was printed, if it was ever published at all. On moving to Nuremberg Ulsenius probably took with him a collection of Dutch poetry, which had been gathered and copied by himself. This corpus must have provided him with a nice introduction to the Nuremberg intellectual *avantgarde*, as it included several unpublished pieces of writing by Dutch humanists. Hartmann Schedel subsequently transcribed the complete selection in one of his volumes, which later became our Clm 528.

34, Plate 4; Heinemeyer, 'Marburg (1476–1527)', *Monasticon Fratrum Vitae Communis*, 154–155.

¹⁸ Parmet, *Von Langen*, 'In Fridericum Mormannum Emedensem nuper apud Marburgum Hassiae vita functum', 196 nr. XXVI. Also copied by Schedel in Clm 528, f. 190v.

¹⁹ Santing, 'Theodericus Ulsenius, alter Agricola?', 176–178.

²⁰ See on him: *Verfasserlexikon* V, 747–751; Akkerman and Santing, 'Rudolf Agricola en de Aduarder Academie', 15 and note 32, 21–22.

P. SCHOONBEEG

FRIDERICI MAURI CARMINA

Edition with commentary¹

Until quite recently only two poems by Friedrich Mormann were known. One is addressed to Rudolph Agricola, on the occasion of his safe return to Groningen, the other announces the same fact in jubilant tones to Wessel Gansfort.² After Dr Santing's inspection of the Munich manuscript Clm 528, however, there is every reason to assume that much more poetry can be ascribed to this 'somewhat obscure representative of the group of early Westphalian and Frisian humanists'.³

This large codex of 209 folios, one of the vast number written by the hand of the prolific Hartmann Schedel, offers in its second part a miscellaneous number of poems by writers more or less attached to the so-called Adwert Academy: Rudolph Agricola, Friedrich Mormann, Rudolph von Langen, Bartholomaeus Coloniensis, Antonius Liber and Theodericus Ulsenius (ff. 175–207).⁴

¹ The writing of this article was made possible by the Netherlands Organisation for Scientific Research (NWO). I would like to thank Dr F. Akkerman, University of Groningen, without whose help and inspiration this article could not have been written, and Mrs Glee Vuursteen-Rosen, Delfzijl, who corrected the English of this article.

² The manuscript containing the two poems is in the Bibliothèque Humaniste at Sélestat (shelfmark K. 984 a). One of them was printed in Van Rhijn, *Wessel Gansfort*, 139–140; the other, partially, in Van der Velden, *Rodolphus Agricola*, 124–126. For Friedrich Mormann(n)/Moerman(n)/Fridericus Maurus see *Contemporaries of Erasmus*, s.v. Mormann, and *Verfasserlexikon*, s.v. Morman(n). The most recent publication on the members of the Adwert Academy, containing extensive references to earlier literature, is Akkerman and Santing, 'Rudolf Agricola en de Aduarder Academie'.

³ For the manuscript see *Catalogus codicum latinorum Bibliothecae Regiae Monacensis*, editio altera, tom. I pars I, 149–150, and Santing, 'Theodoricus Ulsenius, alter Agricola?' The quotation is from the article in *Contemporaries of Erasmus*, cited in note 2.

⁴ For Agricola, see Van der Velden, *Rodolphus Agricola*, and *Rodolphus Agricola Phrisius (1444–1485)*; for Von Langen see Parmet, *Rudolf von Langen*, and *Verfasserlexikon*, s.v. Langen; for Bartholomaeus Coloniensis see *Contemporaries of Erasmus*, s.v. Zehender, and Schoonbeeg, 'Bartholomaeus Colonienis: Two Fables'; for Ant(h)onius Liber Susatensis or Anton Vrije/Vrie(n) see *Verfasserlexikon*, s.v. Liber. The most recent publication on Ulsenius is Santing, *Geneeskunde en humanisme*.

The pages 181v–204r contain sixteen poems. One of these (X) was written by Antonius Liber. Seven poems (I, III, VII, XI, XII, XV, XVI) can be attributed to Mormann by reason of their headings that state him expressly as their author, and one poem (VI) has a reference to its author in the text itself. The remaining seven poems (II, IV, V, VIII, IX, XIII, XIV) can, in my opinion, safely be ascribed to Mormann, not only because of their position within the whole corpus, but also on account of metrical and syntactical idiosyncrasies which they share with the poems of undisputed authorship.

Considering the circles in which Mormann moved, and his personal and epistolary contacts, neither the contents of his poems are surprising, nor their metrical form. The greater part by far of the collection of poems here published (nearly 400 out of 605 lines) is dedicated to the humanist cult of friendship and to subjects that were very near the humanist heart: a ‘praeconium poesis’, a ‘laus impressurae’, a ‘querimonia auctoris’ on the neglect that befell the great classical poets in his time. Some poems (about 150 lines) are of a more or less religious nature and the purport of one poem is political. Besides hexameters, sapphic and asclepiadean stanzas and hendecasyllables, there are the inevitable elegiac distichs (not quite half of the lines).

As to the chronological sequence of the individual poems, there is virtually no certainty to be had. Very few of the poems give any absolute clues and the corpus is too small to draw any conclusions from metrical phenomena. The terminus *ante quem* is 1482: Mormann died in the second half of this year. Given the addressees of his poems and the probable stage of his own education, it does not seem likely that he wrote much poetry before his matriculation at the university of Rostock (Autumn 1469); there is also some reason to date poem I in about that year. The two poems that were already known to us (XVII, XVIII), should be assigned to the year 1479 and/or 1480, when Agricola returned to Groningen. On the basis of its subject matter only one of the newly-found poems can be dated without any doubt: carmen XV *De morte ducis Burgundiae*; with regard to the others I shall have to confine myself to the giving of mere probabilities, but I shall go into this matter in more detail, if at all possible, when treating the separate poems.

The text as given in Clm 528 is all but faultless and shows some lacunae. Hartmann Schedel (and probably other intermediate copyists) may be answerable for some of these, for he was indeed a man who, to paraphrase a line from a Dutch poet, copied faster than even God could read, but they must also be

imputed to Mormann's Latin. I am grateful to Dr Santing and Dr Akkerman who with great care and accuracy made the first transcript and offered numerous suggestions as to the emendation of the text.

I have 'modernised' spelling, punctuation and the use of capitals (Latin quotations, other than from classical texts, are given as they are printed in the sources I used). One look at the rest of Clm 528 and at another long codex by the same copyist, Clm 418, suffices to conclude that, whatever Mormann wrote, the orthography practised here is certainly Schedel's.⁵ Necessary emendations have been inserted in the text, the rejected manuscript readings are given in their original spelling in the *apparatus criticus*. I have retained the archaisms that were thought so *chic* in some humanist circles, and well attested ancient parallel forms (*honustus*, *uendicet*). Throughout the text, forms of the word *littera* have to be pronounced as disyllables. I have, therefore, printed the word as *littra* etc., as is the practice with more current syncopated forms like *saeclum* and *perichum*. Abbreviations have been filled out without recording their occurrence in either the text or the *apparatus criticus*. The order in which the poems are given, is that of the manuscript, the two poems that were already known (nrs. XVII and XVIII), are added at the end.⁶

⁵ The diphthong -ae- is almost consistently written as -e- (exception: *aere* IX. 7; the -e- caudata does not occur). The -e- is sometimes rendered as -oe- (*foelicius* in the 'explicit' of poem I), but -oe-, on the other hand, as -e- (*Phebus* VII. 6, *menibus* VII. 29, *prelia* XV. 19). -i- is sometimes used instead of -y- (*citiso* VII. 28, *Olimpo* IV. 5) and *vice versa* (VII. 4 *dysijciatque*), but *immo* is consistently written as *y(m)mo*. -c- is written for -t- (*hospicio* VII. 54, *preciosa* XII. 13), poem IV has -ph- for -f- in line 10 (*nephandos*). Aspiration is sometimes absent (*Leteos* XIV. 59), sometimes present where it should not be (*choturnes* XIV. 47). U- and V- are always written as V-, u- and v- as v- at the beginning of a word, as -u- within a word.

In general only the most simple abbreviations are used: a tilde-like sign points to the omission of -m- or -n-, sometimes to the omission of the -re ending of the inf. act. praes. There are the usual signs for *per*, *pro*, *prae*, *qu-*, *-um*, etc. The first letter of each line is always written as a capital, but the first letter of a proper name within the line as a rule not. There is some interpunction. In the Sélestat manuscript -ae- is mostly written as a ligature, but -e- instead of -ae- occurs. The diphthong -oe- is sometimes rendered correctly, sometimes as -e-, on the other hand one finds -oe- where -e- should be; -y- sometimes stands for -i-. The -ph- sound of Agricola's Christian name is consistently written as -f-, one finds -c- for -t- in *nuncio* (XVIII. 9). Initial U- and V- are always written as V-, initial u- and v- as v- (except in one case); -u- and -v- within a word are written as -u-.

Abbreviations are used sparingly. The first letter of each line and the first letter of proper names are written as a capital. There is some interpunction.

⁶ In their obvious chronological order, in the manuscript poem XVIII appears first.

I Carmen Friderici ad magistrum
Rodolphum studiis insistentem

(Clm 528, f. 181v)

- Rustica sint quamuis mea carmina, mollior aetas
et tremulenta manus et uatum rarior usus
haec eadem excuset. Nec enim aspernare Camenas,
Rodolphe o, nostras! Parnassi pocula fontis
5 si non potarim, si non mihi Delius undam
fuderit irriguam, tamen haec sint munera prima
grata tibi nostro calamo conflata manue.
Nam te Pierides uatem fecere nouellum,
artibus ingenuis fauit tibi diuus Apollo.
10 O te felicem, qui dulcia effugis arua
et patrios fines studiis obnixus et omnis
ingenii renouans uires. Te laudibus ingens
Fama canit, latis tua gloria perstrepat oris.
Tu patriae spes magna tuae, te regia tellus
15 edidit et uariis dudum suscepit alendum
Louanium studiis, ubi te pergrata poesis
tempore detinuit longo, super aethera notum
quae tete efficiet toto et cantarier orbe.
Tanta tibi ingenii uirtus, ea copia fandi,
20 ut (mihi crede) tuos pressabit laurea crines.
Singula quid referam? Si quid mea carmina possint,
grandiloquos uersus et mutua dona remitte
ocius apponens raptim calamumque manumque;
scriptula grata dato, nam non mihi uerba neganda.
25 Finem equidem faxo. Di longos uiuere in annos
dent tibi et aetherias posthac conscendere sedes.

Exest felicius.

14 tua 23 opponens

II (Clm 528, f. 182r)

- Longum iter et celsas metiri audebitis Alpes,
Pierides nostrae, hinc ibitis ad Venetos!
Omnibus urbs terris fama est celeberrima, cuius
fundamenta quatit undique triste salum.
5 Hic Friso, ignotis qui se longum abdidit oris,
uitam agit oblitus et patris et patriae,
patris cui gnati diuturna absentia mortem
adsciuit; misero lux grauis ipsa fuit.
Ha, lacrimas quotiens, quotiens suspiria et altos

- 10 corde dabat gemitus luridus atque macer:
 'Quaenam te, o fili, tellus inuisa tot annis
 occulit et patriae temnere suadet agros?
 Cur mihi non mandas, superesne atque aera spires?
 Sed forte ante dies te fera mors rapuit.
- 15 Si tibi dira manus fata iniecere cruentas,
 quid morer et non te per Styga, nate, sequar?'
 Haec ait atque animam tenues efflauit in auras,
 nocte oculi horrebant, fugit et ora color.
 Sic te uersabat moriens in pectore solum,
- 20 cum flatu extremo nomen in ore tuum.
 Nec satis ista tibi: genitore orbatus et ipsam
 matronam excrucias, dum tibi frater adest.
 Ferrea numquid habes praecordia? Lacte ferino
 numquid nutritus, qui nihili ista facis?
- 25 Eia, rumpe moras, namque omnis Frisia laeto
 murmure et ingenti te excipiet strepitu.
 Magna salus patriae, spes una et sera tuorum,
 huc, Wilhelme, redi huc ocius accelerans.
- Desinit.
- 8 absciuit

III Metrum Sapphicum Adonicum Friderici

(Clm 528, f. 182v)

- Nosse me uellem quibus illecebris
 captus ignotis satius putes te
 abdiar terris fugitando notas
 longius oras.
- 5 Tanta apud dites Venetos uoluptas,
 ne sinat te umquam patrios penates
 uisere aut dulces meminisse amicos
 atque nouercam?
- Sed tibi cordi reor esse grandes
- 10 auri et argenti cumulare acruos,
 quo ingrauescentem ualeas tueri
 forte senectam.
- Per deos, Wilhelme, rogo, quis est is
 ardor immensis inhiare gazis,
- 15 quid iuuat nummis loculo repostis
 addere nummos?

- Num truces uultus trepidas latronum,
anne praedonis gladium extimescis,
quos amor caecus radiantis auri
20 ad scelera urget?
- Num times celsas aditurus Alpes,
ne cadas fors praecipiti rotatu,
uotum uel frustra superis daturus
ore supremo?
- 25 Ergo opes fluxas nisi, amice, temnas,
nemo te sanum sapere aestimabit
atque nequiquam peragrasse dicet
Itala regna.
- 30 Quid te honestas perdidicisse littras
proderit, si tanta fames habendi
(183r) pectora inflammet tua, si trahit te
dira cupido?
- 35 Sufficit fato genitorem acerbo
esse consumptum. Morulisne tandem
his tuis perges miseram nouercae
perdere uitam?
- Huc age, huc fac uel uacuum remigres.
Stat domus celsis operosa muris
intus extra splendida: maesta solum,
40 quum duo abestis.
- Exest carmen id.
- 4 Longias 11 ingrauescente 23 Voto
- IV (Clm 528, f. 183r)
- O pater rerum, deus o deorum,
nos tibi laudes canimus sonoras;
te pium regem ueneramur omnem,
Christe, per orbem.
- 5 Ad patris dextram residens Olympo
imperas, terram pelago natantem
sustines, ut non fluidis deorsum
subruat undis.
- 10 Cernis errantes homines ab alto;
Lynceis actus oculis nefandos
aspicis gentis facinusque iniquum
corde uolutas,

- quo < > cuncti tenebras sequuntur.
 Nemo uirtutes operatur, immo
 15 omnium iam nunc animos gubernat
 foeda libido.
- Quis tibi grates meritas ualebit
 Ferre? Nam cunctas truculenta terras
 pestis inuasit Stygiasque plures
 20 ducit ad undas.
- (183v) Hic tumet collo: modulos loquela
 deserens fantis teneri sub usu
 rem sibi forsán placidam treménti
 índice prodiť.
- 25 Vlceris ruptí saniem secundus
 euomit; uitae morulas perosus
 mortis infelix lacrimis precatur
 pluribus horam.
- Et faciem palmis retinens utrisque
 30 carpit aeternum miser ille somnum:
 spiritum magno superas boatu
 mittit in auras.
- Frisiae iustum populum tueris
 et tui dirum gladium furoris
 35 contines, ut non homines scelestos
 deuoret omnes.
- Omnis idcirco tragico boatu
 concinat uates placidum poema
 et patri summo properet sacratas
 40 promere laudes.
- Finit.
- 12 volutans 13 *desunt syllabae duae* 15 Hominum 22 infantis 24
 Iudice 29 facem
- V (Clm 528, f. 184r)
- O deus celso residens Olympo,
 qui regis terram uirides et undas
 et uehis solem roseo sub axe
 lumine clarum.
- 5 Tu diem Phoebi rutilum nitore
 cogis in mundum radiare lucem
 et tuo iussu rapiunt diei
 sidera lumen.

Te deum claro solio sedentem
 10 et patrem rerum uenerantur omnes
 in polo sancti placidum canentes
 carmen in aeuum.

Tu poli rector, dominator orbis,
 nos uidens hostis laqueo retentos
 15 celsa liquisti saliens in istum
 desuper orbem.

Est tibi casta requies in aluo;
 mira iam fabor: teneris in annis
 uirgo gestabat dominum pudica
 20 cuncta tenentem.

Temporis cursus spatio redemptor
 natus in mundum subito salubre
 dogmaque effundens dederas patere
 ostia caeli.

25 Ergo deuotis precibus mereri
 quisque caelestem patriam ualebit
 et potest < >
 scandere sedes,

quo prius nullus, licet angelorum
 30 duceret uitam, poterat uenire,
 antequam iustus pateretur agnus
 pro grege mortem. Exest carmen.

21 cursu 24 caeli *add.* 27 *cett.* *excid.* 28 sedens 30 Duceat

VI Carmen depromptum magistro
 Lubberto Zedeler.
 (Clm 528, f. 184v)

Ite per excelsos, mea rustica carmina, montes,
 saxosum gressu praepete carpite iter.
 Arboreas siluas, campos calcate uirentes,
 frondibus inclusam pergite, quaeso, uiam.
 5 Vrbs electa caput super omnes extulit Alpes,
 quamuis in ualle stet pede firma caua.
 Dives opum, uulgo populosa superbit honesto,
 sub cuius muris Hasa reuoluit aquas.
 Moenibus hanc altam postquam uideritis urbem,
 10 intrate et uestrum quaerite deinde uirum.
 Forma sibi egregia est nec non statura uirilil,
 lambit olorinos undique mitra pilos,
 et uultu placidus atque omni affabilis hora,

- et gestat ferulam, qua tumet icta manus.
 15 Is postquam uobis fuerit fortasse repertus
 inter Musarum Pieridumque choros,
 dicite: 'Nos istam misit Fridericus in urbem;
 hoc petit, id dicit: sit tibi multa salus!
 Te cupit atque tuo feliciter ardet amore
 20 et numquam poterit immemor esse tui.'

Finit.

9 videris 11 et viridis

VII Carmen Friderici Moermanni Antonio Vrien
 custodi in Groningen depromptum incipit.

(Clm 528, f. 185r)

- Ite per undosos pelagi, mea carmina, fluctus,
 sulcate et maria puppibus alta cauis.
 Prospicite hoc unum, rapidus ne dum furit Euris
 vos rapiat uasto disiciatque salo.
 5 Aspicite et quanti subtexunt aethera nimbi,
 carpit et occulto tramite Phoebus iter.
 Ast ego pro uobis palmis ad sidera tensis
 orabo aetherios in mea uota deos
 et maris undisoni rectorem uoce precabor
 10 supplice, ut horrendum mitiget ille fretum:
 'Aeole, sceptris tibi uentos et tollere atroces
 Iuppiter astripotens cum tibi, diue, dedit,
 circumspecte, quales, Austrum qui indigno murmure terras
 circuit et tumidas per uada motat aquas,
 15 nulla procellosum castiget flatibus aequor
 tempestas. < >
 Sit mare ueliuolum, sint aethera tuta, sit alta
 temperies pelagi et aura serena poli
 Nereidumque chorus placidis epuletur in undis,
 20 carmen ut hoc nostrum mitior aura uehat.'
 Ite per alta freti, mea carmina, tutius ite,
 dis equidem effusa est < >
 Ast quando optatum felici remige portum
 contigerit prora et fixa stat ancora humo,
 25 et celsa puppi tellurem praepeti saltu
 expetite et putrem carpente uiam.
 Ridentem campum et saltus calcate uiuentes,
 (185v) ornatum cytharo et gramine pergite iter.
 Eminus urbs tandem consurgit moenibus altis,
 30 quae capite elato tendit in astra poli,

- Caesarea urbs, inquam, cui longo nomen ab aeuo
 Gronigen: hac matre Frisia tota tumet.
 Postquam uos dictam uia lubrica duxit in urbem,
 uisite dehinc recto tramite templa sacra,
 35 si quem forte uirum uideritis hic resonantem
 iam superum laudes iamue celebre melos,
 aut hinc inde sacras errantem forte per aras
 et studio obnixum sollicitumque graui
 demere nunc rapidam nunc stuppae adiungere flammam,
 40 claudere nunc duras nunc aperire fores.
 Is postquam uobis uenit obuius ore uerenti,
 dicite: 'Amice, tibi sit diuturna salus.'
 Addite: 'Et uxorem gnatos et uiuere saluos
 in longos annos propitiore deo.'
 45 At si quaesierit quis uobis exstitit auctor,
 aut uos in lucem quis properare dedit,
 reddite: 'Nos humili Fridericus condidit arte,
 qui tuus est totus, quem tuus urget amor,
 cuius nunc animum stupor ingens tempore longo
 50 detinuit, quod iam scriptula nulla dabas,
 qui sese oblitum deflet, quem carmine nullo,
 nec littris refoues et dare uerba negas.
 Ergo te demum petimus, nisi saxea corda
 sint tibi, ut hospitio nos patiare tuo
 55 et sibi, si qua potes pia carmina promere iam nunc,
 mittere ne dubites, ocus immo canas.
 (186r) Sunt tibi mille modi nec enim tibi parua facultas,
 Papia ingenium nec mediocre dedit.
 Eia, perde moras, raptim calamumque manumque
 60 appone et gratum carmen arare †cude†.
 Quod cum conflatum, < >
 spumantes fluctus per putridumque solum
 iusseris ad nostram proficiscier ocus urbem,
 noster ubi uitam iam Fridericus agit.
 65 Excipiet blande et celsas deducet in aedes,
 huius gaudebit colloquioque frui.'
 Plura quid effemur? Hoc uerbo claudimus uno:
 'Viuito et in uita post meliore uale.'

1 vndos 5 quanta 12 astripetens 16 *cett. excid.* 19 epulis vndas
 22 *hemist. alt. excid.* 39 flam'que 43 saluas 45 Aut 47 vos 52 ne
 56 canes 58 mediare 61 inflatum *post caes. semiquin. cett. excid.*
 65 ducet in edas

VIII Fabella de pignatione scholarium incipit.

(CIm 528, f. 186r)

- En quidam uarias deluserat arte uolucres
 auceps et dulci gaudens depauerat esu,
 ut streperent placidi tandem modulamina cantus
 et scirent bibulas perstringere uocibus aures.
 5 Sed dum pluma suis iam forte uolatilis alis
 creuerat, euolitant leuibus super aethera pennis.
 Ast auceps iterum laqueos spe captus inani
 tenderat et simili deprenderat astu uolucres.
 Sed cum plumescant, ne forte per aera sidant,
 10 callidior rapidas iam forcipe corripit alas.

Explicit carmen

10 ales

IX Carmen in praeconium eius qui primum impressuram excogitauit

(CIm 528, f. 186v)

- Nunc age, Musa, tuas nostro hoc in carmine uires
 exsere melliculos dans resonare modos.
 Hunc etenim canimus cui tu quoque plurima debes
 quique tibi haud modicum contulit arte sua.
 5 Vir bone, quisquis is es, qui primum effingere littras
 temptasti et duro sculpere in aere apices,
 Di tibi (quando homines nequeunt persolvere grates)
 reddant pro meritis praemia digna tuis.
 Verum Pierides numquam tua facta tacebunt,
 10 sed tua perpetuo fama celebris erit.
 Tu das in lucem ueteres prodire poetas,
 hactenus in latebris qui iacuerunt suis.
 Doctrinae omne genus reuocas reddisque quod aevo
 praeterito aut latuit aut misere interiit.
 15 Omnis quum litra iam paene sepulta iaceret,
 ars nulla utilior nascier hac potuit.
 Inuentum tamen esse suum Germania iactat,
 quod doctam Italiam non reperisse pudet.

Exest

X In osores studiorum humanitatis. A. Liberi.

(CIm 528, f. 200v)

Rhetoricam spernens dulcem sacramque poesim

Cuncta licet relegas, nil tamen inde sapis;
sis licet et propriis oculis tibi cautus Vlixes,
falleris arbitrio tu tamen ipse tuo.

- 5 Sed tibi non credis? Dabit experientia monstrum,
cum fueris ausus extra cubile loqui:

Garrit et in siluis uentosa cicada superbit;
si uideat muscam, iam trepidabit amens.

- 10 Garrula Neptuni complet clangoribus undam
rana, sed in terris cornua muta gerit.

Est commune satis uerum: laudabilis hic est
qui bene scit pauca quam male multa sciens.
Quo ualet ille modo superas depromere laudes
qui non grammaticen, uix elementa sapit?

- 15 Quoue potest pacto diuinam noscere legem,
qui caret ornatu quique poema fugit?
Nonne per altiloquas currunt Prouerbia Musas,
Cantica, Iob sapiens? Versibus ista ruunt!

- 20 Siluius est testis prophetas carmine scriptos;
psalterium lyricis concrepat, ecce, modis.
Quid tu rhetoricam damnas lacerasque poesim,
in quibus ecclesiae splendor honorque iacent?
Quattuor excelsi doctores rhetoricorum
atque poetarum nil sine flore canunt.

- 25 Doctior non es nec < >
Desine lauriferis inuidus esse viris!

14 grammaticae 19 *in marg. sin.* diuinos carmine vates 20 *in marg. sin.* concrepasse modis 25 *post caes. semiquin. cett. excid.*

XI F. M.

(CIm 528, f. 201r)

Sacra habet immensas tibi Musa, uir optime, grates,
Antoni, inde uicem forte datura parem,
nam misere oppressam curas releuare poesim,
sopire ut possis barbariem horridulam.

- 5 Efficis ut linguam pubes Germana Latinam
calleat et puro gaudeat eloquio.

Dique deaeque omnes et pleni numine uates
persoluant meritis praemia digna tuis.

Praeterea in nostris, si quid tamen ipsa ualebunt,

10 carminibus solida pars tibi laudis erit.
9 valebant

XII F. M. A. L.

(Clm 528, f. 201r)

Si cura insomnes te cogit ducere noctes,
te solum, Antoni, quid miserum esse gemis?
Dum me stertentem pulices pascuntur et artus
corrodunt, felix anne putandus ego?
5 At tua lassescunt uario fortasse labore
membra, sed ecce quies est grauis ipsa mihi.
Tu potes innumeras gentes inuisere et urbes:
me uelut inclusum carcere cella tenet.
Nare trahis placidam Zephyris spirantibus auram,
10 ast me fuligo nigra paedore premit.
Tu sublimis equo ueheris, uerum Fridericus
et pedes et laxo signat humum corio.
Te pretiosa tegit et belle splendida uestis,
paenula sed nostrae crassa subest tunicae.
15 Ingentes tu cogis opes: mihi nummulus unus
(201v) non est in oculis. Sanus es: aeger ego.
Tu noua quaeque legis et pulchra uolumina uersas:
sordida charta legi uix datur una mihi.
Est tibi cara uxor, sunt dulcia pignora, amici:
20 solus ego inuisus omnibus hic iaceo.
Verum age, quantumuis sint haec tibi grata, recuso
esse quod, Antoni, es nec tibi ego inuideam.
5 tortasse

XIII Querimonia auctoris

(Clm 528, f. 201v)

Me pudet, Antoni, quod tantus in orbe sepultus
iam iacet ornatus nostra et facunda poesis:
Arescunt studia, quae tempore florida prisco
ingenuis placuere uiris, qui magna labore
5 carmina non modico conflata et schemate miro
tradiderant nobis, quae nostro, proh pudor, aeuo
spreta iacent et quae mendosa uidentur ineptis;
Pegasides Musae fleuisse uidentur amare,
quod sine amore iacent, et idem conquesta Camena.

- 10 Singula quid referam? Iam nulla poemata florent,
 Nusquam Vergilius et nusquam lusor amorum
 Naso legi dignus, satura nec Flaccus acerba.
 Clausus, Homere, iaces et, uatum maxime, Gallus,
 nemo, Tibulle, tua legitat bene carmina compta.
 15 Ha, quotiens stupidus mirabar scriptula uatum;
 non minus, Antoni, tete fecisse putabo.
 Nam tibi uatilogus sermo notissimus esse
 dicitur et uerum est, cum iam tua carmina noui.

5 conflato 18 nori

- XIV In pessimam uitam egit.
 Oda Sapphica

(Clm 528, f. 202r)

Gentis humanae misera, o, caterua,
 cura quam circumuolat aut amarae
 mortis, ardentis trepidare < > aut
 fulmina cogunt,

- 5 quamque nunc turbant Pliades cadentes,
 flammeus noctem aut glomerans Orion,
 quaeque frendentes gelido expauescis
 corde tyrannos,
 surge et a somno uigilans caduco
 10 cerne sis quantis cumulata flagris
 quoue te mundus, caro et hostis atrox
 turbine pulsant.
 Siue te uoluas orientis usque
 limites siue occiduos per agros,
 15 ecce, peccatis uitisumque fumant
 climata cuncta:
 pax amor uirtus pudor et fides lex
 singulas, eheu, modo ciuitates
 aufugit, taetra et sanie inquiescunt
 20 oppida et urbes.
 Hunc habet luxus, rabies canina hunc,
 ille gryphones sequitur rapaces,
 tigridis liuor coquit hunc acerbus,
 iste lupissat.
 25 Alter abiecta propria salute
 percolit crassis dominam in tabernis
 et diem festum uomitu alter ornans
 ructat orexim.

30 Scilicet pendens sua quisque magni
proximum mille insidiis fatigat,
fraudibus fraudemque, aconita miscet
quisque ueneno.

O deus, priscos iuuat hoc poetas:
quid, precor, tantis uetuisse tubis
35 profuit uel quid tragico boasse
carmine Thespim?

Principes patrum recubant patresque
dormiunt, curam quibus ille Olympi
rector humani generis ferendam
40 tradidit olim.

Iudices clausis oculis uagantur,
quos amor fului capit aut metalli
aut amicorum fauor ac potentum
munera frangunt.

45 Ergo uos gratam, satyri, in quietem
ite et umbrosis latitate siluis;
ludite aut soccis agite aut cothurno
festa Camenis.

Namque uos odit temulenta pubes
50 lubrica et uos insequitur senecta
et uagis gaudent homines habenis
ducere uitam.

Sed, patres, uos, uos rationis urget
pondus et uestris manibus requirit
55 strictus insontes animas suorum
arbiter orbis.

Ergo nunc tandem patulis ocellis
(203r) o, patres, patres, uigilate, namque est
Lethaeos inter cubitum satis nunc,
60 surgite, campos.

Surgite et alti manibus Tonantis
uineam promptis melius rigandi
palmites fessos resecae an <omnes>
perdite uites.

65 Sint sacerdotes celebres hon<ore>
et peritorum pius ordo uobi<s>
inter et uestros pueros alen<dos>
flectite uirgas.

Aequitas uestrum pia nunc tribun<al>,
70 omne pax terris solium modesta

ornet et uestris stabilita res <sit>
publica sceptris.

3 *legi non potest* 5 calentes 6 nocte 14 pagos 43 Ac . . . aut 48
amenis 59 mun 61 Tonanti 63 omnes *add.*

XV Carmen de morte ducis Burgundiae
editum per Fridericum Morman
ad magistrum Rodolphum Langium

(CIm 528, f. 203v)

- Iam tandem bello cecidit Mauortius ille
Carolus et quidquid roboris eius erat.
Qui pridem fama totum tremefecerat orbem,
perpaucis praedae ludibrioque fuit.
5 Posteaquam Marte dextro tot regna, tot urbes
fregisset, poenas hostibus ipse dedit,
nec post fata datur patria tellure potiri,
sed iacet hostili conditus exul humo.
10 Nunc Switiae populus, gens pugnacissima, uicit,
unde hos perpetua gloria honosque manet.
Nussiae tamen inuictae pars maxima laudis
cessit, quae prius est conserere ausa manum.
Hic uis fracta uiri est animusque relanguit atrox,
quando urbs exigua cedere nescit ei,
15 ut Nilus rapido sibi quaeque obstantia cursu
uertit nunc siluas nunc fria saxa trahens:
si medio fluctu sese obiicit aspera rupes,
frangitur in proprios unda relisa sinus.
Tolle animos ueteres reparans in proelia uires,
20 Gelria, nilne pudet seruitio usque premi?
Expergiscere et aude aliquid, quod saecula loquantur
uentura atque omnis posteritas celebret.
Tolle tuum dominum, qui clausus carcere taetro
horret et oppressam te gemit esse diu.
25 Sed precibus primum tempta, pulsa, obsecra et insta,
(204r) at si nil precibus proficis, adde minas.
Posce ducem proprium, quia mors rapuit alienum.
Ne dubita: sero iam rediuius erit.
Is, tuus Adolphus, redeat, tua spesque salusque,
30 qui nunc immemorem te putat esse sui.
O, quantos aestus curarum in pectore uersat,
quamque illi occluso tempora tarda fluunt:
'Quando hinc eripiar, te, Gelria, quando reuisam?
Me miserum, semper numquid ego exul ero?
35 Hic iaceo infelix squalescens puluere foedo,
in manibus pedibus uincula saeua trahens.

- Os pallet macie, sordet cutis et iuuenili
 surgere uel properat uertice canities.
 Vnde, precor, tantas merui, o Burgundia, poenas
 40 quas mihi tu dederas? Haecce sancta fides?
 Sic ait et primas iterum reminiscitur urbes
 ipsas tam facile succubuisse dolens.
 Ergo agite, o proceres ciues, iuuenesque senesque,
 uel iam captiui soluite uincla ducis,
 45 soluite uincla ducis, pro quo tot damna tulistis,
 gaudeat ut reditu Gelria tota suo.

FINIT.

11 inuicti 16 Verti 17 obiccit *in linea*, -ii- *suprascriptum* 31 quantus
 pietate *in linea*, pectore *suprascriptum* 36 vincla 37 palluit *in*
linea, e *suprascriptum* 38 Surgitur properat; *in margine* impro-
 perat 40 Quam

- XVI Carmen in praeconium poesis
 incipit per eundem Fridericum

(Clm 528, f. 204v)

- Ha, quam grata mihi sunt clara poemata uatum,
 uatum nomen ego numinis esse puto.
 Quam me delectant, quam dulcia pocula fundunt,
 quae capiunt animum semper amore meum.
 5 Et quamuis plures, quibus est ignota poesis,
 insectentur eam, quae placet una mihi,
 non tamen insanus me sermo mouebat eorum,
 nec mihi propositum surripit ipse meum.
 Si primum immo deum summus delapsus Olympo
 10 carmina suaderet nulla legenda mihi,
 certe ego non facerem: nec enim diuellar ab ipsis
 carminibus, dum non mentis egenus ero.
 Donec ago uitam, Musam sub corde uolutans
 me memorem faciam saepius esse sui.
 15 Et meus aetherias cum spiritus ibit in auras,
 busta gerent habili carmina sculpta manu.
 Sic ego nec uiuus nec post mea tristia fata
 carmina reiciam, carmina semper amem!
 Dicite nunc, stolidi: quae uos dementia cepit?
 20 Colligitis spinas et rosa spreta iacet!
 Heus dolor! Et uobis diuina poemata sordent,
 quae mulcent animos saepe lepore truces!
 Artis Apollineae licet inscius, attamen ipsam
 diligo prae cunctis artibus atque colo.

- (205r) O, si fata darent tam seros uiuere in annos,
 26 ut late in populo carmina grata forent!
 Tum laetus moriar nec fati deprecer horam,
 sed mihi summa foret gratior ipsa dies.
 Ah, quotiens superos et numina mille precabar
 30 complois manibus talia uerba ferens:
 'Di, facite ut toto relegantur in orbe Camenae.
 Quisque sibi partem uendicet usque suam!'
 Di cur saepe meis obturant uocibus aures,
 cur non uota pia blandius aure bibunt?
 35 Nescio quo superos offendi carmine: cur nam
 auertant uultus, dummodo fundo preces?
 Immo subiceam! Nec enim pia uota precabor,
 cum solet et diuos carpere liuor edax;
 uictima nulla cadet ad summi numinis aram,
 40 sanguine et agnelli nulla madebit humus.
 Heu, quibus insanus insurgo in numina uerbis?
 Non ipsi hoc faciunt, si qua Camena iacet.
 Hoc faciunt stolidi, quibus est ingrata poesis,
 qui non sunt digni carmina scire sacra!
 45 Ecce, patent fontes Musarum: si sitis ardens
 immineat, placido nectare pelle sitim!
 Quid stas, quid trepidas fontem potare serenum?
 Eia, rumpe moras, flumina sacra bibe!
 Flumina sacra bibe. Quae dulcia quando probaris,
 50 non satis exhausta terminet unda sitim,
 sed felix media torrebere semper in unda,
 semper aquae cupidus et sitibundus eris.

Finit.

1 grata nunc 2 ego *add.* 3 Cum me 8 Hec 10 Carmine 13 volutens
 15 Et mens 19 sepi 26 lata 31 relegentur 44 scire carmina sacra
 49 Qui probabis *in linea*, probaris *suprascriptum* 50 retinent *in*
linea, terminet *suprascriptum*

- XVII Friderici Mauri carmen Asclepiadeum Gly-
 coniumque quod dicolon tetrastrophon dicunt
 ad M. Wesselum trilinguem de eodem Rodol-
 pho Agricola.

(Cod. Sel. K 984 a, f. 3v)

Rodolphus patrios quaerit, io, Lares
 iam post tempora, io, longa reuisere
 uates Frisius ex finibus Italidis
 ducens Aonidum choros.

- 5 Hic, Wessele, petet te duce Apolline
 optans ante tuo colloquio frui
 quam sese patriis moenibus inferat
 laetus de reditu suo.
- 10 Si nescis, tenet hunc pulchra Colonia,
 quam quondam coluit gens — Vbios uocant;
 post Agrippa potens auspiciis nouis
 illic moenia condidit.
- 15 Hic iam forte ratem scandit et innatat
 undis, Rhene, tuis, qui uiolentus et
 pronis arua secans pingua fluctibus
 intras Oceanum uagus.
- (4r) Huc, huc, Auster ades carbasa flatibus
 impellens modicis tuque uolubilis
 amnis iam solito labere mitius:
- 20 nescis quale uehas onus.
- Prudens, nauta, fuge, ah, saxa latentia,
 ne uel quassa ratis naufragium bibat
 aut errore malo (Nereides uetent)
 caecis haereat in uadis.
- 25 Musis parce sacris, torue Sygamber, et
 tantisper cohibe tela sonantia,
 dum nauis reuehens Agricola meum
 terras praetereat tuas.
- 30 Nec curuis lituis, o Bataui truces,
 hunc terrete uirum haud horrida proelia
 sed tractare fides pollice mobili
 imbellis solitum lyrae.
- O, quam laeta dies, quam noua gaudia!
 Quid felicius est quidue beatius
- 35 Tete altrice uirum, Frisia, talium
 quales uix Ligus ora habet.
- (4v) Non iam terra potes barbara dicier,
 stridorem eloquii cum lepor Atticus
 et sermo Latius temperet ac feros
- 40 ritus carmina molliant.

36 ora *in margine, deest in linea*

XVIII Hendecasyllabi Friderici Mauri ad Rodolphum
Agricolam congratulantis de iucundo in patriam
reditu.

(Cod. Sel. K 984 a, f. 2v)

- Rodolphe, omnibus e meis amicis
antistes mihi milibus trecentis,
uenistine domum ad tuos Penates
fratresque unanimos? Amabo, tandem
5 uenisti? O lacrimas meas inaneis,
quas rumor malus intimo cerebro
excussit mihi. Vt illum Apollo magnus
perdat Pieridesque persequantur
diro carmine, nuntio qui acerbo
10 nostras nequam homo uulnerauit aures
narrans rhetora quempiam et poetam
illustrem rapidis fuisse mersum
Rheni uorticibus uocarierque
Rodolphum. Haec ubi maestus audiebam,
15 censen me lacrimas tenere quisse?
Communis patriae uicem dolere
Mox coepi miser acribusque uerbis
(3r) accusare ferociam immerentis
amnis, multa mala imprecatus illi.
20 Verum candidiora fila Parcae
neuerunt tibi tale nil minatae
uulgi quale per ora fama mendax
late sparserat. En redis honustus
grandi fasce uoluminum optimorum.
25 Nec solum Latium uehis, sed ipsa
tecum Graecia tota uadit. Omnis
Musarum chorus et pater Camenae
Homerus pariter feruntur ire.
O saeculum sapiens et eruditum,
30 uidem horrida et ultima sub Arcto
ut gens nescio barbarum quid ore
frendens hactenus educet poetas
parum uatibus impares uetustis?
Quis mi Daedaleas adaptet alas,
35 ut possim celeres secare uentos
et tranare ita patrias ad oras
uisurus reducem meum Rodolphum?

COMMENTARY

N.B.: The use of three hyphens between two words at the beginning of a commentary lemma means that the following remark refers also to the intermediate words, the use of dots between words means that the remark does not bear upon the intermediate words.

I The poet bids farewell to his friend Rodolphus who is leaving his country for studies abroad.

The date of the poem is problematical. The addressee is a certain magister Rodolphus. We know of three Rudolphs in Mormann's milieu: Rudolph Hilbrands Bolens, of whom, apart from his name, almost nothing is known, Rudolph von Langen, who did not study at Louvain (see vss. 15–17) and Rudolph Agricola.⁷ It is tempting to think of Agricola when looking for an addressee, but at what stage in his, or Mormann's life, could a poem like this possibly have been dedicated to him? The poem contains several, conflicting, indications.

As to Mormann: He is still a young man and/or an apprentice in the field of poetry (the two facts do, of course, not necessarily coincide). His poems are 'rustica' (1), his age is 'mollior' (1; 'mollis' here 'tener'), his hand unsteady ('tremulenta', 2, for youthful want of practice), in his present position he does not have sufficient access to poetical texts (*uatum rarior usus*, 2). He has not yet tasted the waters of the Parnassian spring (4–5) and he calls his poem *munera prima* (6) in the sense of 'primitiae'.

On the other hand, 'rustica' may be a mere courtesy expression, 'mollior' may be taken to mean 'beyond its acme', 'past its prime' (cf. Verg. G. 1. 312 *mollior aestas*; for 'mollis' as an adjective to 'senectus' see Cic. Sen. 1. 2), the *tremulenta manus* may be the symptom of a senile tremor (cf. Sen. Ag. 380–381 *manu . . . trementi*) and *uatum rarior usus* refers perhaps to Mormann's isolated position in Marburg.

The addressee is a 'magister', which means at least a 'magister artium' (Agricola obtained the magistrature in the Arts Faculty in 1465 at Louvain). He is a *uates nouellus* (8) and a favourite of Apollo (8–9). He is on the point of leaving his native country (10) and is already a man of great fame (12–13) and, apparently, of even greater promise (14). Hailing from a *regia telhis* (14), he has studied for a long time at Louvain where poetry was one of his main pursuits (16–17). Poetry will make him world famous (17–18) and with his great talent and wide range of diction, the poetic laurel will undoubtedly once crown his head (19–20).

Writer and addressee must have been acquainted, otherwise requests as in the lines 22–24 and an expression as *nam non mihi uerba neganda* (24) would hardly have been suitable. The first and only letter, as far as we know, that Agricola wrote to Mormann, dates from 3 April 1480.

If this poem was written on the occasion of Agricola's departure from Groningen, sometime during the years between 1465 (Agricola's magistrature at Louvain) and 1469 (his first letter from Italy), one wonders

⁷ For Rudolph Hilbrands Bolens see Akkerman and Santing, 'Rudolf Agricola en de Aduarder Academie', 13 and note 23.

what might have been the foundation of the rather profuse praise in, for example, the lines 12–14 and 19–20. This assumption, however, favours the interpretation of ‘rustica carmina, mollior aetas, tremulenta manus’ as signs of the first efforts of a young man (*vide supra*), because for all we know, Rostock was the first university where Mormann matriculated (Autumn 1469).

During his stay in Italy Agricola returned once in a while to his native country, but we simply do not know enough of the dates of these visits to connect any of them to this poem.⁸

For these reasons it is not possible to state with absolute certainty either the date or the addressee of the poem. If the addressee was Rudolph Agricola, it must probably be assigned to the period 1465–1469 and then a moment in or just before 1469 is the most likely. See also poem XVII introductory note.

Notes

1. Rustica . . . carmina: VI. 1; Moret. 29; Ov. Am. 2. 4. 19–20; Calp. Ecl. 4. 147
mollior aetas: Vergil has *mollior aetas* at the same point in the line (G. 1. 312); cf. Ov. A. A. 1. 10 (‘mollis’ with youth).
2. tremulenta: The word does not occur in classical or, to my knowledge, medieval Latin. The existence of adjectives ending in -entus, especially of the word ‘tremulentus’ (XIV. 49), made the coining of this variant form of ‘tremulus’ easy. The Italian language has the word ‘tremolante’.
- 4–5. Parnasi --- potarim: cf. Pers. Prol. 1 *Nec fonte labra prohui caballino.*
4. pocula: cf. Ov. Am. 1. 15. 35–36 . . . *mihi flauus Apollo / pocula Castalia plena ministret aqua.*
7. (carmina/ munera) conflata: XIII. 5. The ‘iunctura’ is unusual, but according to the *Th. L. L. conflare* ‘aliquotiens accedit ad sensum “animo concipere”’.
8. calamo . . . manumque: VII. 59; Ov. Ep. 20. 245–246; Mart. 7. 11. 1. (uatem) nouellum: The word usually means ‘new, young’. It also occurs, though rarely, in the sense of ‘inauditus’. Should one see here the humanist ‘poeta’ as contrasted with the medieval ‘uersificator’?
9. artibus --- Apollo: cf. Nemes. Ecl. 1. 4–5 *Nam te calamos inflare labello / Pan docuit uersuque bonus tibi fauit Apollo.*
artibus ingenuis: Frequent at this point in the line, e.g. Ov. P. 1. 6. 7, 2. 7. 47; id. Tr. 1. 9. 45; Carm. Epigr. 1167. 1 p. 540. The same expression is also used in the epitaph on Agricola by Adolph Occo.⁹
10. dulcia effugis: Vergil has a similar hiatus (before the bucolic dihaeresis) in Aen. 1. 405. Cf. Verg. Ecl. 1. 3–4 *Nos patriae fines et dulcia linquimus arua, / Nos patriam fugimus.*
11. studiis obnixus: VII. 38.
12. renouans uires: Ilias lat. 102.¹⁰
14. regia: ‘of royal magnificence’. The word may signify only this, but

⁸ Van der Velden, *Rodolphus Agricola*, 79ff. and note 3.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 255.

¹⁰ *Poetae Latini Minores* III, 12.

- there may also be hidden political implications. See note on VII. 31 *Caesarea urbs*.
- 16–17. ubi --- longo: The Chair of Poetics at Louvain was not founded till 1477, so, if the addressee is Agricola, this must have been an extra-curricular effort.¹¹
17. tempore --- longo: VII. 49–50.
super --- notum: Verg. Aen. 1. 379.
19. copia fandi: Verg. Aen. 1. 520, 11. 378.
20. pressabit: The confusion between the conj. praes. and the ind. fut. simpl. also occurs in ante-classical, vulgar and late Latin, see Leumann, Hoffman and Szantyr, *Lateinische Grammatik* II, 309–310, Ernout and Thomas, *Syntaxe latine*, 250–251.
21. Singula --- referam: XIII. 10; Ov. Am. 1. 5. 23; id. Tr. 3. 7. 43. *Si --- possint*: Verg. Aen. 9. 446.
22. grandiloquos: classical, but mainly in prose.
23. calamumque manumque: vs. 7, VII. 59–60.
24. scriptula: not in the classical sense, but as a diminutive of 'scripta' (it occurs in this sense in Du Cange); VII. 50, XIII. 15.
- uerba neganda: cf. VII. 52.
25. uiuere in annos: Variant forms of this expression (uixisset in annos, uixerit/uixerat/uiximus annos) occur frequently as line-endings in classical hexameter poetry.
26. aetherias sedes: Ov. A. A. 3. 550; Ven. Fort. Carm. 10. 6. 96.
- II The poet asks his Muses to cross the Alps and go to the city of Venice. There a Frisian, by the name of Wilhelmus, is living in complete forgetfulness of his father and his country. His long absence has been the cause of his father's death. The 'Pierides' must ask him to return to his native country that will receive him joyfully.

Both this and the following poem are addressed to a person called Wilhelmus (II. 28, III. 13). From other indications in both poems it is likely that the two Wilhelmi are one and the same person: They have both been staying for a long time in Venice (II. 2–5) or at any rate in Venetian territory (III. 3–5). Both are urgently requested to come home (II. 25–28, III. 37) and in both cases family reasons are adduced to emphasize the request (II. 6 sqq., III. 33–36).

Both Wilhelmi have apparently one brother: II. 22 *dum tibi frater adest* should then be made to agree with the *spes una --- tuorum* from vs. II. 27 by interpreting 'una' as 'special', 'pre-eminent'; the last line of poem III would have to mean 'when both of you, brothers, are absent' (there is no express mention of a brother in poem III). In both poems the father has already died: In poem II he is explicitly said to have pined away from grief over the absence of his son (7–8), in poem III he is *consumptus fato acerbo* (33–34). The word 'matronam' (II.22) may seem at first extraordinary, as it is found in this context, between 'genitore' and 'frater', where one might expect 'matrem', but it becomes less odd when one reads in poem III 'nouercam' (8) and 'nouercae' (35). (Cf. *Th. L. L. s. v. matrona* [486, 83]: *locis, quibus magis respicitur cura domus et liberorum, significat i. q. mater familias*.)

¹¹ IJsewijn, 'The Coming of Humanism to the Low Countries', 225.

There are, however, also some factual differences between the two poems. In II the origin of the addressee is mentioned (5), which is not the case in poem III. In the latter poem much attention is directed to the pursuit of riches and to the avarice of the addressee, imputing these to him as the reasons for not coming home, while in poem II this theme is not mentioned at all. There his alleged *Ferrea praecordia* (23) make him stay in Venice. The *peragrasse Italia regna* from III. 27–28 is not mentioned in poem II.

In this early phase of Frisian and Westphalian humanism (and the person concerned is said to *honestas perdidicisse littras*) we know of only one Wilhelmus: Wilhelmus Frederici, the 'persona personatus' of the church of St. Martin's in Groningen.¹² The nearest he came to Venice, as far as we know, was Ferrara. Besides, Wilhelmus Frederici had more than one brother and his father did not die till 1483; nothing is known about his mother nor of a possible stepmother.¹³

Therefore, failing an identifiable addressee and failing all absolute time indications, this and the following poem cannot be dated.

Notes

2. ad Venetos: This geographical indication, more precisely defined in the lines 3–4, makes it almost impossible to think of any other town than Venice. Eminently suitable though it is for the gathering of immense heaps of gold and silver (III. 10, 14), for the *honestas perdidicisse littras* (III. 29) one is more inclined to think of Padova, on the *terra firma* of the Venetian republic.
4. fundamenta quatit: Verg. Aen. 2. 611.
salum: The word occurs in Vergil and Ovid, but is especially frequent in Propertius.
- 7–8. cui --- adsciuit: unusual expression.
13. aera spires: There is a curious coincidence in Vergil's line (with the homonymous word 'aera') *excudent alii spirantia mollius aera* (Aen. 6. 847).
14. ante dies: More usual is *ante diem*, e.g. Verg. Aen. 4. 620; Ov. A. A. 1. 184.
16. Quid morer: Verg. Aen. 4. 325, 6. 528; Tib. 4. 1. 147 (*Quid moror?* in all three places).
17. in auras: *in/per auras* are very frequent line-endings.
18. Nocte --- horrebant: Curious, *recherché* expression, for which I have not been able to find a parallel. Perhaps one could read *noctem oculi horrebant* (cf. Sen. Tro. 436 *noctis horrendae*, Terence has *oculi dolent* in Ph. 5. 8. 64, Seneca *oculi rigent* in Oed. 187a–188b) or *noctem oculi hauribant* (cf. Verg. Aen. 4. 530 *oculisue aut pectore noctem / accipit*).
19. uersabat --- pectore: cf. Verg. Aen. 4. 563–564.
22. matronam: see introductory note.
23. Ferrea . . . praecordia: Ov. H. 12. 183; cf. Hor. C. 1. 3. 9–10.

¹² For Frederici see Zuidema, *Wilhelmus Frederici, Contemporaries of Erasmus*, s.v. Frederiks, and Akkerman and Santing, 'Rudolf Agricola en de Aduarder Academie', 19f.

¹³ I owe this information to Mr Redmer Alma, Department of History, University of Groningen.

- 23–24. Lacte ferino . . . nutritus: Ov. Tr. 3. 11. 3 *nutritus lacte ferino*; Other paraphrases of human callousness by expressions of this kind: Verg. Aen. 4. 366–367; Ov. H. 7. 37–38, id. M. 8. 120–121.
25. (Eia,) *rumpe moras*: XVI. 48; Verg. Aen. 4. 569 *Heia age, rumpe moras*, 9. 13, id. G. 3. 13; Sil. 8. 215; Mart. 2. 64. 9 *heia age, rumpe moras*, cf. VII. 59.
27. *spes* --- *tuorum*: cf. Verg. Aen. 8. 581 *mea sola et sera uoluptas*, 12. 57 *spes tu nunc una, senectae / tu requies miserae*.
28. *accelerans*: The verb occurs also in Vergil (Aen. 5. 675, 9. 221, 9. 505).

III See introductory note to poem II.

Notes

- Title The word 'Adonicum' may be meant as an adj. to the classical subst. 'adonium' and so be a parallel form to the adj. 'adonius' used by Servius in his *De metris Horatii*.¹⁴
- 2–3. *ignotis . . . abdiis terris*: cf. II. 5.
5. Venetos: cf. II. 2–4.
- 6–8. cf. II. 6 and 22.
10. Auri --- *aceruos*: cf. Hor. Sat. 1. 1. 41 *Quid iuuat te immensum argenti pondus et auri / . . . deponere terra?* id. Ep. 1. 2. 47 *non aeris acerui et auri*.
- 11–12. *ingrauescentem senectam*: cf. Cic. Sen. 2. 6.
14. *Ardor inhiare*: for the construction cf., e.g., Sil. 13. 719 *Appellare uiros erat ardor et addere verba*.
inhiare gazis: Sen. Herc. F. 167.
15. *loculo*: 'loculis' (plur.) would in classical Latin have been the more correct number (sense: 'cash-box'), see Hor. Sat. 1. 3. 17, id. Ep. 2. 1. 175.
17. *truces uultus*: Hor. Epod. 5. 4; Sen. Phaedr. 692; ps.- Sen. Octav. 22.
- 17–24. Almost standard elements when speaking about the dangers of travelling, cf. R. von Langen, C. I. ii passim, e.g. 15–20:

Et saevus metuat, maxime Raphael,
Hostis tangere Listhigum.
Tutusque scopulos permeet Alpium,
Horrendis nivium molibus impera
Ductor, ne iuvenem terrificus pium
Fragor turboque dissipet;

and I. vii. 15–32:

. . . securus abeat tuoque (sc. *Raphaelis*)
Munere felix,

¹⁴ The word 'Adonicum' does not occur in *Th.L.L.*, the medieval Latin dictionaries or the Indices of Keil's *Grammatici Latini*. In the latter (IV, 468 Servius *de metris Horatianis*) a sapphic stanza is described in the following words: *Secunda ode est dicolos tetrastrophos . . . , quartus* (sc. uersus) *vero, qui adonius dicitur, dactylo et spondio pedibus terminatur*.

Saeva tempestas pluviaeque tristes
 Tabidum virus iter institutum
 Praedo ne vexet patrio meantis
 Rure Sigambri.
 Rhenus Europae fluvium venustas,
 Cui dedit victrix iuga non ferenti
 Roma terrarum, placido quiescat
 Numine iussus,
 Listhigus donec superet minaces
 Amnis anfractus adeatque laetus
 Alpium tristes rigidos perenni et
 Frigore montes;¹⁵

and Rudolph Agricola, Ad Rod. Langium carmen, 9ff., in a description of winter in a mountainous region:

Ergo omnis altè mons niuibus latet
 Oppressus, horret saxea candidis
 Moles pruinis, & soluta
 Voluitur alpibus è supremis
 Nix montis instar, præcipites quoq;
 Sylvas trahens, & saxa sonantia,
 Surdisq; fundens uota diuis
 Ipse miser rapitur uiator.¹⁶

19. amor --- auri: cf. Verg. Aen. 1. 349 . . . *auri caecus amore*.
 radiantis auri: Ov. M. 4. 637.
22. rotatu: very rare word: Stat. Ach. 2. 131; Auson. Idyll. 10. (Mosella) 362.
23. uel: not disjunctive, but meaning '(or) even', see also line 37.
24. ore supremo: Ov. M. 8. 521, cf. id. Tr. 3. 3. 87.
25. opes fluxas: Sen. Phaedr. 491.
29. littras: see VII. 52, IX. 5 and 15. The same syncope is to be found in the poem in which Anton Liber celebrates Wessel Gansfort's return from Italy:

Salve, ô Wessele, ô vir praestantissime, salve
 Littrarum princeps, Pieridumq; decus.¹⁷

honestas littras: Unusual combination in classical literature, perhaps humanistic idiom? (The title of one of Buschius's poems is *Sapphicon de virtute et honestis litteris*).¹⁸

- 30-31. si --- tua: cf. Verg. Aen. 3. 56-57 . . . *Quid non mortalia pectora cogis, / auri sacra fames!*; cf. Sen. Phaedr. 486 *non illum auararum mentis inflamat furor*.
30. fames habendi: Vergil (Aen. 8. 327) and Horace (Ep. 1. 7. 85) have 'habendi' dependent upon 'amor'.

¹⁵ Parmet, *Rudolf von Langen*, 180 and 189-190.

¹⁶ Agricola, *De inventione dialectica* 2, 295.

¹⁷ Gansfort, *Opera*, 710.

¹⁸ Liessem, *Hermann van dem Busche*, 15.

- 31. inflammet/trahit: So the ms.; there is no compelling reason to change the moods.
- 32. dira cupido: This adoneus occurs frequently as a line-ending in the hexameter, e.g. Verg. G. 1. 37, id. Aen. 6. 373, 6. 721, 9. 185; Sen. Phaedr. 981; ps.-Sen. Oct. 300
- 33. fato acerbo: Hor. Epod. 7. 17.
- 34. Morulis: Occurs only in late prose.
- 37. uacuu: The meaning here will be 'without *aceruos auri et argenti*' (vs. 10).
- uel: see line 23 and note.
- 40. quum duo abestis: see II introductory note.

IV A hymn to the Father of all things who with an all-seeing eye observes the sins of mankind. As a consequence of its crimes a plague infests the earth and kills its inhabitants. After a description of some symptoms, the poet winds up with the remark that the Frisian people is spared, and for that reason he exhorts all poets to praise God.

The last stanza but one contains a not very useful indication. From the use of the indicative mood (33: 'tueris', 35: 'contines') one is inclined to conclude that Frisia, so far, has been spared the epidemic that ravages the rest of the Low Countries and Germany. Failing more specific clues, however, the poem cannot be linked up with the epidemic of any particular year.

Notes

- 8. Subruat: 'Subruo' occurs in classical Latin only as a transitive verb. Agricola uses it in the correct way, see Epicedium Mauricii vs. 27, but it occurs as an intransitive verb also in one of Celtis's poems.¹⁹ The idea expressed — the precarious balance of the earth — also in Verg. Ecl. 4. 50; see Luc. 1. 56–58.
- 9. ab alto: Verg. Aen. 1. 297 (the last two words of the hexameter).
- 10. Lynceis: see XIV. 59 and note.
- 15. gubernat: not frequent in poetry.
- 16. foeda libido: cf. III. 32 and note.
- 18–19. truculenta --- inuasit: cf. Tac. Ann. 12. 50 *Armeniam Radamistus inuasit, truculentior quam antea*.
- 19–20. Stygias --- undas: cf. Verg. Aen. 7. 773 *Stygias detrusit ad undas*; Prop. 2. 34. 53, id. 3. 18. 9 *Stygias . . . undas*; ps.-Sen. Oct. 79 *Stygias mittet ad umbras* Il. lat. 431 *Stygias demittit ad umbras*.
- 21–22. modulos --- deserens: cf. the hymn on St. John the Baptist (Ut queant laxis 10) *perdidit promptae modulos loquela*; cf. Gell. 5. 1. *I si modulis uerborum . . . mouentur*
- 21–24. modulos --- prodit: cf. Lucr. 5. 1030–1032:

non alia longe ratione atque ipsa uidetur
protrahere ad gestum pueros infantia linguae
cum facit ut digito quae sint praesentia monstrent

¹⁹ Agricola, *De inuentione dialectica* 2, 314; Celtis, 'Ad Apollinem . . . veniat', 24 (in: Schnur, *Lateinische Gedichte deutscher Humanisten*, 54).

The ms. has *Deserens infantis*, which is metrically impossible. If maintained as they stand, actually putting into practice the ex-punctuation marks underneath the 'i' and 'n' of 'infantis' (for 'fantis' see Auson. Parent. 19. 14), these lines may be interpreted as follows: Forced to give up (by reason of his illness) normal, grown-up speech, he indicates, practising the way of a young speaker (*fantis teneri* almost equals 'infantis'), with a trembling finger what he may happen to like ('desero' = [*Th. L. L.*] *neglegere uel excercere desinere quod colere debes*, Cic. Inv. 1. 14; Colum. 11. 1. 11). For the symptom described see Lucr. 6. 1148–1150. sub usu: 'sub' metri gratia substituted for 'ex'²⁰. Cf. (perhaps) Rud. von Langen I. i. 67.²¹

23. placidam: In classical Latin the word usually means 'calm/quiet/peaceful' and the like; Mormann uses it nearly always in the sense of 'pleasing' (cf. IV. 38, V. 11, VIII. 3, XVI. 46, possibly VI. 13, but in its classical meaning in VII. 19).
- 25–26. saniem . . . euomit: cf. Ov. M. 4. 494; cf. Sil. 14. 605–606 *saniesque immixta cruore / exspuitur*. 'Euomo' occurs mostly in prose.
26. morulas: see III. 34 and note.
- vitae . . . perosus: cf. Verg. Aen. 6. 435 *lucemque perosi* (said of suicides).
- 27–28. mortis . . . horam: Suet. Dom. 14.
29. faciem: The ms. has 'facem'. The word 'fax' occurs figuratively (the literal meaning here being quite impossible) in two senses which are neatly summed up by Ovid's line *Et face pro thalami fax mihi mortis adest* (H. 20. 172). *Faute de mieux* I suggest 'faciem' which then has to be read with synizesis (a synizesis of the same vowels, however, occurs in, e.g. Prop. 3. 19. 12 [abiegnae] and 4. 1. 42 [abiegni], in the App. Verg. Maecenas 109 [arietis]). The lengthening of the first vowel (of 'faciem', caused by the synizesis) would not deter Mormann: long second syllables appear more often in his sapphic hendecasyllables. As to the meaning of line 29 when 'faciem' is substituted for 'facem', Mormann may have had in mind something like Lucanus's *fessumque caput se ferre recusat* (6. 97, also in a description of the plague; cf. Sen. Oed. 593 *aegreque lassum sustinens Morbus caput*) or the expression *faciem contundere palma* as a sign of grief or mourning (Iuv. 13. 128).
- palms utrisque: Whatever school grammars may assert, this use of 'uterque' (plur.) also occurs in classical Latin (Cic., Var., Nep., Sall., Hor., Liv.).
30. carpit somnum: cf. Verg. G. 3. 435. 'Somnus', meaning 'death', is used, also with other adjectives, by Horace, Silius and Val. Flaccus. For *aeternum somnum* cf. Inscr. Orell. 4428.
31. boatu: This word, rare in classical Latin, occurs twice in this poem: see line 37; the verb of the same root, almost equally rare, occurs in XIV. 35.

²⁰ In medieval Latin the abl. modi was sometimes strengthened by the addition of the prep. 'sub'.

²¹ Parmet, *Rudolf von Langen*, 177.

- 32. spiritum . . . superas . . . mittit in auras: cf. II. 17 and note.
- 37. tragico boatu: cf. XIV. 35–36; (Ps.-) Cat. Mus. 4; Sed. Carm. Pasch. 1. 18.
- 38. placidum: cf. line 23 and note.
- 40. promere laudes: frequent line-ending in medieval Latin hexameter poetry.

V A hymn to the ruler of heaven, earth and seas, by whose command day and night alternate and who, taking pity on the human condition, took the flesh in the womb of a virgin. His birth, his preaching of salutary truths and his death opened the gates of heaven.

The poem has several hymnal traits (invocation followed by relative clause, anaphora of *Tu* (5), *Te* (9), *Tu* (13), *tibi* (17) but lacks the usual prayer and liturgical conclusion.

Notes

- 1. celso --- Olympo: cf. IV. 5–6.
residens Olympo: ps.-Sen. Oct. 209.
- 2. uirides . . . undas: Unusual combination. 'Viridis' denotes a greenish colour and is used for plants, shrubs and trees, for animals and, rarely, for the colour of the sky, but not to indicate the colour of water, rivers, seas and the like. Horace has, however, *uirides Nereidum comas* (C. 3. 28. 10; Orelli/Baiter ad loc.: *Deorum marinorum omnia sunt caerulea, glauca, viridia*); cf. Ov. Tr. 1. 2. 59 . . . *uiridesque dei, quibus aequora curae*.
- 5–6. Tu --- lucem: If this is what the poet intended the copyist to read, it has to mean: Thou compellest the sun (*diem Phoebi*) to radiate its light, golden in its splendour, to the earth.
- 7–8. tuo --- lumen: The inversion of Horace's (*dum*) *rediens fugat astra Phoebus* (C. 3. 21. 24).
- 10. patrem rerum: IV.1.
- 13. poli rector: Ambr. Hymn. vesp. 2.²²
- 14. hostis: XIV. 11. The usual medieval term for the devil.
hostis --- retentos: cf. VIII. 7–8, 'like birds, in the snares of the devil'. Cf. Hor. 3. 24. 8 *non mortis laqueis expedit caput*; cf. Vulg. 1 Tim. 3. 9 *incidunt . . . in laqueum diaboli*, 2 Tim. 2. 26 *et resipiscant a diaboli laqueis, a quo captivi tenentur ad ipsius voluntatem*.
- 15–16. celsa --- orbem: highly unusual expression, explained by lines 17 Est tibi–22 in mundum
- 17–20. locus communis, the womb of a virgin encloses him that in reality not even the whole world could contain, cf. Ambr. Hymn. de Nat. Dom. 45–48:

Creator cuncti generis
Orbis quem totus non capit
In tua, sancta genitrix,
Sese reclusit viscera.²³

²² Migne, *PL* 16, col. 1409 hymn. 2.

²³ Migne, *PL* 17, col. 1173.

and Agr. Anna 3–4:

Atq; paris matrem: cuius quem non capit orbis
Ipse libens subijt uiscera casta Deus²⁴

18. mira --- fabor: cf. Sen. Phaedr. 885 *ipsa iam fabor*.

21. Temporis . . . spatio: Prud. Cath. praef. 6.

21–22. Temporis --- mundum: This seems to be a contamination of two ideas and their expression in words: On the one hand the idea of Christ being born in the fullness of time, e.g. *quando uenit ergo sacri plenitudo temporis* (Ven. Fort. Carm. 2, 2, 10) and the hymn for the matins of the Sundays in the Advent: *qui natus orbi subuenis, / labente cursu temporis*, on the other hand a way of saying, common in medieval hymns, *et incarnatus est . . . et homo factus est*: Christ has temporarily assumed the shape of man, e.g. Ambr. *ibid.* 49–52:

Quem Pater ante tempora
Deus deumque genuit,
Matris almae virginitas
Cum tempore partum edidit.

and *a matre natus tempore / sed sempiternus a patre*.²⁵

24–25. patere --- caeli: cf. Prud. Cath. 10. 161–162:

patet ecce fidelibus ampli
uia lucida iam paradisi

24. ostia caeli: cf. Verg. G. 4. 467 *Ostia Ditis* (last two feet of the hexameter)

27. et potest: Eight syllables are missing; something like *laetus merito beatas* could be supplied.

28. scandere sedes: cf. I. 26.

29–32. cf. Prud. Cath. 10. 163–164:

licet et nemus illud adire
homini quod ademerat anguis

31–32. pateretur mortem: Ov. Tr. 1. 2. 42; Sen. Ep. 94. 7; Lact. Epit. 45 (50). 1.

VI Go, my rustic songs, over mountains, through forests and fields, to a town that rears its head above the Alps. Look there for a handsome, tall, gray-haired and amiable man carrying a rod. When you have found him, tell him: 'Frederick sent us to this town and wishes us to greet you. He longs for you and will never be able to forget you'.

The structure and contents of the poem (the 'carmina' are commanded to set out on a journey to a certain place, to look for a certain person and to give him a message) resemble Ov. P. 4. 5 and Stat. Silv. 4. 4. 1–11.

²⁴ Agricola, *De inventione dialectica* 2, 297.

²⁵ Mone, *Lateinische Hymnen* I, 32, 13–14.

See also VII. 1 and note. Apart from some scanty information derived from the 'Universitätsmatrikeln' of Rostock, from this poem (see line 14 and note) and from two poems and a letter by Rudolph von Langen, we know nothing of Lubbertus Zedeler.²⁶ The poem could have been written at any time between Mormann's student years at Rostock and his death at Marburg.

Notes

Title Lubertus Sedeler (sic) matriculated at the university of Rostock in 1463 (29 April); he was promoted 'baccalaureus' (the name is given as Lubbertus Zedeler) in 1464 and 'magister' in 1466. Lubertus Sedeler ('magister, legum licenciatus') was rector of the university of Rostock in 1480/81 and again ('magister/legum doctor') in 1483.²⁷ Two poems by Von Langen give us some more information on Zedeler. According to the heading of carmen I. viii he was a 'legum doctor' at Rostock and died 30 September 1485, aged 39, from a *saeva et indigna lues*. The inscription of poem I. xxxi calls Zedeler *consultissimus Romanarum legum doctor* and mentions a pilgrimage from the Baltic coast to Aix-la-Chapelle and a possible visit to Cologne.²⁸ From other sources there is no information about Zedeler's staying or living in Osnabrück, as may be inferred from Mormann's poem.

Carmen depromptum: Paul. Nol. 9. 11.

1. *Ite ... mea ... carmina*: cf. VII. 1 and note; cf. Ov. Tr. 1. 1. 15, id. P. 4. 5. 1
2. *gressu praepete*: cf. VII. 25; cf. Sen. Phaedr. 1061. *carpite iter*: cf. VII. 26.
3. *campos --- uirentes*: cf. VII. 27.
4. *pergite uiam*: cf. VII. 28.
5. cf. Sen. Oed. 532 *cupressus altis exerens siluis caput*.
- 5,9. *Vrbs --- Alpes, / Menibus hanc altam*: cf. VII. 29–30.
- 5–6. *Vrbs*: The geographical description fits the city of Osnabrück, situated in a valley between the spurs of the Wiehengebirge and the Teutoburgerwald.
Alpes: 'montes' would have lengthened the preceding syllable. Classical Latin uses the word 'Alpes' in the same way (Sil. 2. 333; Auson. [ed. Peiper] p. 280, vs. 87; Prud. Perist. 2. 538; Iord. Get. 102). The hills surrounding the city are meant, of course.
6. *ualle ... caua*: Verg. G. 2. 391; Sen. Oed. 569; Lact. Av. Phoen. 6.
7. *Diues opum*: Verg. G. 2. 468 (same position in the line), id. Aen. 1. 14 and 2. 22; Ov. F. 3. 570.
populosa: post-classical.
8. *Hasa*: Small river that rises in the Teutoburgerwald, flows round and through Osnabrück and debouches in the Ems near Meppen (Lower Saxony).
9. *Moenibus ... altam ... urbem*: cliché from the genre of the *Laus*

²⁶ Crecelius, *Epistulae Langii*, ep. 6, p. 11: *Cum te ultimo Monasterii uiderem, admodum puer eras*.

²⁷ Hofmeister, *Die Matrikel der Universität Rostock*, XXX, 136, 142 and 150.

²⁸ Parmet, *Rudolf von Langen*, 191 and 199.

- urbis, cf., e.g. Agricola, In laudem Papiae panegyricon 3 *magnis turribus ingens*.²⁹
11. uirilil: The ms. has 'viridis', which is unmetrical.
sibi: ei.
 12. lambit . . . mitra pilos: Unusual expression: Flames and rivers may 'lambere', but 'mitrae', as a rule, do not. Claudian, however, has a more or less kindred phrase: *tunc infula lambit pedes* (Cons. Prob. Olybr. 190; the text of Th. Birt (MGH tom. X) has 'insula'). Oddly enough, Rudolph von Langen, too, had something to say about Zedeler's hair: *Iam cocco nitidae comae rubebant* (C. I. viii. 7), but these words probably refer to some kind of scarlet headdress, cf. Mart. 5. 23. 5–6 *non nisi uel cocco madida uel murice tincta / ueste nites*; Sil. 17. 396 *At contra ardenti radiabat Scipio cocco*.³⁰
olorinos: Also used to denote the colour by Pliny (37. 10. 59 par. 163).
 14. gestat --- manus: One could infer from this line that Zedeler, before attaining to higher honours, occupied the post of a schoolteacher in Osnabrück. Rudolph von Langen scornfully mentions a *Osnaburgius iuuenum pedigogus* who writes 'unpolished letters full of monstrous words', in a letter to Antonius Liber. Probably only a month later the same Von Langen wrote a letter to Lubbertus Zedeler in which he praises him, but adds the following advice, that might relate to the quoted passage from the letter to Liber: *Sed unum est quod meus in te amor tibi dicendum arbitratur, ne scilicet nimium dialecticis illis inhereas aut exquisite nimis uestre philosophie operam impendas, modorum etiam significandi si me audies ineptias pretermittes. Sunt sane res non indigne, in quas et ego non numquam diligentiam contuli: sed ingenium hoc tuum ad longe bellissima aptum se iudicat satisque de hisce rebus degustauit, ad alia migrandum est. Eleganter Comicus id in uita humana necessarium arbitratur 'ne quid nimis'. No mention is made of Zedeler's activities at the time of his receiving this letter, except, perhaps, *Permitte aliis de uirtute uanas suas disputatiunculas quibus superabunde et plus quam satis est in scholis perstreperunt et garriunt, tu uero cum grauitate et sermonis nitore de uirtute loqui et cum ea uiuere Tullio te docente nitare*.³¹*
 16. inter --- choros: Perhaps Zedeler's pupils are meant, dedicated to the Muses because they are being initiated in the mysteries of Latin and perhaps even Greek. The tautological expression *Musarum Pieridumque* has probably no special meaning; the expression also occurs in Liber's poem on Gansfort's return to Groningen, but the combination of names does not occur in classical poetry.³²
 19. tuo . . . amore: adjective pronoun instead of the gen. obj., cf. Ter. Heaut. 307, id. Phorm. 1016; Dante Ep. 4. 2 . . . *propositum illud laudabile, quo a mulieribus suisque cantibus abstinebam*.

²⁹ Agricola, *De inventione dialectica*, 2, 309.

³⁰ Parmet, *Rudolf von Langen*, 191.

³¹ Crecelius, *Epistulae Langii*, ep. 3, p. 7 and ep. 6, p. 10ff.

³² Gansfort, *Opera*, 710.

- VII The poet addresses a propempticum to his own 'carmina' (cf. VI and introductory note). He bids them to cross the sea and to go to the town of Groningen. Having arrived they shall go directly to the 'templa sacra' where they will probably find a man busying himself with several tasks in the church.³³ He will approach them, whereupon they have to greet him and add good wishes for his wife and children. If he inquires into their origin, the 'carmina' must answer that his friend Fredericus has composed them. The latter is sad because Antonius never sends him any letters or poems. The 'carmina' then urge Antonius to write a poem and send this across the sea to Fredericus who will receive it courteously, lead it to his house and there enjoy its company.

Mormann's 'carmina' had to travel by sea, as is apparent from the opening lines, to visit Antonius Liber (Vrien), who was then living in Groningen, as is also explicitly stated in the poem. Having disembarked they have to continue their voyage through an idyllic landscape until they reach Groningen, the pride of Frisia. Liber stayed in Groningen from 1469 till about 1475.³⁴ Thus it seems probable that the poem was written at some time in Mormann's Rostock period (he matriculated in October 1469 at the university of Rostock; the next known fact of his life is his obtaining a bachelor's degree at the university of Cologne in June 1472).³⁵ The poem, therefore, may be dated in the years 1469-1472.

Notes

1. *Ite . . . carmina*: The personification of a literary work is not uncommon. It has its antique and medieval predecessors in, for example, Catull. 35, Hor. Ep. 1. 20, Ov. Tr. 1. 1 and in this case especially in Ov. P. 4. 5, and in e.g. Theodulfus XXX and XXXVI.³⁶ The practice was imitated on a large scale in Neo-Latin poetry, especially in dedicatory poems. See e.g., *inter plurima alia*, Von Langen's *Auctor ad Librum*, Christ. Landinus's *Ad Leonem Baptistam Albertum* (Xandra 1. 13), Pontanus's *Hend.* 2. 38, Politianus's *Epigr.* 34.³⁷
2. *sulcate*: trite metaphor as in, e.g., Verg. *Aen.* 5. 158; Ov. *M.* 4. 707, P. 2: 10. 33.
4. *salo*: II. 4 and note.
5. *subtexunt aethera nimbi*: cf. Lucr. 5. 466 *subtexunt nubila caelum*, id. 6. 482 *subtexit caerulea nimbis*; Verg. *Aen.* 3. 582 *caelum subtexere fumo*.

³³ Either of the two main churches of Groningen, St. Martin's and Onze Lieve Vrouw ter Aa's, had schools attached to them. There seems to be no absolute certainty as to which of them had Antonius Liber as a 'ludimagister'.

³⁴ See *Verfasserlexikon*, s.v. Liber, 747. For Liber see the introductory note to poem X.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, s.v. Mormann(n), 700-701.

³⁶ *MGH Poetae Latini Aevi Carolini* I, 520ff. and 527f.

³⁷ Parmet, *Rudolf von Langen*, 173; Perosa and Sparrow, *Renaissance Latin Verse*, 35-36, 72, 124.

6. occulto tramite: Propertius has *inculto tramite* (1. 18. 28) at the same point of the line.
7. palmis --- tensis: Verg. Aen. 5. 256, cf. id. 1. 93.
11. Aeole, sceptrā: cf. Verg. Aen. 1. 56–57.
- 11–12. Aeole --- dedit: cf. Verg. Aen. 1. 65–66 *Aeole, namque tibi diuum pater atque hominum rex / et mulcere dedit fluctus et tollere uento*. The strong hyperbaton in this distich is very apt and expressive. The hendiadys *sceptrā tibi et ventos tollere atroces (dedit)*, furthermore, is of a rather unexpected ingenuity.
12. astripotens: The otherwise unattested ‘astripotens’ of the ms. is not incomprehensible, but ‘astripotens’ (see Blaise, *Lex. Lat. Med. Aev.* in voce) seems a more appropriate epithet of Juppiter. dedit: One would have expected the subjunctive mood in this causal clause.
- 13–14. indigno --- circuit: cf. Lucr. 6. 197 *magno indignantur (sc. uenti) murmure*; cf. Vulg. 1. Petr. 5. 8 *sicut leo rugiens circuit, quaerens quem deuoret*.
14. motat: Infrequent word, occurs a few times in Vergil and Ovid.
16. tempestas: See also lines 22 and 61. These defective lines may simply have to be imputed to a fault of the copyist’s, but it is not impossible that we have here an intentional imitation of the unfinished lines in Vergil’s Aeneid. Nothing essential, however, seems to be missing here.
17. mare ueliuolum: Verg. Aen. 1. 224.
19. Nereidumque --- undis: A classical parallel for this image is not to be found, but it does remind one of the description of the ship Argo by Valerius Flaccus (1. 134–139).
Nereidum chorus: Verg. Aen. 5. 240; Sen. Oed. 446.
22. dis --- est: See line 16; here the sense is definitely defective.
25. praepeti saltu: cf. VI. 2 *gressu praepete*.
26. putrem --- uiam: cf. Verg. Aen. 8. 596 *putrem . . . quatit . . . campum*.
27. Ridentem campum: cf. Hor. C. 2. 6. 14–15 *Ille terrarum mihi praeter omnes / angulus ridet*
saltus --- uiuentes: cf. VI. 3.
- 29–30. Eminus --- poli: cf. VI. 5 and 9.
31. Caesarea urbs: cf. I. 14 *regia tellus*. Groningen aspired to the status of ‘freie Reichsstadt, reichsunmittelbare Stadt’.³⁸
33. dictam: hardly poetical.
uia lubrica: The same expression in a letter from Von Langen to Liber, *lubricum iter* in a letter from Liber to Von Langen.³⁹ In both cases the, sometimes bad, condition of the roads is remarked upon. In classical Latin the expression is mostly used metaphorically, cf. Cic. Fl. 42. 105, id. Rep. 1. 28. 44.
- 35–36. Antonius Liber combined the function of ‘ludimagister’ with that of a verger (cf. lines 37–40), a junction of offices that, at least in the countryside, was usual till well into our century. These lines must not lead to the conclusion that he was a priest

³⁸ Blok, ‘Raad en gilden te Groningen omstreeks 1525’, 45 and, more recently, Vries, *Het Heilige Roomse Rijk en de Friese Vrijheid*, passim.

³⁹ Crecelius, *Epistolae Langii*, ep. 1, p. 5, and Crecelius, *Ant. Liber*, ep. 1, p. 146.

- or a canon of one of the Groningen churches. The meaning of the distich is probably that Liber acted as a kind of precentor, training his pupils as a choir for the more solemn celebration of the ecclesiastical hours.
36. laudes, melos: A distinction can be made: 'laus'='hymne', 'melos'='chant, jubilus, neume' (see Blaise *in vocibus*).
38. studio obnixum: I. 11.
39. rapidam . . . flammam: Ov. M. 2. 123.
stuppae: Probably 'wick' (cf. Prud. Cath. 5. 20 *seu ceram teretem stuppa calens bibit*, 'filum' in classical Latin), therefore, per metonymiam, 'candle'.
- 43–44. uiuere . . . in longos annos: I. 25 and note; cf. XVI. 25.
44. propitiore: The first syllable is short in classical Latin, but occurs as long in Iuvencus and Claudianus.
46. aut --- dedit: cf. IX. 11.
47. condidit: Lucr. 5. 2; Hor. Sat. 2. 1. 82, id. A. P. 436.
- 47–52. Nos --- negas: the same complaint in a letter from Agricola to Liber: *Quid est suauissime Antoni, quòd tamdiu nullae mihi ex te redduntur literae, quam ergo causam uis ut esse credam?*⁴⁰
48. tuus . . . amor: see VI. 19 and note.
- 49–50. animum stupor . . . detinuit: cf. Liv. 9. 2. 10.
tempore --- detinuit: I. 17.
50. scriptula . . . dabas: See I. 24 and note.
52. nec: Equals *ne . . . quidem*, cf. Hor. Sat. 3. 262; Iuv. 2. 152, 3. 90. *Nec* in this sense had become usual in medieval and neo-Latin.
littris: syncopated, III. 29, IX. 5 and 15.
dare --- negas: cf. I. 24.
53. saxea corda: cf. II. 23 *Ferrea . . . praecordia*; Plin. Ep. 2. 3. 7 *saxeus ferreusque es*. Classical 'topos', see also II. 23–24 and note.
55. sibi: 'ei', cf. VI. 11.
56. canas: See I. 20 and note, III. 31 and note.
58. Papia: Latinisation of the vernacular 'Pavia', the ancient Ticinum. Both forms were current in Neo-Latin.⁴¹ Liber spent some time in Pavia, perhaps together with Rudolph Agricola.⁴²
59. perde moras: The *rumpe moras* of II. 25 is the usual expression; see II. 25 and note, XVI. 48.
raptim --- manumque: I. 23 and note.
60. gratum --- cude: So the ms. This seems to be at variance with the metrical scheme of the second hemistich of the pentameter (two dactyls followed by a syllaba anceps), but according to Alexander de Villa Dei's *Doctrinale* the word 'cude' (imp. sg.) should be scanned as a Pyrrhic.⁴³ The ms. reading makes no sense. Correction to the palaeographically obvious 'aude' would create a pentameter without precedent (the classical rules concerning the metrical constitution of the second half of the

⁴⁰ Allen, 4, 5 February 1471 = Agricola, *De inventione dialectica* 2, 174.

⁴¹ Agricola uses 'Papia' in his letters (Allen nrs. 1 and 2 = Hartfelder, 11–12) and it occurs in the title of his poem on Pavia in the Alardus edition (2,309). Philelphus has 'Papia' in Ode V. 11: see Perosa and Sparrow, *Renaissance Latin Verse*, 27).

⁴² See *Verfasserlexikon*, s.v. Liber, 747.

⁴³ *Doctrinale*, 1946.

pentameter obtained also in medieval Latin versification, see *Doctrinale* 1578–1579:

Quarta pentametri quintave locas anapestum.
pentametri tribracho sedes patet ultima tantum.).

61. conflatum: The ms. has *Quod cum inflatum* which has hiatus and uses the word 'inflatum' instead of Mormann's idiosyncratic 'conflatum'. The line is defective, but nothing essential seems to be lacking in the sentence (61–64). See also line 16 and note, and line 22.
62. putridum: Probably to be taken in the sense of 'putrem', see line 26.
65. celsas . . . aedes: Mormann probably lived in Rostock when writing this poem (see introductory note). Of his circumstances there nothing is known.
66. colloquioque: striking but in classical poetry not unusual postponement of '-que' (third position, see Ov. R. A. 502 *in laqueos auceps decideratque suos*).
colloquioque frui: XVII. 6.
67. effemur: The form does not occur in classical Latin.

VIII The schoolmaster's dilemma. A fowler is trying two treatments on his birds: The first is to feed them well in order to make them sing, but the birds fly out when they have grown up. The second treatment consists in clipping the wings of the next catch in order to prevent their flying out. If the 'scholares' of the title are the 'uolucres' of the poem and the 'auceps' is a teacher who ensnares his pupils, the purport of the fable seems to be that a teacher looses the pupils he has educated well or fails to educate them in the proper way if he tries to keep them.

Title pignatio: a pledging, pawning, mortgaging; the meaning here seems to be that a teacher receives his pupils on loan.

1. deluserat arte: cf. Dist. Cat. 1. 26 *sic ars deluditur arte*.⁴⁴
2. esu: not in classical poetry.
3. placidi: see IV. 23 and note.
modulamina cantus: cf. Lact. Av. Phoen. 45 *incipit illa sacri modulamina fundere cantus* (in a very high-flown context).⁴⁵
4. bibulas . . . aures: Pers. 4. 50; cf. Prop. 3. 6. 8.
perstringere . . . aures: Hor. C. 2. 1. 18.
5. dum: The combination 'dum' + pluperf. followed by a principal sentence with ind. praes. is not impossible, cf. Liv. 32. 24. 5.
7. spe --- inani: cf. Verg. Aen. 10. 627 *spes pascis inanes* at the same point in the line.
8. deprenderat: The ms. has 'deprehenderat'; OLD s. v. 'deprehendo': 'The contracted form is usual for the sake of metre in verse.'
astu: The abl. sg. of the -u-stems ends in a long -u.

⁴⁴ Duff and Duff, *Minor Latin Poets* II, 600.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 652.

9. ne --- sidant: cf. App. Verg. Vir Bon. 6 *externae ne quid labis per leuia sidat*. In order to maintain the reading of the ms. one should make these words mean something like 'to prevent them from settling somewhere high up in the air, on the branch of a tree or the top of a roof', but perhaps a copyist misread 'sidant' for 'scindant' or 'findant', which Mormann meant to use intransitively.

IX The poem praises the inventor of the art of printing.

Printing with movable types was reputedly invented in about 1455, far before Mormann could possibly have written any poetry. The subject of the poem, therefore, furnishes no indication as to the date of its origin, but Mormann may have been inspired by the establishment of the first printing-offices in the north-eastern part of the Low Countries and North Germany between 1470 and 1480.

Notes

Title The earliest Latin expression for the art of printing seems to have been *ars informaturae*. 'Impressura' is a development from words that were in current use immediately from the beginning: 'imprimere' for 'to print' ('excudere' is an equally old equivalent), 'impressus/impressio' for edition and 'impressor' for printer.⁴⁶ Holland, Germany, England and France all have their own traditions concerning the inventor of the art of printing, but nowadays Johann Gutenberg of Mainz is generally credited with having invented movable types (c.1455), see, e.g., Polydorus Vergilius (a generation later than Mormann c. s.) in his *De rerum inventoribus* II. 7 *Joannes Cuthenbergus natione Theutonicus --- primus omnium in oppido Germaniae quam Maguntiam vocant, hanc imprimendarum literarum artem excogitavit primumque ibi ea exerceri coepit* (1458). Politianus speaks only of *excusores isti novorum librorum Teutones* (Epp. lib. V. 1).⁴⁷

More poems have been written in praise of the invention of the art of printing, e.g. Rudolph von Langen's *In artem imprimendi et impressoris laudem epigramma --- censetur*, Sebastian Brant's *Ad Dominum Iohannem Bergmann --- elogium* and Conradus Celtis's *Laudat Germanum inventorem artis impressoriae*.⁴⁸

- 1-2. uires . . . exsere: cf. Lact. Inst. 2. 3. 4.
2. melliculos: 'Melculum' or 'melliculum' (subst.) occurs in Plaut. Cas. 837.
4. modicum: classical, but unpoetical.
5. quisquis is es: There is no explicit doubt in the above-mentioned poems, but neither give they a name: Brant has *ab ingenio gentis*

⁴⁶ See Rizzo, *Lessico filologico*, 75-77.

⁴⁷ Polydorus Vergilius, *De rerum inventoribus libri VIII*, II, 7 (this is the edition Lugdunum 1561, but the edition of Venice, 1499, names, in exactly the same words, Petrus, i.e. Peter Schoeffer, as the inventor of the art of printing. See Hellinga-Querido and De Wolf, *Laurens Janszoon Coster was zijn naam*, pl. 15); Politianus, *Epistularum libri XII*, V, 1.

⁴⁸ Parmet, *Rudolf von Langen*, 213; Perosa and Sparrow, *Renaissance Latin Verse*, 409 and 413.

- Rhenanae* and Celtis writes *ex Moguntiacis civibus editus*. See note 'Title' and note 48.
- 5-6. effingere, sculpere: 'To design and to cut'. The same words are used in a letter by the Frisian scholar and statesman Viglius ab Aytta Zuichemus.⁴⁹
6. duro --- apices: cf. Celtis (see above) vs. 9 *qui sculpsit solidos aere characteres*,
apices: 'Sign to distinguish a long syllable from a short one', 'form of the letter, the way a letter is written' and so, per synecdochen, 'letter, epistle'; in Laurentius Valla it sometimes signifies 'sign of abbreviation'. In a letter to Antonius Liber Von Langen uses the word apparently in the sense 'letters': *Iterum uale et male scriptis apicibus parce*. Mormann may have simply intended the meaning 'letters'.⁵⁰
sculpere: In the poem 'In impressorem quendam...' Rudolph von Langen uses the verb 'sculpere' in the sense 'to print': *Si tantum altiloquos tibi mens est sculpere versus / Ilice sub grandi nostra myrica valet*.⁵¹
7. persolvere grates: Verg. Aen. 1. 600.
10. fama celebris: Liv. 27. 33. 1.
11. das in lucem... prodire: cf. VII. 46.
- 11-12. Cf. Von Langen I. v. 29-30 where he addresses the Strasbourg printer Adolph Rusch: *Duro ligatos carcere codices / Dextra resolvis, liberi ut exeant*.⁵² The enthusiasm about the invention of printing hardly decreased in the next generation, cf. for example, Hippolytus Capilupus, *Carmina*, p. 96, vss. 9-11, addressing Paulus Manutius: *Tu de tenebris eruisti plurima / confecta turpi iam situ volumina / vatum priorum*.⁵³
littra: The last syllable has been lengthened before the caesura semiquinaria. The word is often used in the singular, *metri causa*, where the meaning of the plural is intended, see Ov. Tr. 4. 1. 92, 5. 1. 43, id. P. 4. 14. 26.
16. cf. Brant Var. Carm. sig. [I. 8] 1-2:

Quid sibi docta cohors, sibi quid studiosa caterva
gratius, utilius, commodiusve petet,
quam sanctum et nuper compertum opus absque lituris
quo premere edocuit grammata multa simul,
quodque prius scripsit vix ullus mille diebus,
nunc uno solus hac aget arte die?

and Celtis Od. III. IX. 11-12

quo nasci utilius non poterat magis
cunctis, credite, saeculis.⁵⁴

- 17-18. The same sentiment, or rather animosity, in Brant's and Celtis's

⁴⁹ Gerritsen, 'Printing at Froben's', 147 and 161.

⁵⁰ Rizzo, *Lessico filologico*, 103, 108; Crecelius, *Epistulae Langii*, ep. 3, p. 8.

⁵¹ Parmet, *Rudolf von Langen*, 192.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 188.

⁵³ Perosa and Sparrow, *Renaissance Latin Verse*, 313.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 409 and 413.

poems (resp. vss. 17–20 and 13–16) and in one of Agricola's letters to Von Langen:

Vnum hoc tibi affirmo (neque uelim id à me dici blandius credas) ingentem de te concipio fiduciam, summamq; in spem adducor, fore aliquando, ut priscam insolenti Italiae et propemodum occupatam benedicendi gloriam extorqueamus: uindicemusq; nos & ab ignominia, qua nos barbaros, indoctosq; & elingues, & si quid est his incultius, esse nos iactitant, exoluamus, futuramq; tam doctam atque literatam Germaniam nostram, ut non latinius uel ipsum sit Latium.⁵⁵

- X He who condemns rhetoric and poetry, cannot be truly wise. Divine law and great parts of the Bible are unintelligible to him. Even the writings of the Doctors of the Church are satiated with rhetoric and poetry. You are not more learned than they are and for that reason you must stop being envious of those that wear the poetic insignia.

The title of the poem, *In osores studiorum humanitatis*, reflects a humanist 'topos'. For the opposition humanism encountered in the Low Countries see IJsewijn, 'The Coming of Humanism to the Low Countries', 211–213. Rudolph von Langen wrote a poem which bears the significant title *Ad clarissimam Coloniam Agrippinensem, qua<v>e cum multa praeclara consecuta sit antiquitatis et parentis suae Romae monimenta et hac nostra aetate excellat plurimum, solos vates et poetas humanitatisque professores, qui res suas sempiternae memoriae tradere possint, in pretio non habeat, auctor miratur* (I. lviii; the poem is an echo of Von Langen's ideas on the subject, which are also expressed in letters to Liber and Zedeler.⁵⁶ Celtis and Buschius, too, directed poems especially against the Cologne scholars).⁵⁷ Numerous poems on this topic — *in osores studiorum humanitatis* — were written, e.g. the following epigram by Bartholomaeus Coloniensis:

In osores studiorum humanitatis.
Garrula barbaries, prius Arctophylacta booten
Orbis hyperborei cardine deijcies,
Quam deturbabis de monte bivertice doctos
Musarum cetus laurigerosque viros.
Hos si non cessas verbis obtundere, aselli
Aures temporibus figet Apollo tuis.⁵⁸

and Erasmus (ed. Reedijk) nrs. 14 and 15.

Antonius Liber (Anton Vrije/Vrie/Vrien) probably came from Soest in Westphalia (cf. his Latin *cognomen* Susatensis). At the expense of the

⁵⁵ Agricola, *De inventione dialectica* 2, 178 (Allen, nr. 3).

⁵⁶ Parmet, *Rudolf van Langen*, 208; Crecelius, *Epistulae Langii*, epp. 5 and 6.

⁵⁷ Schnur, *Laterinische Gedichte deutscher Humanisten*, 44: 'Ad Wilhelmum Mommerlochum'; Liessem, *Herman van dem Busche*, 6: 'Ad Coloniam Agrippinensem'.

⁵⁸ Bartholomaeus Coloniensis, *Sylva Carminum*, f. Av r-v.

Adwert monastery, he studied at several universities, including Pavia (see poem VII. 58), where he was at the same time as Agricola. In 1469 he appears as a *gymnasiarcha* or *ludimagister* in Groningen; Mormann calls him *custos* in the title of poem VII (see also note at VII. 35–36). Later on he appears in the Groningen archives as a *notarius* and *clericus Coloniensis*. In Groningen he married a girl, Bertha, by whom he had three children, Barbara, Johannes and Antonius (see note at XII. 19). In this period he spent some time in Cologne and probably travelled in Germany. From 1482 till c. 1496 he lived in the town of Kampen, first as rector of a school, later as *notarius* and, later still, as *scriba/secretarius* of the town. After his Kampen years he held teaching jobs in Amsterdam and Alkmaar and died c. 1508.

Liber wrote an *Aurora grammaticae*, published a *Familiarium epistolarum compendium* and attended to an edition of Titus Livius Forliviensis's *De Orthographia*. The only other poems left are an epigram *In laudem auctoris* (accompanying the edition of Livius Forliviensis's *De Orthographia*), a panegyric poem dedicated to Wessel Gansfort on the latter's return from Italy and a poem in praise of the city of Cologne.⁵⁹

Of Mormann's poems no. VII is explicitly dedicated to Antonius Liber, who is probably also the addressee of the poems XI, XII and XIII.

Notes

1. Rhetoricam . . . poesim: In Paulus Pelantinus's epicedium on Wessel Gansfort occurs the line *In dubio est, Rhetor ne fuit, maior ve poeta*.⁶⁰
sacram: cf. XI. 1 and note, XVI. 44, as a gift from Apollo and the Muses.
2. cuncta: 'all other things'.
3. cautus Vlixes: cf. Sen. Tro. 38 *cautus . . . Ithacus*.
5. experientia: Occurs in poetry also in Vergil, Ovid and Statius.
6. extra --- loqui: cf. vss. 10–11. The meaning, apparently, is 'to speak outside his accustomed milieu'; the phrase does not seem to be a generally accepted dictum.
7. garrit, uentosa: Neither word is usual in combination with 'cicada'.
- 7–8. The tertium comparationis is the *osor studiorum humanitatis* who does not hesitate to speak out loudly when in his own surroundings. If he, however, ventures outside, he becomes frightened and loses his senses.
9. clangoribus: Here the croaking of frogs, mostly used of the sounds produced by wind-instruments and birds.
10. cornua: A *double entendre*: 'a horny excrescence on the head, a wart' (Lewis and Short), cf. Plin. H. N. 32. 5. 50, and 'horn, trumpet'.
11. laudabilis: One would have expected the comparative, cf. 'quam' (12); positivus instead of comparativus occurs also in the Latin of the Vulgate, e.g. Mt. 18, 8.
- 13 ff. Cf. Antonius Haneron's introduction to his *Diasynthetica* (published in Cologne ca. 1475/ 77), f. alr:

⁵⁹ For Liber see note 4 and Akkerman and Santing, 'Rudolf Agricola en de Aduarder Academie', 21–22 and notes.

⁶⁰ Gansfort, *Opera*, ***2v.

Nempe grammaticam prescisse necesse est eum, qui velit artes reliquas adipisci. Quo enim pacto quis vel theologie, vel civilis iuris vel cuiuslibet artium aliarum habuerit noticiam, qui latinam linguam non norit? Quomodo latinum intelligeret, qui latinum non intelligat ydeoma, significancias verborum modosque, congruam denique nexionem?⁶¹

13. superas . . . laudes: *Laudes summae/maximae* is a current expression; here it is tempting to read 'superis'.
depromere: VI title and note.
14. qui --- sapit: The ever-returning reproach, cf. e.g. Barth. Coloniensis to a fictitious representative of the 'old school': *Non fari recte noscis nec scribere recte: Ignoras artes, Zoile, grammaticas.*⁶²
16. ornatu . . . poema: See XIII. 2 and note.
17. altiloquos: Not in the classical dictionaries. Du Cange in voce: 'qui alta loquitur'. The word is also used by Von Langen (I. xiii. 3).⁶³ See the Erasmus-quotation at lines 17–18.
- 17–18. per --- Musas, Versibus --- ruunt: Unusual expressions, not in *Th. L. L.* s. v. 'curro', but see the first quotation from Aeneas Silvius below. Cf. Erasmus 15. 5–8:

Ecce per altiloquas corrunt (*sic*) Prouerbia musas,
Versibus alludunt Sapiens, Iob, Cantica sponsae,
Concrepat et metricis Daud sua carmina plectris.⁶⁴

- 17–20. cf. Arator Ep. ad Vig. 23–26:

Metrica vis sacris non est incognita libris;
Psalterium lyrici composuere pedes.
Hexametris cantare sonis in origine linguae
Cantica Hieremiae, Iob quoque dicta ferunt.⁶⁵

19. Siluius: Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini (Pius II), see *Aeneae Sylvii Pii II Pontificis Epistolarum liber I*, Ep. CIIII, f. 596 F:

Nam Dei nostri laudes nullo pacto suavius aut melius decantari possunt quam versibus poetarum. Hinc omnes apud Hebraeos Psalmi, ut inquit Isidorus, metrico carmine constant, atque in morem Flacci Romani et Graeci Pindari, nunc iambici sunt versus, nunc alcaici, nunc sapphici ob quam causam et Daud Regem sacrum poetam appellamus.⁶⁶ Salomon quoque cuius sapientiam tam nostri, quam Iudaei magnopere demirantur, in numero

⁶¹ Quoted in IJsewijn, 'The Coming of Humanism to the Low Countries', 219 note 34.

⁶² Bartholomaeus Coloniensis, *Sylva Carminum*, f. Avi r.

⁶³ Parmet, *Rudolf von Langen*, 192.

⁶⁴ Reedijk, *Erasmus*, 169.

⁶⁵ Quoted in Curtius, *Europäische Literatur und lateinisches Mittelalter*, 444.

⁶⁶ Isid., *Etym.* VI, 2, 17–18: 'Omnes autem psalmi apud Hebraeos metrico carmine constant esse compositi. Nam in more Romani Flacci et Graeci Pindari, nunc alii iambo currunt, nunc Alcaico personant, nunc Sapphico nitent trimetro, vel tetrametro pede incedentes.' Proceeding (VI, 2, 21–23), Isidore declares, on

poetarum fuit. Tres enim quos lingua sua composuit libros, Parabolas, Ecclesiasten et Cantica Canticorum, hexametris atque pentametris versibus *currere* voluit, sicut Iosephus, Hieronymus testantur. Esaias quoque Canticum suum eadem metrorum quantitate conscripsit. Nec Hieremias poetae nomen abhorruit, qui sicut Isidorus ait, pleraque ex suis opibus diuerso metro composuit. Quae idcirco retuli, ut uideatis etiam domesticos fidei poeticae nauasse operas: quos et Christiani secuti sunt, uti Damasus, Ambrosius, Gregorius et alij qui postea diuersis poetarum mensuris hymnos scripsere . . .

and f. 597 B:

Addite quod elegantia sermonis, lux, expolutio (*sic*), breuitas, grauitas, haberi non potest nisi ex poetarum fontibus hauriatur. Hinc Hieron. Lactant. August. Ambrosius, Cyprianus, Leo et caeteri qui literas sacras ornatissime commentati sunt, studiosi fuerunt poeticae, sicut eorum scripta demonstrant, poetarum dictis ubique referta.⁶⁷

Insertion into the text of the marginale at line 20 (see app. crit.) would fit the first passage from Aeneas Silvius extremely well. There is, however, no way of ascertaining the exact relationship between marginalia, poet and copyist.

prophetas: The -o- is normally short.

20. Psalterium --- modis: The -e- is usually long, but occurs in Ven. Fort. (2. 19. 43) as short. Cf. Augustin. Ep. 101. 4 *certis tamen eos* (sc. uersus Daudicos) *constare numeris, credo illis qui eam linguam probe callent* and Theodulf. XLI 57-58:

Mox dulcis dulcem depromit cantio Christum
Psalmorum, lyrici quos statuere pedes.⁶⁸

22. ecclesiae: same scansion in Sedulius and Venantius Fortunatus.
23. Quatuor --- doctores: Before the Tridentine reform the term was strictly reserved for the four Doctors of the Latin Church: Ambrose, Hieronymus, Augustine and Gregory the Great.⁶⁹
rhetoricorum: rhetorici (Cic. De Or. 1. 12. 52): *rhetores, ipsi magistri, qui rhetorici uocantur*.
25. Doctior: Line and sentence are defective in the ms.
26. lauriferis: classical, but 'lauriger' is more frequently used of persons and things connected with Apollo and the Muses (cf. the epigram of Barth. Coloniensis, line 4, quoted in the introductory note).

the authority of Iosippus and Hieronymus, *Proverbia*, *Ecclesiastes* and *Canticum canticorum* to be written in hexameters and pentameters, as well as the 'Canticum' of Isaias and the 'Lamenta' of Hieremias.

⁶⁷ Twenty-nine of Aeneas Sylvius's letters appear in Liber's *Familiarium Epistolarum Compendium*.

⁶⁸ Aug., *CSEL* 34, 543; Theodulf., *MGH Poetae lat. aevi carolini* I, 534.

⁶⁹ Jungmann, *The Mass of the Roman Rite* I, 470.

- XI The Muse will be immensely grateful to Antonius. Through his efforts the German youth will be made to speak a purer Latin. Mormann's poems will make a solid contribution to Antonius's fame.

The 'Antoni' of the second line can probably be identified with Antonius Liber; poem VII is explicitly dedicated to him, poem X was written by him, poem XII seems also to be dedicated to him (A. L. in the inscription) and in poem XIII presumably the same person is again addressed as 'Antoni'. If this identification is right, which is highly probable, the poem would fit the publication of Liber's *Aurora grammaticæ*, which appeared in about 1475 in Cologne (see especially vss. 5–6).

1. Sacra: *Th. L. L.* gives no instances of the Muses being called 'sacrae'. There seems, however, to be no reason to look for a special meaning behind this adjective (the 'Sacred Muse'). Anything, however slightly connected with the gods, could be called 'sacer'.
 2. Antoni: See poem X introductory note.
 3. releuare: 'Very rare and almost exclusively poetical' (Lewis and Short).
oppressam releuare poesim: cf. Vulg. Job 12. 21 *Effundit despectionem super principes, eos, qui oppressi fuerant, relevans*. Von Langen, in a letter to Antonius Liber, describes in almost the same words the activities of Laurentius Valla (*qui latinam a barbaris linguam miserabiliter oppressam relevasti*).⁷⁰
 4. sopire: 'in the poets: to lay to rest i. e. to kill' (Lewis and Short in voce).
barbariem horridulam: Humanist code words to designate medieval Latin usage, see the epigram of Barth. Coloniensis quoted in the introductory note of poem X. The word 'barbaries' occurs with the special connotation 'barbarism in language' in Cic. Brut. 74. 258.
 7. dique --- uates: cf. Verg. Aen. 6. 64–65 *dique deaeque omnes . . . / . . . Tuque, o sanctissima uates*.
pleni numine vates: unusual expression, cf. XVI. 2. For the idea, the divine inspiration of the poet, see e.g., Hor. A. P. 400; Ov. F. 6. 5, id. P. 3. 4. 93 and 4. 2. 25.
 8. praemia digna tuis: IX. 8, frequent line-ending in classical hexameter poetry.
 - 9–10. The same sentiment in, e.g., Ov. Tr. 1. 6. 35–36 *Quantumcumque tamen praeconia nostra ualebunt, / carminibus uiues tempus in omne meis*.
 10. solida pars laudis: cf. Cic. Sest. 43. 93, id. Vatin. 3. 8.
- XII The poet compares his situation to that of Antonius, a comparison that at first seems to be in favour of the life that Antonius is able to lead. But after all, the poet concludes, I refuse to be what you are and I do not envy you.

⁷⁰ Crecelius, *Epistulae Langii*, ep. 3, p. 7.

I am inclined to assign this poem to Mormann's Marburg years (1480–1482), when his activities, whether as prior of the local house of the Brethren of the Common Life or as rector of a convent of nuns, were probably more restricted and monotonous than during his years in Münster (cf. e.g. lines 6 and 8), where he acted as a teacher.⁷¹ Line 7 may refer to Liber's travels in middle and southern Germany and Italy but he seems to be, from the lines 11, 13 and 15, a reasonably well-to-do man, which is perhaps more compatible with his office of *notarius*, later *scriba/secretarius* or *syndicus* of the town of Kampen, that he held from 1482–1499.⁷² Agricola, the holder of a similar office, was obliged to travel quite a lot *ex officio*, as a representative of his town, and the same held probably true for Liber. In this case the origin of the poem can be assigned to the last year of Mormann's life.

Notes

Title Fridericus Maurus Antonio Libero.

1. *insomnes . . . ducere noctes*: cf. Verg. Aen. 9. 167 . . . *noctem custodia ducit / insomnem ludo*.
3. *pulices*: According to dictionaries of classical Latin the first syllable is long. Barth. Coloniensis also uses the word as if the first syllable were short, so does Euricius Cordus.⁷³ This may be explained by the general rule in Alexander de Villa Dei's *Doctrinale*: *u super l brevia*.⁷⁴
- pascuntur et artus: cf. Verg. Aen. 2. 215 (*serpens uterque*) *miseros morsu depascitur artus*; Ov. M. 9. 202 (*ignis edax*) *perque omnes pascitur artus*.
7. Tu --- urbes: Cf. Hor. Ep. 1. 2. 19–20 (*Vlixen*) *qui . . . multorum prouidus urbes / et mores hominum inspexit*, id. A. P. 142 *Qui mores hominum multorum uidit et urbes*.
- inuisere: Th. L. L. in voce: *in versibus hexametris saepius vocabulum incipit a semiseptenaria*, as is the case here.
- 8–20. me --- iaceo: Cf. Sen. Ag. 988–993:

Abstrusa caeco carcere et saxo exigat
aeuum, et per omnes torta poenarum modos
referre quem nunc occultit fors an uolet.
inops egens inclusa, paedore obruta,
uidua ante thalamos, exul, inuisa omnibus
aethere negato sero succumbet malis.

9. Nare trahis: Phaedr. 3. 1. 4; cf. Sen. Phoen. 220 *has ego auras ore pestifero traho*
10. paedore: The spelling (ae/e) is uncertain. The first syllable is long, e.g. Lucan. 2. 72.

⁷¹ See *Contemporaries of Erasmus*, s.v. Mormann: 'Mormann was put in charge of a convent of nuns at Marburg'; *Verfasserlexikon*, s.v. Morman(n): 'Morman(n) wurde zum Rektor des Fraterhauses in Marburg berufen'.

⁷² See introductory note to poem X.

⁷³ Bartholomaeus Coloniensis, *Sylva Carminum*, f. Av r: 'Baculus diogenicus loquitur' line 4; Euricius Cordus, *Opera*, f. 193, Epigr. VII [XIV] 'Ad lectorem' line 1 (= Perosa and Sparrow, *Renaissance Latin Verse*, no. 267).

⁷⁴ *Doctrinale*, 2174.

11. sublimis equo: Ilias lat. 496.⁷⁵
12. corio: 'skin, hide, leather'; here per metonymiam 'shoe'. *Lex. Lat. Neerl. Med. Aev.* has the word 'coriolum' = 'strip of leather, ligamentum calcei'.
laxo corio: the mark of an uncared-for, truly slipshod appearance, cf. Hor. Sat. 1. 3. 31–32. *rusticius tonso toga defluit et male laxus / in pede calceus haeret*; Ov. A. A. 1. 516 *nec uagus in laxa pes tibi pelle natet*.
signat humum: cf. Hor. A. P. 158–159 *et pede certo / signat humum*.
14. paenula --- tunicae: Cf. the first quotation from Horace at line 12 ad *laxo corio*. Something is essentially wrong in Mormann's conception of the meaning of these words, see Nonius's remark *paenula est vestis, quam supra tunicam accipimus*.⁷⁶ One is inclined to look for the solution of this mystery in Horace's line (Ep. 1. 1. 95–96) . . . *si forte subucula pexae / Trita subest tunicae*, but there is no way in which the word 'subucula' can be made to fit the metre.
16. Non --- oculis: see III. 15 and note; cf. Hor. Sat. 1. 3. 17 *nil erat in oculis*.
18. sordida charta: Mart. 10. 93. 6.
legi: inf. pass., h. l. *ut legam* or *ut legatur*.
19. cara --- amici: cf. Philolphus Sat. IV. ix. 53 *Uxor cara mihi, sunt dulcia pignora nati*.⁷⁷
uxor: Bertha, whom he married during the years he spent in Groningen as a 'gymnasiarcha'. There is a letter from Liber to his wife.⁷⁸
pignora: His learned daughter Barbara, who assisted him as a teacher in Alkmaar, his son Johannes, who was a monk in the monastery of Adwert and wrote poetry, like his father, and a son named Antonius.⁷⁹
20. inuisus: 'Not beloved', refers perhaps to his isolated position, far from his humanist friends, at Marburg.

XIII Lament on the neglect of classical poetry.

Notes

1. Antoni: Probably Antonius Liber, see introductory notes of poems X and XI.
- 1–2. Cf. Erasmus in a poem of, probably, the year 1489:

Tot sint ora mihi, tot moueam sonos,
Numquam, crede, tamen sufficiam queri
Quantis pressa diu sacra poemata
Hoc seculo iaceant malis.⁸⁰

⁷⁵ *Poetae Latini Minores* III, 32.

⁷⁶ Nonius, XIV, ed. Lindsay, 861.

⁷⁷ Perosa and Sparrow, *Renaissance Latin Verse*, 24.

⁷⁸ Crecelius, Ant. Liber, ep. II.

⁷⁹ Gansfort, *Opera*, **5r, Agricola, *De inventione dialectica* 2, 171 (letter from Alardus to Rescius).

⁸⁰ Reedijk, *The Poems of Erasmus*, nr. 14, 153–156.

2. ornatus . . . poesis: 'Poesis' defines the word 'ornatus' more fully (epexegetical hendiadys); see X. 16 and note.
5. schema: 'form, fashion'.
conflata: I. 7.
- 3-7. Arescunt --- ineptis: So Von Langen in a letter to Antonius Liber: O pietas! O prisca doctrina! quanta ab hisce doctrinarum iudicibus nobiles sanctorum quos dixi et eloquentissimorum libri afficiuntur iniuria, dum aptissimo et eleganti eraso uerbo ineptum rescribunt et barbarum! Iurarem prorsus Gothos efferate barbarie gentes tantis uix Romanum affecisse cladibus imperium, quantis isti truculentissimis suis latinas litteras manibus lacerant trahunt discerpunt. . . . Possent forte in sua ingenii tarditate dimitti tollerandaque esset eorum peruersitas, qua res quibus sane longe indignissimi sunt spernunt et insectantur, si intactos incorruptos quos non intelligunt libros sinerent.⁸¹

The same remark still almost a generation later in Italy, cf. a poem of Niccolo d'Arco (Numeri, Carm. III iv, vss. 31-41):

Et nunc audio quod meum Catullum
ausi incescere morsibus caninis
estis vos, temerarii cinaedi,
quod sint carmina inusitata doctis!
Quod fragosa ruant, cadant, ferantur
instar praecipitis ruentis undae
altis montibus atque saltuosis,
illa incomposita esse iudicatis?
vestris auribus illa dissonare?
Non haec dentibus esca digna vestris
non has olfaciunt rosas aselli.⁸²

8. Pegasides Musae: Tautological: the word 'pegasides' occurs in classical poetry (Ov. H. 15 (Sappho Phaoni). 27; Prop. 3[4]. 1. 19), without any addition, in the sense of 'Musae'; see VI. 16.
- 11-14. See Erasmus's catalogue in the poem quoted at lines 1-2:

Nusquam grandisonam Virgilii tubam,
Nusquam blandisonam Maeonii lyram,
Nusquam, crede mihi, compta Papinii
Audis carmina concini.
Docto Flaccus vbi, quaeso, poemate?
Seu Lucanus vbi qui generi necem
Scribens Pindarico concrepat organo?
Sordent, heu, sine nomine.⁸³

- lusor amorum: Ov. Tr. 4. 10. 1, 3. 3. 73.
12. legi dignus: poetical construction, cf. Verg. Ecl. 5. 54; Hor. Sat. 1. 10. 72; Stat. Theb. 3. 713.
- satyra --- acerba: cf. Hor. Sat. 2. 1. 1.

⁸¹ Crecelius, *Epistulae Langii*, ep. 5, p. 9.

⁸² Perosa and Sparrow, *Renaissance Latin Verse*, 212-213.

⁸³ Reedijk, *The Poems of Erasmus*, nr. 14, 69-76.

13. clausus, Homere, iaces: Mormann and most of his Northern contemporaries would not have been able to read Homer, but the need for that was felt keenly, see Agricola Ep. 18:

Causa, propter quam manere uolui, fuit, ut Homerum exscriberem. Scis, ut sine eo Greca studia mihi prorsus sunt manca. Scriberemque si non utrumque uolumen, saltem tamen Iliada (the last word in Greek characters).⁸⁴

uatium --- Gallus: see Verg. Ecl. 6. 64–73, and the tenth eclogue, the so-called Laudes Galli; Ov. Am. 1. 15. 29–30; Prop. 2. 34. 91. Only one pentameter (from his four books of elegies on Lycoris) of his poems is left: *uno tellures diuidit amne duas*.

14. Tibulle --- compta: cf. Ov. Am. 1. 15. 28 *culte Tibulle*.
 15. scriptula: I. 24 and note.
 17. uatilogus: not in the dictionaries (there existed two, almost homophonic words, 'fatilegus' and 'fatiloquus'; Blaise has 'vaticus', attested in the tenth century, meaning 'poétique, prophétique').
 18. cum: Causal, with indicative, as in ante-classical Latin. See also VII. 12 and note.
 tua carmina: See poem X introductory note.

- XIV Exhortation to mankind to become awake to the real situation of the world and act accordingly. Already peace, love, virtue, modesty, faith and principles have fled the cities, as a result of which they are now full of corruption. All people, subjects, princes and magistrates, are led exclusively by their appetites, but now the time has come to clear God's vineyard, to prune the still good, but neglected branches of the vine and to remove all others.

Notes

- 2–3. cura --- mortis: cf. Hor. Sat. 2. 1. 58 *seu (me) Mors atris circumuolat alis* and the sharp contrast with Hor. C. 1. 2. 34 *quam locus circum uolat et Cupido*.
 3. < >: The ms. is illegible at this point. As to the sense and the required number of syllables, 'caeli' is perhaps a possibility, see e.g., Iuv. 13. 223–224:

Hi sunt qui trepidant et ad omnia fulgura pallent,
 cum tonat, exanimes primo quoque murmure caeli

5. Pliades cadentes: The setting of the constellation of the Seven Stars meant the end of the shipping season and the beginning of winter, cf., e.g., Stat. S. 1. 3. 95 *Pliadumque niuosum / sidus*; Val. Flacc. 1. 647–648 *non meus Orion aut saeuis Pliade Taurus / mortis causa nouae*; Barth. Coloniensis *Sylva Carm.* p. 14, vss. 14–15 *Quas tempestates inducit nubila Pleias / Et ferus Orion . . .*

⁸⁴ The reference (18) is to the chronological numbering of Allen in Erasmus, *Opus epistolarum*; text in Hartfelder, 'Unedierte Briefe von Rudolf Agricola', 18–19.

6. flammeus: More common adjectives, when denoting Orion's colour, are 'rutilus', 'rutilans', 'fulgens'.
6. noctem . . . glomerans: cf. Verg. G. 1. 323, id. Aen. 8. 254 for this sense of 'glomerare'.
Orion: His rising (in the beginning of November) and setting are attended by storms (adjectives: 'aquosus', 'nimbosus', 'imbrifer').
- 7-8. gelido corde: to be taken with the subject (caterua) of 'expauescis' ('in a heart cold/stiff [with fright]).
tyrannos: cf. ps.-Sen. Oct. 88 *fera quam saeui corda tyranni*; Agr. Ad Rod. Langium Carm. 39-40 *qui feroces / corde tamen patitur tyrannos*.⁸⁵
11. mundus: In the Christian sense: the world as opposed to the church, this world.
hostis: V. 14 and note.
12. turbine: common in a tropical sense.
pulsant: In medieval Latin the ind. in an indirect question was not unusual.
15. peccatis --- fumant: Unusual, hyperbolic expression, in its plain sense in Verg. Aen. 3. 3 *et omnis humo fumat Neptunia Troia* and Stat. Theb. 1. 264-265 *uotis Mareotica fumant / Coptos et aerisoni lugentia flumina Nili*, but figuratively in Sen. Phaedr. 560-561 *huius incestis stupris / fumant tot urbes*. Here, too, sins and vices have caused disquiet all over the world, as a result of which it is now 'on fire'.
16. climata: The (short) syllable that bears the accent in Greek, has been taken as long.⁸⁶
17. pax --- lex: cf. Hor. C. S. 57-59 *Iam Fides et Pax et Honos Pudorque / priscus et neglecta redire Virtus / audet*; Sen. Ag. 79-81 *iura pudorque / et coniugii sacra fides / fugiunt aulas*, id. *ibid.* 112-113 *periere mores ius decus pietas fides / et qui redire cum perit nescit pudor*, id. Thy. 215-217 *Vbi non est pudor / nec cura iuris sanctitas pietas fides / instabile regnum est*.
19. sanie: Here figuratively for the disagreeable consequences of sin.
22. gryphones: 'gripho/grifo/grypho': In the medieval Latin of northern Europe these are frequent forms for the classical 'gryps' or 'gryphus' ('quadrupes alatus', 'griffin').
24. lupissat: cf. 'lupa, lupanar', not in the dictionaries.
25. propria: sua.
27. uomitu: almost exclusively in prose.
31. aconita: for aconite used as a poison cf. Ov. M. 1. 147; Iuv. 10. 25
- 33-36. O --- Thespim: Thespis, the 'founder' of Greek drama, and his successors described the horrors of the (mythical) past as a warning to their contemporaries, but all to no avail.
34. tubis: (The first syllable is short in classical Latin; the general rule in the Doctrinale is: *Ante b fit brevis u*.⁸⁷ It occurs frequently in Von Langen's poetry, always correctly scanned) i. e. sonorous,

⁸⁵ Agricola, *De inventione dialectica* 2, 296.

⁸⁶ Cf. παράκλητος > paracletus and paracletus.

⁸⁷ *Doctrinale*, 2167.

- elevated, epic poetry, Mart. 8. 3. 22, 8. 56. 4, 10. 64. 4, 11. 3. 8; Claud. Cons. Prob. Ol. 198.
- 35–36. tragico . . . carmine: Hor. A. P. 220.
35. boasse: see IV. 31 and note.
42. fului metalli: Verg. Aen. 7. 279; Sen. Ag. 857–858; Barth. Coloniensis, *Sylva Carm.* p. 1, vs. 13 *fulva metalla* (id. p. 11, vs. 22).
- 42–44. quos --- frangunt: cf. Sen. Phaedr. 486–489:
 non illum auarae mentis inflammat furor

 non aura populi et uulgi infidum bonis,
 non pestilens inuidia, non fragilis fauor
- 45–52. Neither the atrocities described in epic and tragic poetry (33–36) nor the invective and ridicule of satire have been sufficient warning to keep people from committing sins. The ‘satyri’ are, therefore, bidden to return to their hiding-places in the woods and to play solely for the Muses. Their efforts in rebuking the excesses of mankind have been useless: Dipsomaniac adolescents, lewd old men and loose-living people in general do not like their faults being pointed out to them.
45. satyri: h. l. ‘satyrs’ and ‘satire’, the usual confusion. What was known in the second half of the fifteenth century about ‘satyri’ and ‘satura’ (including the etymology of the words) can be read in the preface of Ang. Politianus’s *Praelectio in Persium*.⁸⁸
49. temulenta: The first syllable is long in classical Latin, the rule in the Doctrinale is: *e super m brevis est*.⁸⁹
51. uagis: Stat. Theb. 7. 738; h. l. laxis see, e.g., Sen. Phaedr. 32 (Apparently Mormann does try to avoid, if possible, long second syllables).
- 53–54. rationis --- pondus: cf. Sen. Tro. 491 *Graue pondus illum magna nobilitas premit*. Unclassical expression: ‘On you rests the burden of rendering an account’.
56. arbiter orbis: Anonymus ad Oceanum (*Poetae Latini Minores* III) XXIV. 1 (the last two feet of an hexameter).
57. ocellis: This diminutive, a typical word from Catullan and ‘Pontanian’ hendecasyllables, seems hardly appropriate in this grave and solemn apostrophe.
59. Lethaeos: The second syllable (Lethaeos) is long (so Vergil). Perhaps a wrong application of the rule ‘vocalis ante vocalem corripitur’, (cf. IV. 10 Lynceis).
61. alti . . . Tonantis: The word ‘altitonans’ occurs in Ennius, Cicero and Lucretius. There are two possibilities: ‘alti . . . Tonantis’ and ‘alto . . . Tonanti’. The former seems preferable, because one easily can imagine the copyist writing ‘Tonanti’, instead of ‘Tonantis’, under the influence of the preceding ‘alti’. (The *Doctrinale* on ‘temesis’: *dat temesim partes in binas dictio secta: / est boreae regio septem subiecta trioni*).⁹⁰

⁸⁸ Angelo Poliziano, *Commento—Persio*, 3ff.

⁸⁹ *Doctrinale*, 1790.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 2534–2535.

- 61–63. Construction: *Surgite et resecae palmites fessos manibus* (abl. instr.) *promptis vineam alti Tonantis melius rigandi*.
61. Tonantis: Used to designate Juppiter in classical poetry; occurs in Christian poetry from Antiquity (Prudentius) meaning ‘deus christianorum’, frequent in the same sense in Neolatin poetry, e.g., Von Langen, I. iv. 41, Agricola, *De omnibus sanctis* 22.⁹¹
- 61–62. alti . . . Tonantis uineam: cf. Vulg. Isai. 5. 7 *Vinea enim Domini exercituum domus Israel est*
62. promptis . . . rigandi: For the construction ‘promptus’ c. gen. of the gerund see Gell. 10. 22. 1.
- 63–64. cf. Vulg. Io. 15. 2 *Omnem palmitem in me non ferentem fructum, tollet* (sc. Pater meus): *et omnem, qui fert fructum, purgabit eum, ut fructum plus afferat*.
- 72–73. stabilita res . . . publica: cf. Cic. Fin. 4. 24. 65, id. Sest. 68. 143.

XV The title and the first lines are misleading. One expects to read an epicedium on the death of Charles the Bold, but the poem is in fact, as will become evident from line 19 onwards, an exhortation to the province of Guelders to free its imprisoned master, duke Adolphus. In 1471 he had been taken captive by Charles the Bold and was kept in detention at first in Lille, later in Courtrai. He was released in 1477, but apparently not immediately after Charles the Bold’s death.

The poem must have been written in the months between Charles’s death in the battle of Nancy, 5 January 1477, and the release from gaol and subsequent death in the battle of Tournay, June 1477, of Adolphus of Guelders.

- Title ducis Burgundiae: Charles the Bold.
Rodolphum Langium: a Münster prelate, humanist and member of the ‘Adwert Academy’, see note 14.
7. post fata: Ov. Am. 1. 15. 39, id. M. 13. 180; Quint. 12. 11. 7.
8. conditus . . . humo: Ov. P. 3. 1. 6.
9. Switiae: The canton Schwyz in Switzerland, reference to the battle of Mürten, where Charles the Bold had also suffered defeat (1476).
11. Nussiae: Neuss, in the vicinity of Düsseldorf, belonging to the electorate of Cologne (classical form: Nouesium, see note on VII. 58). The archbishop-elect of Cologne, Ruprecht of Bavaria, engaged in a conflict with his own chapter, had called in the duke of Burgundy. As a result of Charles’s interference and of an agreement between Charles and the Cologne archbishop the danger arose of the electorate being forced to leave the Holy Roman Empire, whereupon war was inevitable. In the summer of 1474 Charles invaded the territory of Cologne and laid siege to the city of Neuss.

Two other ‘members’ (in the sense of belonging to the Northern circle of Humanists) of the ‘Adwert Academy’ were mixed up in this conflict: Maurice, count of Spiegelberg, among many

⁹¹ Parmet, *Rudolf von Langen*, 184; Agricola, *De inventione dialectica* 2, 297.

- other things canon of the Cologne chapter, and the Münster prelate Rudolph von Langen.⁹² The latter wrote three poems related to the siege of Neuss (I. i, I. xxxii and I. xxxiii).⁹³
- 9–12. The facts are given in reversed order: The poem starts with Charles's death in the battle of Nancy (1477), mentions another important battle (Mürten, 1476) and ends with the defeat at Neuss that, afterwards, appeared to be the beginning of the end of his career.
11. pars . . . laudis: cf. XI. 10.
13. animusque relanguit atrox: Claud. Rapt. Pros. I. 68; cf. Ov. Am. 2. 9. 27 *animoque relanguit ardor*.
15. Nilus: There is no correspondence with the actual Nile in this comparison, otherwise the 'seven mouths, hidden springs' would undoubtedly have figured in these lines. The word is merely a substitute for 'flumen', see VI. 5 'Alpes' and note.
16. fria: Not classical, here apparently (contrast with 'aspera rupes') used as a parallel to the classical 'friabilis' ('easily broken').
19. Tolle animos: Prop. 3. 18. 17.
reparans . . . uires: Ov. Ep. 4. 90; Sen. Thy. 475.
ueteres: To be taken with 'uires', cf. Ov. M. 7. 81 *crescere et in ueteres agitata resurgere uires*.
21. aude aliquid: cf. e.g. Suet. Caes. 8 *nil non ausurum*.
25. precibus --- insta: the same asyndetical urgency in Sen. Phaedr. 592 *aude, anime, tempta, perage mandatum tuum* and in Vulg. 2 Tim. 4. 2 *praedica uerbum, insta opportune, importune: argue, obsecra, increpa in omni patientia, et doctrina*.
precibus . . . pulsa: not current in classical Latin, but quite usual in Neo-Latin, e.g., Agricola, Anna mater 217 *iustis precibus tua numina pulsans*.⁹⁴
- 25–26. Cf. the Seneca quotation at line 25 and its sequel *intrepida constant uerba: qui timide rogat / docet negare*.
27. rapuit: see Alexander de Villa Dei's *Doctrinale* 2421–2422:

posthepthemimerim dat quinti syllaba prima
curtam producens, sicut uersus habet iste

but the phenomenon (lengthening of the -it ending of the 3rd pers. sing. ind. perf.) occurs also in classical hexameters before a caesura in cases like this one (the verb having the form of a tribrachys).

28. rediuuius: in the sense 'that lives again' late Latin.
30. immemorem sui: VI. 20.
31. aestus curarum: epexegetical genitive. Horace uses the same words in the form of an epexegetical hendiadys: Sat. 1. 2. 110 *aestus curaeque graues*.
in --- uersat: II. 19, cf. XVI. 13 and note.
32. occluso: 'Includo' would have been the more obvious verb.

⁹² For Spiegelberg see Hövelmann, *Moritz von Spiegelberg*.

⁹³ Parmet, *Rudolf von Langen*, 175 and 199–200.

⁹⁴ Agricola, *De inventione dialectica* 2, 303.

- tempora --- fluunt: Hor. Ep. 1. 1. 23 *sic mihi tarda fluunt ingratue tempora*.
 35. squalescens: in Forcellini, but not in the strictly classical dictionaries.
 squalescens --- foedo: cf. Luc. 9. 503 *squalebant puluere fauces*.
 38. uertice canities: Ov. M. 10. 425.
 44-45. soluite --- ducis: epanalepsis, see XVI. 48-49.

XVI Poem in praise of poetry and in revilement of those that despise poetry.

The opposition against Humanism often centered on humanist poetry (humanists were often simply called 'poetae'). The humanist 'topoi' *praeconium poesis* and *in osores studiorum humanitatis* cover parts of the same ground. The mythological explanation of the origin of poetry and its civilising effects (cf. Hor. A. P. 391-401) which figure so prominently in, e.g., Politianus's *Nutricia*, do not play a part in this poem (except perhaps, only in passing, in line 22). See poem X and introductory note.

2. nomen . . . numinis: There appears to be no classical parallel to this seemingly very obvious wordplay. For 'numen' in this poetical context see XI. 7 and note; Ov. A. A. 3. 548.
 pocula: Cups filled with the delights that arise from the Parnasian spring, see I. 4 and note.
 5. quibus --- poesis: see X. 19, XIII. 6-7 and 10.
 9. primum: The word seems to be there simply to fill the rest of the first foot.
 13. sub --- uolutans: The simple abl. is more usual, see IV. 12; Verg. Aen. 1. 50, 4. 533 [both with 'secum'], 6. 185 [*cum corde*] and also in later Latin (Iuven., Sidon.); Silius has *sub corde uolutat* twice (8. 177, 12. 556).
 16-18. The desire to perpetuate one's name and fame by means of an epitaph in (elegiac) verse appears as the natural and obvious thing to do (which it was in classical antiquity, but by no means so to the non and/or pre-humanist way of thinking and doing) in a letter from Aeneas Silvius to Leonhard Laiming, bishop of Passau (22 July 1444).⁹⁵ In the province of Groningen, the focus of the 'Adwert Academy', the first three more or less humanist epitaphs that have been preserved, date from 1476 (on the squire Egbert Onsta), 1489 (on Wessel Gansfort) and 1529 (on the humanist Jacob Canter).⁹⁶
 19. quae --- cepit: Verg. Ecl. 2. 69, 6. 47.
 20. spinas . . . rosa: 'Spinae' is quite usual in classical Latin in a metaphorical sense ('difficulties, subtleties, perplexities, cares'), 'rosa' ('treasure'), however, is not, but cf. Ov. A. A. 2. 116 *et*

⁹⁵ Wolkan, *Briefwechsel* I, 432-434. Also printed in Blok, *Seventy-seven Neo-Latin Letters*, 174.

⁹⁶ Pathuis, *Groninger Gedenkwaardigheden*, nos. 422, 541 and 326. For the transition from medieval to Renaissance epitaphs and for the characteristics of the humanist epitaph see Kajanto, *Latin Epitaphs of Medieval and Renaissance Rome*.

- riget amissa spina relicta rosa*; cf. Celtis, *Ad Germanos poetas* 12 *A uepribus doctus rosas recolligens*.⁹⁷
25. *seros in annos*: cf. I. 25 and note, VII. 43–44; Von Langen I. xxx. 13.⁹⁸
27. *fati . . . horam*: Suet. Dom. 14.
28. *summa . . . dies*: Verg. Aen. 2. 324.
33. *obturant . . . aures*: Hor. Ep. 2. 2. 105.
34. *pia*: with ‘uota’, see 37.
37. *subticeam*: Rare word, not in the classical dictionaries; Forcellini gives one place (Augustin. De ord. 1. 3. 9), Blaise quotes the *Rationale Divinorum Officiorum*, a liturgical book by Durandus (thirteenth century), which was, by the way, one of the first books to be printed in Mainz (6 October 1459), and gives as its meaning ‘cesser de faire entendre’.⁹⁹
38. *liuor edax*: Ov. Am. 1. 15. 1, id. R. A. 389; Sen. Phaedr. 493.
- 39–40. For the opposite of this threat cf. Verg. Ecl. 1. 7–8 *illius aram / saepe tener nostris ab ouilibus imbuet agnus*; Ov. Tr. 1. 10. 43 *meritae cadet agna Mineruae* and Sen. Ag. 585 *et niuea magnas uictima ante aras cadat*.
41. *insurgo*: This verb is unusual with abl. instr. and ‘in’ c. acc.
43. *Hoc --- poesis*: see 5–6 and 19, X. 16 f.
- 46 ff. *nectare, fontem, flumina, unda*: fluids from the Pierian spring, cf. Pers. Prol. 1 and 14.
47. *trepidas . . . potare*: construction as in Verg. Aen. 9. 114; Stat. Theb. 1. 369
48. *Eia --- moras*: II. 25 and note, cf. VII. 59.
- 48–49. *flumina --- bibe*: epanalepsis, see XV. 44–45.
- 49 ff. The ‘stolidus’ of before, once he has tasted the sweetness of the Castalian spring, will forever happily thirst after its waters.
51. cf. Ov. Am. 3. 12. 30 *proditor in medio Tantalus amne siti*, id. A. A. 2. 606 *garrulus in media Tantalus aret aqua*.

XVII Mormann joyfully announces Agricola’s return from Italy to Wessel Gansfort.

The poem is a sophisticated variation of the prosophonetikon: The principal fact — Agricola comes home and is now already in Cologne — is contained in a message to Wessel Gansfort, and the good wishes for Agricola’s voyage back to his native country are couched in terms of exhortations to possible obstacles in his way and are not addressed to the traveller himself.

Agricola has not yet reached his destination, as in the following poem, but is still on his way. He was back in Groningen sometime between 15 September 1479 and 3 April 1480.¹⁰⁰

Although there is no way of ascertaining whether the order of the

⁹⁷ Nichols, *Anthology*, 460.

⁹⁸ Parmet, *Rudolf von Langen*, 199.

⁹⁹ Hellings-Querido and De Wolf, *Laurens Janszoon Coster was zijn naam*, 9–10 and plate 3.

¹⁰⁰ Van der Velden, *Rodolphus Agricola*, 120 note 3.

poems in Clm 528 is intentional, either of these last two poems, both from the Sélestat manuscript, would be an ideal counterpart (ideal when regarding this collection of poems as a consciously constructed cycle) to Mormann's opening poem in Clm 528. It would remove any doubt as to the identity of the addressee of poem I and the idea of *translatio Musarum*, presented as a fact in these last two poems, would be the fulfilment of the hope expressed in the first poem of the collection.

- Title see Servius de metris Horatianis *Sexta ode dicolos est tetrastofos. Primi enim tres versus asclepiadei sunt, quorum iam memini, quartus glyconius*.¹⁰¹
 M. Wesselum: Magister Wessel Gansfort.
 trilinguem: The same adjective is used in his epitaph, see XVI. 16 and note.¹⁰²
1. patrios --- Lares: cf. XVIII. 3 *uenistine domum ad tuos Penates*.
 2. post --- longa: Agricola's first letter from Italy dates from 1469.
 - 3-4. uates --- choros: *translatio Musarum*, see XVIII. 25-28 and note and XVIII. 32-33 and note at lines 30-33.
 5. duce Apolline: This reflects the high esteem in which Gansfort and his literary qualities were held by contemporaries, apparently even humanists.
 6. colloquio frui: VII. 66; Verg. Aen. 7. 90-91.
 tuo: instead of gen. obj.: see VI. 19 and note.
 - 6-7. ante . . . quam: not of time, but of preference.
 - 10-12. By this digression upon the history of Cologne Mormann, the Northern humanist, tries to connect his geographical and intellectual world with the Imperium Romanum and the classical world.
 15. pronis . . . fluctibus: cf. Verg. G. 1. 203 *prono . . . amni*; Hor. C. 1. 29. 11 *pronos . . . riuos*
 16. uagus: cf. Hor. 1. 34. 9 *uaga flumina*
 - 18-19. uolubilis amnis: cf. Hor. Ep. 1. 2. 42-43 *at ille (amnis) / labitur et labetur in omne uolubilis aeuum*.
 21. saxa latentia: Verg. Aen. 1. 108.
 22. naufragium bibat: Curious expression, cf. Prud. Perist. 11.74 *conceptumque bibant undique naufragium*.
 24. caecis . . . uadis: Verg. Aen. 1. 536.
 25. torue Sygamber: A German tribe living somewhat further downstream than Cologne. Horace calls them 'feroces' (C. 4. 2. 36).
 29. curuis --- truces: cf. Luc. 1. 431-432 *Batauique truces quos aere recuruo / stridentes acuere tubae*. Mormann scans the word 'Bataui' in the same way as Lucanus at the place quoted and as Von Langen in I. xxxi. 14 (a poem which has also the Sygambri of Mormann's line 25).¹⁰³ The other scansion given by the dictionaries, with a long penult, stems from Mart. 6. 82. 6.
 - 30-31. proelia tractare: Sil. 15. 463; Tac. Ann. 2. 5.
 tractare fides . . . lyrae: cf. Ov. Am. 1. 8. 60 *tractat inauratae*

¹⁰¹ Serv. *De metris Hor.*, 32-33 (= Keil, *Gramm. lat.* IV, 469).

¹⁰² Gansfort, *Opera*, ***3 r-v.

¹⁰³ Parmet, *Rudolf von Langen*, 199.

- consona fila lyrae.*
 pollice mobili: unusual expression.
 32. imbellis . . . lyrae: Hor. C. 1. 6. 10.
 36. Ligus ora: Pers. 6. 6. Probably to be taken as a pars pro toto for 'Northern Italy'.
 37–40. see IX. 17–18 and note, XI. 4–6 and note, XVIII. 25–28 and note.
 38. eloquii: Not in its usual meaning ('eloquentia'), but neutral ('That which is stated/pronounced/expressed'). See the letter from Agricola to Mormann (ep. 20) *in medio stridore rudis huius horridaeque barbariae.*
 lepor Atticus: Mart. 3. 20. 9

XVIII The poet congratulates Rudolph Agricola on his return from Italy to his native country, sometime between 15 September 1479 and 3 April 1480.¹⁰⁴

The first lines of the poem, a so-called prosphonetikon, as far as the caesura after the third arsis of the fourth line, are copied from Catullus 9 (up to the same point).¹⁰⁵ The rest of the line, *anumque matrem*, was not used, probably either because Agricola's mother had already died, or for reasons of delicacy (Agricola having been born out of wedlock). Where Catullus proceeds with *o mihi nuntii beati* (9. 5), Mormann has to take quite another turn and continues *O lacrimas meas inaneis* (5), explained by *rumor malus* (6) and, later on, by *nuntio acerbo* (9). The *rumor malus* is elucidated by the lines 7–14, that are followed by Mormann's reaction on the grievous message. The whole is satisfactorily finished off with a mythological flourish and then, line 23, Mormann has arrived at more or less the same point as Catullus in 9. 6–7. The lines 23–33 may be taken as an elaboration and specification, according to time and circumstances, of Catullus's line 7. The latter's professions of friendship, 8–11, are modestly echoed by Mormann's last four lines.

Notes

4. *fratresque unanimos*: to the congenial intellectual *milieu* of his humanist friends.
amabo: idiomatic and colloquial: 'please'. It occurs in this way and this sense in Plautus, Terence, the *epistulae* of Cicero and also in Catullus (32. 1).
5. *inaneis*: archaism, see p. 2; see line 13 *uorticibus*, *uocarier*, line 23 *honustus*; *quum* in III. 40 and IX. 15; *nascier* in IX. 16.
- 5–7. *lacrimas . . . excussit mihi*: Plaut. Capt. 419; Ter. Heaut. 167. The addition *intimo cerebro* is unusual.
8. The heavy alliteration efficiently strengthens the curse.
9. *diro carmine*: Ov. Ib. 85; Liv. 10. 38. 10; Luc. 1. 564. A magic formula that calls forth a curse upon him.
- 9–10. *nuntio . . . uulnerauit aures*: cf. Verg. Aen. 8. 582–583 *grauior neu nuntius aures / uulneret*.

¹⁰⁴ See note 100.

¹⁰⁵ Cairns, *Generic Composition*, 20.

11. rhetora . . . poetam: 'Oratorem et poetam' is the more usual description, but the word 'orator' does not fit in easily with the hendecasyllabic metre. The same words, *Rhetor clarus, summusque poeta*, were used by Adolph Occo in his epitaph for Agricola.¹⁰⁶
- 12–13. rapidis . . . uorticibus: Verg. Aen. 1. 117.
13. uorticibus: see line 5 of this poem and note.
15. quisse: This inf. occurs but seldom in classical Latin.
16. Communis patriae: Frisia; Mormann was a native of Emden in East Frisia.
20. candidiora: While the rumour of lines 9–14, fortunately, was not true.
- 20–21. candidiora --- minatae: cf. Stat. S. 1. 4. 123 *Nectite nunc laetae candentia fila, sorores*.
23. honustus: According to Lewis and Short this spelling, instead of *onustus*, occurs also in good manuscripts. It is cited as an archaism in Gell. 2. 3. 3.
- 23–24. En --- optimorum: Agricola had probably copied and bought classical and other texts in Italy, but hardly anything is known about his library.¹⁰⁷
- 25–28. The idea of *translatio Musarum* / *translatio studii* is a topic with Northern humanists, but it is, in fact, much older. It occurs in classical Latin literature, see Hor. Ep. 2. 1. 156–157: *Graecia capta ferum uictorem cepit et artes / intulit agresti Latio*, and in medieval Latin literature (letter from Heiricus Autissiodurensis to Charles the Bald *dolet* [sc. Graecia] *certe sua illa privilegia [quod numquam hactenus verita est] ad climata nostra transferri*).¹⁰⁸ The cause of the humanist *translatio Musarum* is not a military victory or a mythical *translatio imperii* but in some, not all, cases the invention of the art of printing. It may take the form of a prayer as in one of Celtis's poems, which is an attempt to seduce Apollo to come to Germany, for which the 'translatio' in antiquity is used as an argument:

tu celer (*Apollo*) vastum poteras per aequor
laetus a Graecis Latium videre,
invehens Musas, voluisti gratas
pandere et artes.

sic velis nostras rogitamus oras
Italas ceu quondam aditare terras;
barbarus sermo fugiatque, ut atrum
subruat omne.¹⁰⁹

The *translatio Musarum* may also be represented as a spontaneous act of Apollo and/or the Muses, e.g. Seb. Brant:

¹⁰⁶ Agricola, *De inventione dialectica* 2, *2v: 'Elogium Rodolphi Agricolae', 9.

¹⁰⁷ Hermans, 'Rudolph Agricola and his Books'.

¹⁰⁸ MGH *Poetae lat. aevi carolini* III, 429, quoted by Curtius, *Europäische Literatur und lateinisches Mittelalter*, 38 note 5.

¹⁰⁹ Schnur, *Lateinische Gedichte deutscher Humanisten*, 'Ad Apollinem --- veniat', 17–24.

Cirrha Heliconque sacer nostras migravit ad Alpes,
Hercynium ingressa est Delphica silva nemus.¹¹⁰

and the glorious feat of having transferred the Muses can be attributed to a deceased or still living person as did Agricola in his epicedium on Maurice of Spiegelberg:

... & Aonijs deductus fontibus amnis,
Fusaq; germano Castalis unda solo.
Quam primus nostris potandam finibus ille
Intulit, ignoto pectora fonte rigans.¹¹¹

and other poets in their 'Episodia' dedicated to Celtis, e.g. Sturlinius Smalcaldia:

Ista licet iacent veteres, maiora videmus
Inferri terris numina Pannonicis.
Celtis Apollineum per inhospita litora numen
Remigio vexit, Calliopea, tuo.¹¹²

29. O --- eruditum: cf. Catull. 43. 8 *o saechum insapiens et infacetum!*
30-33. That someone born and bred by the light, so to speak, of the *aurora borealis* could attain at a height of knowledge in the field of humanist studies that equalled or even rivalled that of the natives of Latium, never ceased to amaze his compatriots, let alone the Italians. See the epitaph by Hermolaus Barbarus for Agricola and the reaction of the Italian public on Agricola's inaugural speech for the academic year 1476-1477 in Ferrara (*In laudem philosophiae et reliquarum artium*) as described in Agricola's biography by Goswinus van Halen.¹¹³
31-32. barbarum --- frendens: the same expression in a letter from Von Langen to Antonius Liber.¹¹⁴
32-33. educet --- uetustis: A remark like this, concerning Agricola, can only have been made by a friend who had access to poems in manuscript form that probably circulated among the 'members' of the Adwert Academy. His poems were first published c. 1485.¹¹⁵
33. parum: Sometimes almost equivalent to a simple negative. The first syllable of the verse is usually long.
34. adaptet: rare word, mostly in Christian Latin.
Quis --- alas: cf. Ov. Ep. 17 (18). 49 *nunc daret audaces utinam mihi Daedalus alas*; Sen. Oed. 96 *aptaret alas*.
35. secare uentos: Verg. Aen. 4. 257.

¹¹⁰ Var. Carm. sig. [1.8], 39-40 (Perosa and Sparrow, *Renaissance Latin Verse*, 411).

¹¹¹ Agricola, *De inventione dialectica* 2, 314.

¹¹² Adel, *Conradus Celtis. Opuscula*, 9, Episodion VIII (Sturlinius Smalcaldia), 5-8.

¹¹³ Agricola, *De inventione dialectica* 2, *2r; Kan, *Erasmiani Gymnasii Programma*, 9.

¹¹⁴ Crecelius, *Epistulae Langii*, ep. 3, p. 7.

¹¹⁵ Rodolphus Agricola Phrisius, 319.

36. tranare: The verb occurs, though transitive, in the same Vergil passage as the *secare uentos* of 35 (description of Mercury).
- 35–37. When writing this poem Mormann was probably still living in Münster; later in the summer of 1480, after having visited Agricola in Groningen, he was called to Marburg.¹¹⁶

¹¹⁶ See letters of Agricola to Mormann (Allen, 'The Letters of Rudolph Agricola', nr. 3, 316–317) and to Adolphus Occo (*ibid.*, nr. 22, Hartfelder, 'Unedierte Briefe von Rudolf Agricola', 20–22); see also note 71.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Acquoy, J.G.R., *Het klooster te Windesheim en zijn invloed*, 3 vols., Utrecht 1875–1880.
- Adama, Lollius, *Oratio in funere clarissimi viri, D. Henrici Schotani, piae memoriae Iuris Utriusque Doctoris et eiusdem, in Academia Franequerana primi professoris; et cum obiit Primarii*, Franeker 1605.
- Aelred of Rievaulx, *Aelredi Rievallensis Opera omnia*, ed. A. Hoste, C.H. Talbot, vol. 1–, Turnhout 1971–, (CCCM 1).
- Agricola, Rodolphus, *De Inventione Dialectica. Lucubrationes*. Facsimile of the edition, Cologne 1539. Repr. Nieuwkoop 1967 (Monumenta Humanistica Belgica, II).
- Agricola, Rudolf, *De inventione dialectica libri tres—Drei Bücher über die Inventio dialectica*, transl. and ed. L. Mundt, Tübingen 1992.
- Akkerman, F., 'Early Humanism in Groningen'. *Alchemy Revisited. Proceedings of the International Conference on the History of Alchemy at the University of Groningen 17–19 April 1989*, ed. Z.W.R.M. von Martels, Leiden 1990, 89–97.
- Akkerman, F., 'Onderwijs en geleerdheid in Groningen tussen 1469 en 1614'. *'Om niet aan onwetendheid en barbarij te bezwijken'*, 13–29.
- Akkerman, F., C.G. Santing, 'Rudolf Agricola en de Aduarder academie'. *Groningse Volksalmanak* 1987, 7–28.
- Alberts, W.J., 'Zur Historiographie der Devotio Moderna und ihrer Erforschung'. *Westfälische Forschungen* 11 (1958), 51–67 (also published in: F. Petri, W. Jappe Alberts, *Gemeinsame Probleme Deutsch-Niederländischer Landes- und Volksforschung*, Groningen 1962, 144–171).
- Alexander de Villa Dei, *Das Doctrinale des Alexander de Villa-Dei. Kritische-exegetische Ausgabe mit Einleitung, Verzeichniss der Handschriften und Drucke nebst Registern*, Berlin 1893 (Monumenta Germaniae Paedagogica, XII).
- Allen, P.S., 'The Letters of Rudolph Agricola'. *English Historical Review* 67 (1906), 302–317.
- Allen, P.S., *The Age of Erasmus*, Oxford 1914.
- Altdeutsche und altniederländische Mystik*, ed. K. Ruh, Darmstadt 1964 (Wege der Forschung, 23).
- Amsweer, Doede van, *Een trouwhertige ende droevige vermaninghe aen de Verstroyde Wgheweeken ende ghemeene Ingheseten der Stadt Groeningen ende Ommelanden . . .*, (Groningen) 1612.
- Ancelet-Hustache, J., *Eckhart en de mystiek van zijn tijd*, Utrecht-Anwerpen 1962 (transl. from the French: *Maître Eckhart et la mystique rhénane*, Paris 1956).
- Anonymi, *Magistri Artium (c. 1245–1250) Lectura in librum De anima a quodam discipulo reportata* (Ms. Roma Naz. V.E. 828), ed. R.A. Gauthier, Grottaferrata 1985.
- Antiqui und Moderni. Traditionsbewusstsein und Fortschrittsbewusstsein im späten Mittelalter*, ed. A. Zimmermann, Berlin etc. 1974.
- Antonius de Castro, *Impugnatorium contra epistolam M. Wesseli Groningensis ad M. Jacobum Hoeck, de indulgentiis*, ed. M. van Rhijn, 's-Gravenhage 1919.
- Aphthonius, *Aphthonii Progymnasmata a Rodolpho Agricola partim, partim a Iohanne Maria Cataneo Latinitate donata cum scholiis R. Loricii et accessione nova variationum quibus Fabula et Chreia tractanda sunt*, Amsterdam 1657.
- Aphthonius, *Aphthonii Progymnasmata. Accedunt anonymi Aegyptiaci, Sopatri, aliorum fragmenta*, ed. H. Rabe, Leipzig 1926 (Rhetores Graeci, X).
- ARA : Algemeen Rijksarchief, Den Haag.
- Asmuth, B., 'Die Entwicklung des Deutschen Schulaufsatzes aus der Rhetorik'. ed H.F. Plett, *Rhetorik. Kritische Positionen zum Stand der Forschung*, München 1977, 276–292.

- Auctarium Chartularii Universitatis Parisiensis*, 6 vols., ed. H. Denifle, E. Chatelain e.a., Paris 1894–1964.
- Augustine of Hippo, *De trinitate Libri XV*, ed. W.J. Mountain, 2 vols., Turnhout 1968 (CCSL 50, 50a).
- Augustine of Hippo, *De Genesi ad litteram*, Paris 1887 (Migne, PL 34).
- Augustine of Hippo, *De vera religione libri IV*, ed. K.-D. Daur, Turnhout 1962 (CCSL 32).
- Augustine of Hippo, *Quaestionum in Heptateuchum Libri VII*, ed. I. Fraipont, Turnhout 1958 (CCSL 33).
- Augustijn, C., *Erasmus en de Reformatie. Een onderzoek naar de houding die Erasmus ten opzichte van de Reformatie heeft aangenomen*, Amsterdam 1962.
- Augustijn, C., *Erasmus. Vernieuwer van kerk en theologie*, Baarn 1967.
- Augustijn, C., *De Godsdienstgesprekken tussen Rooms-Katholieken en Protestanten van 1538 tot 1541*, Haarlem 1967.
- Augustijn, C., 'Godsdienst in de zestiende eeuw'. *Ketters en papen onder Filips II. Het godsdienstig leven in de tweede helft van de 16de eeuw*, 's-Gravenhage 1986.
- Augustijn, C., 'Gerard Geldenhauer und die religiöse Toleranz'. *Archiv für Religionsgeschichte* 69 (1978), 132–155.
- Augustijn, C., *Erasmus*, Baarn 1986 (transl. from the German: *Erasmus von Rotterdam*, München 1986).
- Augustijn, C., 'Erasmus und die Reformation in der Schweiz'. *Basler Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Altertumskunde* 86 (1986), 27–42.
- Augustijn, C., 'Zwingli als Humanist'. *Nederlands Archief voor Kerkgeschiedenis* 67 (1987), 120–142.
- Augustijn, C., 'Erasmus en de Moderne Devotie'. *De doorwerking van de Moderne Devotie*, 71–80.
- Averdunk, H., *Geschichte der Stadt Duisburg*, Duisburg 1895, rev. ed. 1949.
- Dat Avontmael ons Heeren*, ed. J. Trapman, *Nederlands Archief voor Kerkgeschiedenis* 51 (1970–1971), 149–166.
- Axters, St., *Geschiedenis van de vroomheid in de Nederlanden*, Antwerpen 1956.
- Bainton, R.H., *David Joris, Wiedertaufer und Kämpfer für Toleranz im 16. Jahrhundert*, Leipzig 1937.
- Baker, J. W., *Heinrich Bullinger and the Covenant: The Other Reformed Tradition*, Athens, OH 1980.
- Baker, J. W., 'Church Discipline or Civil Punishment: On the Origins of the Reformed Schism, 1528–1531'. *Andrews University Seminary Studies* 23 (1985), 3–18.
- Bakhuizen van den Brink, J.N., J. Lindeboom, *Handboek der kerkgeschiedenis*, ed. C.C. de Bruin, W.F. Dankbaar, 4 vols., 's-Gravenhage 1965–1968³.
- Bakker, F., *Bedelorden en begijnen in de stad Groningen tot 1594*, Assen 1988.
- Baldwin, T.W., *William Shakspeare's Small Latine and lesse Greeke*, 2 vols., Urbana IN 1944 (1966³).
- Barnikol, E., 'Gansfort, Wessel (1419–1489)'. *Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart, Handwörterbuch für Theologie und Religionswissenschaft*, ed. K. Gaaling, H. von Campenhausen, Tübingen 1986³.
- Baron, H., 'Cicero and Roman Civic Spirit in the Middle Ages and Early Renaissance'. *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 22 (1938), 72–97.
- Baron, H., *In Search of Florentine Civic Humanism*, 2 vols., Princeton NJ 1988.
- Bartels, P., *Abriss einer Geschichte des Schulwesens in Ostfriesland*, Aurich 1870.
- Bartholomaeus Coloniensis, *Sylva Carminum*, Deventer 1505.
- Bax, W., *Het protestantisme in het bisdom Luik en vooral te Maastricht, 1505–1557*, 's-Gravenhage 1937.
- Baxandall, M., *Giotto and the Orators: Humanist Observation of Painting in Italy and the Discovery of Pictorial Composition [1350–1450]*, Oxford 1971.
- Baxandall, M., *Painting and Experience in Fifteenth-Century Italy: A Primer in the Social History of Pictorial Style*, London 1972.
- Becker, P., 'Erstrebte und erreichte Ziele benediktinischer Reformen im

- Spätmittelalter'. *Reformbemühungen und Observanzbestrebungen*, 23–34.
- Beetz, M., 'Rhetorisches Textherstellen als Problemlösen. Ansätze zu einer linguistisch orientierten Rekonstruktion von Rhetoriken des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts. *Lili. Zeitschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Linguistik* 11 (43–44, 1981), 164–191 (Repr. in *Rhetorik* I, ed. J. Kopperschmidt, Darmstadt 1990, 155–193).
- Bekkum, W.J. van, 'The History of Hebrew and Jewish'. *Jewish Studies* 32 (1992), 121–124.
- Benrath, G.A., *Wegbereiter der Reformation*, Bremen 1967 (Klassiker des Protestantismus, 1) (repr. 1988).
- Benzing, J., 'Peter Schöffers d.J. zu Worms und seine Drucke (1518–1529)'. *Der Wormsgau* 5 (1961–1962), 108–118.
- Benzing, J., *Die Buchdrucker des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts im deutschen Sprachgebiet*, Wiesbaden 1982².
- Bernard of Clairvaux, *Sermones super cantica canticorum*, ed. J. Leclercq e.a., Rome 1958.
- Bernard of Clairvaux, *Opera V = Sermones II*, ed. J. Leclercq, H.M. Rochais, Rome 1968.
- Bibliotheca Reformatoria Neerlandica. Geschriften uit den tijd der hervorming in de Nederlanden*, ed. S. Cramer, F. Pijper, 10 vols., 's-Gravenhage 1903–1914.
- Biesta, P., 'De bombazijnindustrie te Groningen'. *Groningen* 22 (1939), 1–5.
- Bippen, W. von, *Geschichte der Stadt Bremen*, 3 vols., Bremen 1892–1904.
- Blaise, A., *Le vocabulaire latin des principaux thèmes liturgiques*, Turnhout 1966.
- Blok, F.F., *Seventy-seven Neo-Latin Letters. An Anthology*, Groningen 1985.
- Blok, P.J., 'Raad en gilden te Groningen omstreeks 1525'. *Geschiedkundige opstellen aangeboden aan Robert Fruin bij zijn aftreden als hoogleraar aan de Rijksuniversiteit te Leiden*, 's-Gravenhage 1894, 39–74.
- Boeles, P., *Het tweehonderdvijftigjarig bestaan der Hervormde gemeente te Noorddijk, gevierd op den Gedenkdag der Hervorming, 2 November 1845*, Groningen 1845.
- Boeles, W.B.S., 'Het Leven en de Verdiensten van Eggerik Egges Phebens'. *Bijdragen tot de Geschiedenis en Oudheidkunde inzonderheid van de Provincie Groningen* I (1864) 255–288.
- Boeles, W.B.S., 'Iets over de St. Maartens en Der A scholen te Groningen 1562–1595'. *Bijdragen tot de Geschiedenis en Oudheidkunde inzonderheid van de provincie Groningen* 1 (1864), 144–151.
- Boeles, W.B.S., *Friesland's Hoogeschool en het Rijks Athenaeum te Franeker*, 2 pts. in 3 vols., Leeuwarden, 1878–1889.
- Boer, J.J., *Ubbo Emmius en Oost-Friesland*, Groningen-Batavia 1935.
- Boer, W. de, R. Ritter, 'Die Briefe des bremischen Rektors Johannes Molanus aus den Jahren 1557–1577'. *Jahrbuch der Gesellschaft für bildende Kunst und vaterländische Altertümer zu Emden* 20 (1920), 194–231.
- Boer, W. de, R. Ritter, 'Briefe des Rektors Johannes Molanus an den Bremer Domherrn Herbert von Langen aus den Jahren 1560–1575'. *Bremisches Jahrbuch* 36 (1936), 209–258.
- Bonet-Maury, G., *Gérard de Groote: un précurseur de la Réforme au quatorzième siècle, d'après des documents inédits*, Paris 1878.
- Booma, J.G.J. van, 'Enkele bronnen voor de ontstaansgeschiedenis van de Hervormde Gemeente te Groningen (1557–1559)'. *Geloven in Groningen*, 132–156.
- Bosch, P. van den, 'Die Kreuzherrenreform des 15. Jahrhunderts. Urheber, Zielsetzung und Verlauf'. *Reformbemühungen und Observanzbestrebungen*, 71–82.
- Bot, P.N.M., *Humanisme en Onderwijs in Nederland*, Utrecht 1955.
- Bouwsmas, W.J., *John Calvin: A Sixteenth Century Portrait*, New York 1988.
- Boyle, M. O'Rourke, *Rhetoric and Reform. Erasmus' Civil Dispute with Luther*, Cambridge MA 1983.
- Braakhuis, H.A.G., 'Heymeric van de Velde (a Campo), denker op een kruispunt van wegen'. *Algemeen nederlands tijdschrift voor wijsbegeerte* 75 (1983), 13–24.

- Braakhuis, H.A.G., 'Agricola's View on Universals'. *Rodolphus Agricola Phrisius (1444-1485)*, 239-247.
- Braakhuis, H.A.G., 'School Philosophy and Philosophical Schools'. *Die Kölner Universität im Mittelalter*, Hg. A. Zimmerman, Berlin-New York 1989, 1-18.
- Braet, A. (ed.), *Taalbeheersing als nieuwe rhetorica. Een historisch, grammatisch en bibliografisch overzicht*, Groningen 1980.
- Brecht, M., *Martin Luther*, 3 vols., Stuttgart 1981-1987.
- Brenneysen, Enno Rudolph, *Ost-Friesische Historie und Landes-Verfassung*, 2 vols., Aurich 1720.
- Briefwechsel des Beatus Rhenanus*, ed. A. Horawitz, K. Hartfelder, Leipzig 1886 (repr. Nieuwkoop 1966).
- Breuer, D., 'Schulrhetorik im 19. Jahrhundert'. H. Schanze ed., *Rhetorik. Beiträge zu ihrer Geschichte in Deutschland vom 16.-20. Jahrhundert*, Frankfurt a.M. 1974, 145-179.
- Brieger, Th., *Aleander und Luther 1521: die vervollständigten Aleander-Depeschen nebst Untersuchungen über den Wormser Reichstag*, Gotha 1884.
- Brinkerink, D.A., *Van den doechden der vuriger ende stichtiger susteren van diepen veen*, Groningen 1904.
- Brouette, E., 'Devotio Moderna I'. *Theologische Realenzyklopädie* VIII, 605-609.
- Brown, N.O., *Life Against Death*, New York 1964.
- Brucherus, H.H., *Geschiedenis van de opkomst der kerkhervorming in de provincie Groningen tot aan het jaar 1594*, Groningen 1821.
- Brugman, Johannes, *Verspreide Sermoenen*, ed. Am. van Dijk, Antwerpen 1948.
- Brugmans, H., ed., 'De kroniek van het klooster Aduard'. *Bijdragen en Mededeelingen van het Historisch Genootschap* 23 (1912), 1-188.
- Bruin, C.C. de, 'Beschouwingen rondom het Leuvense ketterproces van 1543', *Rondom het Woord* 9 (1967), 249-259.
- Bruin, C.C. de, 'Hinne Rode'. *Het Sticht van binnen en van buytenen. Bundel opstellen ... aangeboden aan Dr. M.P. van Buijtenen*, = *Jaarboek Oud-Utrecht* 1981, Utrecht 1981, 191-208.
- Brundage, J. A., *Law, Sex and Christian Society in Medieval Europe*, Chicago-London 1987.
- Brzoska, J., 'Aphthonios'. *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft* I, 2797-2800.
- Buck, A., 'Matteo Palmieri (1406-1475) als Repräsentant des florentiner Bürgerhumanismus'. *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte* 47 (1965), 75-95.
- Buck, A., *Die humanistische Tradition in der Romania*, Bad Homberg etc. 1986.
- Bunte, B., 'Über Johannes Molanus'. *Jahrbuch der Gesellschaft für bildende Kunst und vaterländische Altertümer zu Emden* 9 (1891), 12-46.
- Burrichter, B., Th. Dewender, 'Die Diskussion der Frage nach der Unsterblichkeit in den "Quaestiones in libros De Anima" des Benedikt Hesse von Krakau'. *Die Philosophie im 14. und 15. Jahrhundert. In memoriam Konstanty Michalsky (1879-1947)*, ed. O. Pluta, Amsterdam 1988, 573-598.
- Buridanus, Johannes, *Quaestiones de anima*, Paris 1516.
- Bijdragen over Thomas a Kempis en de Moderne Devotie*. Uitgegeven ter gelegenheid van de vijfhonderdste sterfdag van Thomas a Kempis (†1471), Brussel-Zwolle 1971 (*Archives et Bibliothèques de Belgique / Archief- en Bibliotheekwezen in België*, numéro spécial / Extranummer 4).
- Bijleveld, W.J.J.C., 'Genealogie van het geslacht von Innhausen und Knyphausen'. *De Nederlandsche Leeuw* 53 (1935), 162-171.
- Bynum, C.W., *Jesus as Mother: Studies in the Spirituality of the High Middle Ages*, Berkeley CA 1982.
- Cairns, F., *Generic Composition in Greek and Roman Poetry*, Edinburgh 1972.
- Calvin, John, *Institutio christianae religionis*, ed. G. Baum, E. Cunitz, E. Reuss, *Corpus Reformatorum* XXX, Braunschweig 1864, 812-823 and 891-896.
- Cassel, J.Ph., *Bremensia. Bremische historische Nachrichten und Urkunden*, 2 vols., Bremen 1767.

- Catalogus codicum latinorum Bibliothecae Regiae Monacensis*, editio altera emendatior, 1 vol. in 2 parts, Munich 1892–1894.
- Caviglioli, J.-D., 'Les écrits d'Heymericus de Campo (1395–1460) sur les oeuvres d'Aristote'. *Freiburger Zeitschrift für Philosophie und Theologie* 28 (1981), 289–371.
- CCCM : Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Mediaevalis.
- CCSL : Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina.
- Celtis, Conrad, *Conradi Celtis quae Vindobonae prelo subicienda curavit opuscula*, ed. K. Adel, Leipzig 1966.
- Chapman, H.W., *The Last Tudor King: A Study of Edward VI*, London 1958 (1982³).
- Chénon, Emile, 'Recherches historiques sur quelques rites nuptiaux', *Nouvelle revue historique de droit français et étranger* 36 (1912), 573–660.
- Chytraeus, David, *Saxonia ab anno Christi MD usque ad annum MDC*, Leipzig 1611.
- Claesson, G., *Index Tertullianus*, Paris 1974.
- Clark, D.L., *John Milton at St. Paul's School. A Study of Ancient Rhetoric in English Renaissance Education*, New York 1948.
- Clark, D.L., 'The Rise and Fall of Progymnasmata in 16th and 17th Century Grammar Schools'. *Speech Monographs* 19 (1952), 259–263.
- Clark, D.L., *Rhetoric in Greco-Roman Education*, New York 1957.
- Claus, H., M.A. Pegg, *Ergänzungen zur Bibliographie der zeitgenössischen Lutherdrucke*, Gotha 1982 (Veröffentlichungen der Forschungsbibliothek Gotha, 20).
- Clemen, O., 'Hinne Rode in Wittenberg, Basel, Zürich und die frühesten Ausgaben Wesselscher Schriften'. *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 18 (1898), 346–372, 639–640.
- Clemen, O., 'Die Lamentationes Petri'. *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 19 (1899), 431–448.
- Coenders van Helpen, F., 'Reisjournaal van Jr. Frederik Coenders van Helpen', ed. H.O. Feith, J.A. Feith. *Bijdragen en Mededeelingen van het Historisch Genootschap* 14 (1893), 141–142.
- Cognet, L., *Introduction aux mystiques rhéno-flamands*, Paris 1968.
- Collett, B., *Italian Benedictine Scholars and the Reformation. The Congregation of Santa Giustina of Padua*, Oxford 1985.
- Constable, G., '12th-Century Spiritual Writers in the Late Middle Ages'. *Renaissance: Studies in Honor of Hans Baron*, ed. Anthony Molho, John A. Tedeschi, Florence 1971.
- Contemporaries of Erasmus. A Biographical Register of the Renaissance and Reformation*, ed. P.G. Bietenholz, Th.B. Deutscher, 3 vols., Toronto etc. 1985–1987.
- Corpus documentorum inquisitionis haereticae pravitatis Neerlandicae*, ed. P. Fredericq, 5 vols., 's-Gravenhage 1899–1902.
- Corpus Reformatorum*, ed. C.G. Bretschneider, H.E. Bindseil, vol. 1–, Braunschweig 1834–.
- Correspondance de Martin Bucer II: 1524–1526*, ed. J. Rott, R. Friedrich, Leiden 1989 (Brill's Studies in Medieval and Reformation Thought, 43).
- Correspondance des réformateurs dans les pays de langue Française. I, 1512–1526*, ed. A.L. Herminjard, Geneva-Paris 1866.
- Courtenay, W.J., 'The Critique on Natural Causality in the Mutakallimun and Nominalism'. *The Harvard Theological Review* 66 (1973), 77–94.
- Courtenay, W.J., 'Nominalism and Late Medieval Religion'. *Holiness in Late Medieval and Renaissance Religions*, eds. C. Trinkaus, H.A. Oberman, Leiden 1974, 26–59.
- Courtenay, W.J., *Schools and Scholars in Fourteenth-Century England*, Princeton NJ 1987.
- Courtenay, W.J., '“Antiqui” and “Moderni” in Late Medieval Thought'. *Journal of the History of Ideas* 48 (1987), 3–10.
- Cramer, Th.W., 'Das Leben des friesischen Historikers Ubbo Emmius'. *Wissenschaftliche Festschrift des kgl. Realgymnasiums und Gymnasiums in Leer (Ostfriesland) zur Einweihung des neuen Schulgebäudes am 27. September 1909*, Leer 1909.
- Crecelius, W., 'De codice epistularum Iohannis Molani, rectoris olim Duisbur-

- gensis, commentariolus.' *Programm Gymnasium Elberfeld*, Elberfeld 1870, 3–12.
- Crecelius, W., 'De Antonii Liberi Susatensis vita et scriptis commentatiuncula'. *Festschrift zur Begrüssung der XXXIV. Versammlung deutscher Philologen und Schulmänner zu Trier*, Bonn 1879, 139–149.
- Cristiani, L., 'Wessel'. *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique*, XV-2 (1950), 3531–3536.
- Crusius, F., *Römische Metrik. Eine Einführung*, ed. H. Rubenbauer, Munich 1955².
- CSEL : *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*, vol. 1–, Vienna 1866–.
- Curtius, E.R., *Europäische Literatur und lateinisches Mittelalter*, Bern 1969.
- Dalarun, J., *Robert d'Arbrissel: fondateur de Fontevraud*, Paris 1986.
- Dalton, H., *Johannes a Lasco. Beitrag zur Reformationgeschichte Polens, Deutschlands und Englands*, Gotha 1881.
- Dankbaar, W.F., *Hervormers en Humanisten. Een bundel opstellen door Dr. W.F. Dankbaar, oud-hoogleraar der Rijksuniversiteit te Groningen*, Amsterdam 1987.
- Dankbaar, W.F., 'Over de voorgeschiedenis van het ouderlingenambt, bepaaldelijk in Oost-Friesland'. W.F. Dankbaar, *Hervormers en Humanisten*, 125–140.
- Dankbaar, W.F., 'Dubbel duël te Groningen: Luther contra Erasmus en Praedinius contra Luther'. W.F. Dankbaar, *Hervormers en Humanisten*, 35–46.
- Davis, K.R., *Anabaptism and Asceticism. A Study in Intellectual Origins*, Scottsdale-Kitchener 1974.
- De Vocht, H., *Monumenta Humanistica Lovaniensia: Texts and Studies About Louvain Humanists in the First Half of the XVIth Century: Erasmus, Vives, Dorpius, Clenardus, Goes, Moringus*, Louvain 1934 (*Humanistica Lovaniensia*, 4).
- De Vocht, H., *History of the Foundation and Rise of the Collegium Trilingue Lovaniense 1517–1550*, 4 vols., Louvain 1951–1959 (*Humanistica Lovaniensia*, 10–15).
- Debongnie, P., *Jean Mombaer de Bruxelles, abbé de Livry, ses écrits et ses réformes*, Louvain-Toulouse 1927 (Université de Louvain, Recueil de travaux publiés par les membres des Conférences d'Histoire et de Philologie, 2me série, 11me fascicule).
- Debongnie, P., 'Dévotion moderne'. *Dictionnaire de Spiritualité*, III (1957) 727–747.
- Deeters, Walter, *Kleine Geschichte Ostfrieslands*, Leer 1985.
- Delprat, G.H.M., *Verhandeling over de Broederschap van Geert Groote en over den invloed der Fraterhuizen op den wetenschappelijken en godsdienstigen toestand, voornamelijk van de Nederlanden na de veertiende eeuw*, Utrecht 1830 (Arnhem 1856²).
- Dieckhoff, A., *Die evangelische Abendmahlslehre im Reformationszeitalter*, Göttingen 1854.
- Dierickx, M., *De oprichting der nieuwe bisdommen in de Nederlanden onder Filips II*, Antwerpen-Utrecht 1950.
- Dionysius Carthusiensis, *Opera omnia*, Tournai 1907.
- Ditsche, M., 'Zur Herkunft und Bedeutung des Begriffes devotio moderna'. *Historisches Jahrbuch* 79 (1960), 124–145.
- Documents inédits sur l'Erection des nouveaux Diocèses aus Pays-Bas*, ed. M. Dierickx, 3 vols., Brussels 1960–1962.
- Doedes, J.I., 'Merkwaardigheden uit den oude-boeken-schat'. *Godgeleerde Bijdragen* 43 (1869), 98–113, 201–218.
- Doedes, J.I., 'Historisch-Literarisches zur Biographie Johann Wessels. Festgabe zu seiner vierhundertfünfzigsten Geburtsfeier'. *Theologische Studien und Kritiken. Eine Zeitschrift für das gesamte Gebiet der Theologie* 43 (1870), 407–444.
- De doorwerking van de Moderne Devotie. Windesheim 1387–1987*. Voordrachten gehouden tijdens het Windesheim Symposium Zwolle/Windesheim 15–17 oktober 1987, ed. P. Bange, C. Graafland, A.J. Jelsma, A.G. Weiler, Hilversum 1988.
- Dols, J.M.E., *Bibliographie der Moderne Devotie*, Nijmegen 1941.
- Dresden, S., 'The Profile of the Reception of the Italian Renaissance in France'. *Itinerarium Italicum*, 119–189.
- Duff, J. Wight, A.M. Duff, *Minor Latin Poets*, 2 vols., London 1982.
- Dijk, E. van, 'Dr Johannes Eelts, ca 1528–1588, persona te Groningen'. *Groninger Volksalmanak* 1970–1971, 16–48.

- Dijk, R.Th.M. van, 'De Moderne Devotie'. *Godsdienst en Maatschappij* 6/84 (1984) 1-5.
- Dijk, R.Th.M. van, *De constituties der Windesheimse vrouwenkloosters vóór 1559. Bijdrage tot de institutionele geschiedenis van het Kapittel van Windesheim*, Nijmegen 1986, 2 vols. (Middelleeuwse Studies, III).
- Dijk, R.Th.M. van, 'Leben nach der Devotio moderna. Wesen und Wachstum ihrer Spiritualität' (in the press).
- Dijk, R.Th.M. van, 'Thomas Hemerken a Kempis'. *Dictionnaire de Spiritualité*, XV (1991), 818-826.
- Ebeling, R.A., 'Nederlands in Oostfriesland'. *Groninger Kerken* 7 (1990), 38-50.
- Ecclesiae Londino-Batavae Archivum*, ed. J.H. Hessels, 3 vols., Cambridge 1887-1889.
- Ecke, Karl, *Zwei Deichregister des Amtes Greetsiel*, Aurich 1980 (Quellen und Forschungen zur ostfriesischen Familien- und Wappenkunde, Beiheft 15).
- Effigies & vitae Professorum Academiae Groningae & Omlandiae*, Groningen 1654 (Repr. Groningen 1968).
- Ehlers, J., *Hugo von Sankt-Viktor*, Wiesbaden 1973.
- Ehrle, F., *Der Sentenzenkommentar Peters von Candia, des Pisanerpapstes Alexander V*, Münster 1925 (Franziskanische Studien, Beiheft 9).
- Elm, K., 'Reformen und Kongregationsbildungen der Zisterzienser in Spätmittelalter und früher Neuzeit'. *Die Zisterzienser* 1, 243-254.
- Elm, K., 'Die Bruderschaft vom gemeinsamen Leben. Eine geistliche Lebensform zwischen Kloster und Welt, Mittelalter und Neuzeit'. *Ons Geestelijk Erf* 59 (1985), 470-496.
- Elm, K., 'Elias, Paulus von Theben und Augustinus als Ordensgründer. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichtsschreibung und Geschichtsdeutung der Eremiten- und Bettelorden des 13. Jahrhunderts. *Geschichtsschreibung und Geschichtsbewusstsein im späten Mittelalters*, ed. H. Patze, Sigmaringen 1987 (Vorträge und Forschungen, 31), 371-397.
- Elm, K., 'Reform- und Observanzbestrebungen im spätmittelalterlichen Ordenswesen. Ein Überblick'. *Reformbemühungen und Observanzbestrebungen*, 3-19.
- Elm, K., 'Die Devotio moderna im Weserraum'. *Kunst und Kultur im Weserraum 600-1600* I, 251-255.
- Elsmann, Th., 'Humanismus in Bremen. Christoph Pezel, Philipp Melanchthon und die *Institutio Traiani*'. *1200 Jahre St. Petri-Dom in Bremen*, Bremen 1989 (Hospitium Ecclesiae, 17), 77-112.
- Elte, S., 'Godsdienstige Conflicten in Zwolle in het tijdvak van 1530-1580'. *Verslagen en mededeelingen van de Vereeniging tot beoefening van Overijsselsch regt en geschiedenis* 52 (2de reeks 28) (1936), 1-70.
- Elte, S., 'Bescheiden betreffende de hervorming in Zwolle'. *Bijdragen en Mededeelingen van het Historisch Genootschap* 58 (1937), 51-133.
- Emmius, Ubbo, *De agro Frisiae inter Amasum et Lavicam fluvios deque urbe Groninga in eodem agro et de jure utriusque syntagma cum serie magistratuum praecipuorum*, Groningen 1646.
- Emmius, Ubbo, *Der Reisebericht des Ubbo Emmius*, transl. E. von Reeken, ed. E.H. Waterbolk, W. Bergsma. Groningen 1983².
- Emmius, Ubbo, *Rerum Frisicarum Historia . . . Accedunt . . . De Frisia et Republica Frisiorum inter Flevum et Visurgim flumina libri aliquot ab eodem autore conscripti*, Leiden 1616. German translation: *Friesische Geschichte*, transl. E. von Reeken, 4 vols., Wörner-Frankfurt a.M. 1980. N.B. The paging of the Latin text is retained in the translation.
- Emmius, Ubbo, *Periegesis, sive accurata descriptio chorographica Frisiae Orientalis, ab Amasi ostio Dullartique sinu in Visurgim flumen porrectae*, Leiden 1616. German translation: *Ostfriesland (Führung durch Ostfriesland, d.h. genaue geographische Beschreibung Ostfrieslands)*, transl. E. von Reeken, Wörner-Frankfurt a. M. 1982.
- Emmius, Ubbo, *De statu reipublicae in Frisia Orientali, quae est in fide illustris & generosi Domini Ennonis, Comititis & Domini ejusdem regionis, liber*, Leiden 1616.

- Emmius, Ubbo, *Historia nostri temporis. In qua duplex controversia: altera inter comitem Frisiae Orientalis et civitatem Embdanam separatim; altera inter comitem et comitatus ordines, in quibus Embdani quoque sunt, ab ipsa origine accurate exponitur*, Groningen 1732. German translation: *Geschichte unserer Zeit (1592–1608)* (*Friesische Geschichte*, Bd. VII), transl. E. von Reeken, Wörner-Frankfurt a. M. 1986. N.B. The paging of the Latin text is retained in the translation.
- Emmius, Ubbo, *Briefwechsel*, 2 vols., I: 1566 bis 1607, ed. H. Brugmans, F. Wachter, Aurich 1911; II: 1608 bis 1625, Supplement, 1590 bis 1609, ed. H. Brugmans, 's-Gravenhage 1923.
- [Emmius, Ubbo], 'Wesselus Groningensis — Wessel van Groningen'. *Effigies & Vitae Professorum Academiae Groningae & Omlandiae*, 12–27 (Latin text), 6–13 (Dutch translation).
- Enenkel, K.A.E., 'Der andere Petrarca: Francesco Petrarca's *De vita solitaria* und die *devotio moderna*'. *Quaerendo* 17 (1987), 137–147.
- Enenkel, K.A.E., *Francesco Petrarca, De vita solitaria, Buch 1: kritische Textausgabe und ideengeschichtlicher Kommentar*, Leiden 1990.
- Engelbert, P., 'Die Bursfelder Benediktinerkongregation und die spätmittelalterlichen Reformbewegungen'. *Historisches Jahrbuch* 103 (1983), 35–55.
- Engelsing, R., *Der Bürger als Leser. Lesergeschichte in Deutschland 1500–1800*, Stuttgart 1974.
- Entholt, H., *Geschichte des Bremer Gymnasiums bis zur Mitte des 18. Jahrhunderts*, Bremen 1899.
- Entholt, H., 'Das Bremische Gymnasium 1765–1817'. *Bremisches Jahrbuch* 22 (1909), 1–120.
- Entholt, H., 'Bremische Kultur gegen Ausgang des Mittelalters'. *Festschrift zur Feier des zehnjährigen Bestehens der Bremer Wissenschaftlichen Gesellschaft. Abhandlungen und Vorträge* 8/9, Bremen 1934, 73–115.
- Epiney-Burgard, G., *Gérard Grote (1350–1384) et les débuts de la Dévotion moderne*, Wiesbaden 1970 (Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Europäische Geschichte Mainz, 54).
- Epistolarum ab illustribus et claris viris scriptarum centuriae tres*, ed. S.A. Gabbema, Harlingen 1663.
- Erasmus, D., *Desiderii Erasmi Roterodami opera omnia*, Leiden 1703–1706 (LB).
- Erasmus, D., *Opera omnia Desiderii Erasmi Roterodami*, vol. 1–, Amsterdam, New York, Oxford 1969– (ASD).
- Erasmus, D., *Opus epistolarum Des. Erasmi Roterodami*, ed. P.S. Allen, H.M. Allen, 12 vols., Oxford 1906–1958.
- Ernout, A., F. Thomas, *Syntaxe latine*, Paris 1964.
- Eijl, E.J.M. van, 'De interpretatie van Erasmus' *De contemptu mundi*'. *Pascua Mediaevalia. Studies voor J.M. de Smet*, ed. R. Lievens, E. van Mingroot, W. Verbeke, Leuven 1983 (= *Mediaevalia Lovaniensia* I 10), 337–350.
- Faber, J.A., *Drie eeuwen Friesland*, 2 vols., Wageningen 1972.
- Fausser, M., 'Die Chrie. Zur Geschichte des rhetorischen Schulaufsatzes'. *Euphorion* 81 (1987), 414–425.
- Feenstra, H., E.H. Waterbolk, 'Neues zum Briefwechsel des Ubbo Emmius (1547–1625). Emmius als Verfasser der *Historia nostri temporis*'. *Lias* 15 (1988), 1–12.
- Feith, H.O., 'Twee brieven van Gerardus tom Campo betreffende enige hervormingsgezinden uit de 16e eeuw in Oostfriesland en Groningen'. *Kerkhistorisch Archief* 2 (1859), 49–55.
- Feith, H.O., *Register van het archief van Groningen*, 9 vols., Groningen 1853–1877.
- Feith, J.A., *Wandelingen door het oude Groningen*, Groningen s.a. Originally published in *Groningsche Volksalmanak* 1891–1908.
- Ferguson, George, *Signs and Symbols in Christian Art*, London 1972.
- Finnus Johannaues, *Historia Ecclesiae Islandiae* II, Copenhagen 1774.
- Fizely, O., *Wessel Gansfort, eine dogmengeschichtliche Untersuchung*, Leva 1911.
- Flasch, K., *Einführung in die Philosophie des Mittelalters*, Darmstadt 1987.

- Flower, L.S., *Problem-Solving Strategies for Writing*, San Diego-New York 1985².
- Flower, L.S., J.R. Hayes, *A Process Model of Composition*, Pittsburgh 1979.
- Foedera, conventiones, literae et cujuscunque generis acta publica inter reges Angliae et alios quasvis imperatores, reges, pontifices, principes, vel communitates . . . , ed. Th. Rymer e.a., 10 vols., The Hague 1745.
- Formsma, W.J., *De wording van de Staten van Stad en Lande tot 1536*, Assen 1930.
- Fortgens, H.W., *Schola Latina. Uit het verleden van ons Voorbereidend Hoger Onderwijs*, Zwolle 1958.
- Fraling, B., *Mystik und Geschichte. Das 'Ghemeyne leven' in der Lehre des Jan van Ruusbroec*, Regensburg 1974 (Studien zur Geschichte der katholischen Moralthologie, 20).
- Franciscus de Mayronis, *In libros Sententiarum*, Venice 1520 (Repr. Frankfurt a. M. 1966).
- Franzen, A., 'Johannes Wessel Gansfort'. *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche* V (1960), 1034–1035.
- Friedrich, J., *Ein Bild aus der Kirchengeschichte des XV. Jahrhunderts*, Regensburg 1862.
- Fügedi, E., 'Koldulórendek és városfejlesztés Magyarországon' ('Die Bettelorden und die Entwicklung der Städte in Ungarn'). *Századok* 106 (1972), 69–94.
- GAG : Gemeentearchief Groningen.
- Gäbler, U., *Huldrych Zwingli. Eine Einführung in sein Leben und sein Werk*, München 1983.
- Gansfort, Wessel, *Tractatus D. VVesseli Groningensis De Oratione & modo orandi cum luculentissima Dominicae orationis explanatione*, Zwolle: Simon Corver, c. 1521 (NK 2203).
- Gansfort, Wessel, *De Causis Incarnationis. De Magnitudine & amaritudine Dominice passionis Libri duo Magistri VVesseli Groningensis*, Zwolle: Simon Corver for Willem Corver, c. 1521 (NK 2200).
- Gansfort, Wessel, *Wesselus De sacramento eucharistiae. Et audienda Missa*, Zwolle: Simon Corver, c. 1521 (NK 2204).
- Gansfort, Wessel, *Wesseli Epistola adversus M. Engelbertum Leydensum Epistola M. Jacobi Hoec Decani Naldicensis, ad M. Vesselum. Epistola apologetica M. Vesselii adversus Epistolam M. Jacobi Hoeck. Epistola M. Vesselii, quid de spirituum & mortuorum apparitionibus sit tenendum. Ex Epistola Ioannis Aemstelredamensis. De suffragij & celebrationibus secundum Vesselum. Epistola Vesselii ad Decanum Traiectensem de Ioanne Vvesalie & suo periculo. Impugnatorium M. Antonij de Castro ordinis predicatorum contra Vesselum*, Zwolle: Simon Corver, 1522 (NK 2201).
- Gansfort, Wessel, *Farrago VVesseli M. VVesseli Groningensis. Lux Mundi olim vulgo dicti, rarae & reconditae doctrinae, Notulae aliquot & Propositiones, quarum series & materiae latius uersa pagina conspicitur . . .*, Zwolle: Simon Corver, 1522 (NK 2202).
- Gansfort, Wessel, *Farrago Rerum Theologicarum Vberima, Doctissimo Viro VVesselo Groningensi Autore . . .*, Wittenberg: Melchior Lotter, 1522.
- Gansfort, Wessel, *Farrago Rerum Theologicarum uberrima, doctissimo uiro VVesselo Groningensi Autore . . .*, Basel: Adam Petri, September 1522.
- Gansfort, Wessel, *Farrago Rerum Theologicarum uberrima, multo, quam in priore aeditione, emendator. doctissimo uiro VVesselo autore . . .*, Basel: Adam Petri, January 1523.
- Gansfort, *Opera: M. VVesseli Gansfortii Groningensis, rarae et reconditae doctrinae viri, Qui olim Lux Mundi vulgo dictus fuit, Opera Quae inveniri potuerunt omnia: partim ex antiquis editionibus, partim ex manuscriptis eruta*, Groningen: Joannes Sassius, 1614 (repr. Nieuwkoop 1966).
- Gansfort, Wessel, *Tractatus de cohibendis cogitationibus et de modo constituendarum meditationum, qui Scala meditationis vocatur*, in: *Opera*, 1614.
- Gansfort, Wessel, *Exempla Scalae meditationis, Fratribus montis divinae Agnetis dedicata*, in: *Opera*, 1614.

- Gansfort, Wessel, *Opuscula Theologica Johannis Wesseli Phrysii, Qui Lux Mundi Olim Dictus Fuit, De novo edita: Studio Theodori Stracki Essendensis . . .*, Marburg: Paulus Egenolph, 1617.
- Gansfort, Wessel, *Aura purior. Hoc est: M. Wesseli Gansfortii, alias Basilii Groningensis, raræ eruditionis viri, qui sub pontificiis tenebris dictus est: Lux mundi, opera omnia, ex veteribus et MStis codicibus. Accedunt Jacobi de Paradyso Carthusiani, M. Wesseli coetanei, tractatus aliquot, numquam antea visque. Quos e bibliotheca fratris sui. B. Lydii eruit et publicavit Joannes M.F. Lydius, Francofurtensis*, Amsterdam: Henricus Laurentius, 1617.
- Gansfort, Wessel, *De Oratione Dominica in een diëtse bewerking*, ed. A.J. Persijn, Assen 1964.
- Gansfort, Wessel, *Von gaistlich gewalt vnd würdigkhait. Warer vnd rechter gehorsam, vnnnd wievil der Prelaten gepott vnnnd gesatz die vnderthon verpinden*, (Nuremberg, 1522?). (translation of *De dignitate et potestate ecclesiastica*).
- Gansfort, Wessel, *Das die vnderthanen beyder geystlicher vnd weltlicher oberkeyten, ettwan nit zegehorsamen, sonderjnen zewidersteen, vnd sie von jren aemptern absetzen schuldig sind, mit geding vnd eygenschaft wie hiernach volgt. Beschriben durch D. Wesseln von Gruningen, der seinderzeit hoch berumet dasz er Lux Mvndi genant ward, vnde vor dreissig jaren gestorben ist*, Strassburg: Peter Schöffner, 1530. (translation of *De dignitate et potestate ecclesiastica*).
- Geel, R., *Niemand is meester geboren. Geschiedenis van het Nederlandse schrijfaardigheidsonderwijs in de 19e en 20e eeuw*, Muiderberg 1989.
- Geert Grote & Moderne Devotie. *Voordrachten gehouden tijdens het Geert Grote congres, Nijmegen 21-29 september 1984*, ed. J. Andriessen, P. Bange, A.G. Weiler, Nijmegen 1985 (Middelieuwe Studies I. Publicatie van het Centrum voor Middelieuwe Studies Katholieke Universiteit Nijmegen) (= *Ons Geestelijk Erf* 54 (1985), 111-505).
- Geert Grote en de Moderne Devotie, ed. C.C. de Bruin, E. Persoons, A.G. Weiler, Zutphen 1985².
- Geldenhower, Gerard, *Institutio scholae christianae*, Frankfurt 1534.
- Geldenhower, Gerard, *Vita in Fichardus, J., Virorum qui . . . fuerunt, Vitae*, Frankfurt 1536.
- Geloven in Groningen: capita selecta uit de geloofsgeschiedenis van een stad*, ed. G. van Halsema e.a., Kampen 1990.
- Gerdes, Daniel, *Historia reformationis sive annales evangelii seculo XVI passim per Europam renovati doctrinaeque reformatae* 4 vols., Groningen 1744-1752.
- Gerdes, Daniel, *Scrinium Antiquarium sive Miscellanea Groningana*, 8 vols., Bremen-Groningen 1748-1765.
- Gerretsen, J.H., *Florens Radewijns*, Nijmegen 1891.
- Gerritsen, J., 'Printing at Froben's: An eye-witness account'. *Studies in Bibliography. Papers of the Bibliographical Society of the University of Virginia*, 44 (1991), 144-163.
- Getijden van de Eeuwige Wijsheid naar de vertaling van Geert Grote*, ed. A.G. Weiler, Baarn 1984.
- Gilmont, J.F., *Jean Crespin. Un éditeur réformé du XVIe siècle*, Genève 1981.
- Gilson, E., 'Pourquoi Saint Thomas a critiqué Saint Augustin'. *Archives d'Histoire Doctrinale et Littéraire du Moyen Age* 1 (1926-1927), 5-127.
- Gnomologicon Vaticanum*, ed. Leo Sternbach, Berlin 1963 (= *Wiener Studien* 9-11 [1887-1889]).
- Goossens, L.A.M., *De meditatie in de eerste tijd van de moderne devotie*, Nijmegen 1962.
- Goy, R., *Die Überlieferung der Werke Hugos von St. Viktor, Ein Beitrag zur Kommunikationsgeschichte des Mittelalters*, Stuttgart 1976.
- Graafland, C., 'De invloed van de Moderne Devotie in de Nadere Reformatie'. *De doorwerking van de Moderne Devotie*, 47-69.
- Grabmann, M., *Mittelalterliche Deutung und Umbildung der aristotelischen Lehre vom ΝΟΥΣ ΠΟΙΗΤΙΚΟΣ nach einer Zusammenstellung im Cod. b III 22 der Univer-*

- sitätsbibliothek Basel*, München 1936 (Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-hist. Abt., Jahrg. 1936, Heft 4).
 Grabmann, M., 'Die Proklosübersetzungen des Wilhelm von Moerbeke und ihre Verwertung in der Lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters'. *Mittelalterliches Geistesleben. Abhandlungen zur Geschichte der Scholastik und Mystik* II, München 1936, 413–423.
Grammatici latini, ed. H. Keil, 7 vols., Leipzig 1857–1880.
 Gregorius Magnus, *Moralia in Iob*, ed. M. Adriaen, 3 vols., Turnhout 1979–1985 (CCSL 143).
 Grether, E., *Geistige Hierarchien*, Freiburg 1962.
 Grimlaic, *Regula solitariorum*, Paris 1851 (Migne, PL 103, 573–664).
 Grundmann, H., *Religiöse Bewegungen im Mittelalter. Untersuchungen über die geschichtlichen Zusammenhänge zwischen der Ketzerei, den Bettelorden und der religiösen Frauenbewegung im 12. und 13. Jahrhundert und über die geschichtlichen Grundlagen der deutschen Mystik*. Anhang: Neue Beiträge zur Geschichte der religiösen Bewegungen im Mittelalter, Darmstadt 1970.
 Guggisberg, H.R., 'Die niederländischen Studenten an der Universität Basel von 1532 bis zum Ende des 17. Jahrhunderts'. *Basler Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Altertumskunde* 58–59 (1959), 231–288.
 Guthrie, W.K.C., *A History of Greek Philosophy VI. Aristotle: an Encounter*, Cambridge 1981.
 Gyöngyösi, Gregorius, *Vitae fratrum eremitarum ordinis Sancti Pauli primi eremitae*, ed. F.L. Hervay, Budapest 1988 (Bibliotheca Scriptorum Medii Recentisque Aevorum, series nova, tomus XI).
 Haga, A., 'Nieuws over Simon Corver'. *Het Bock* 37 (1965–1966), 209–211.
 Halkin, L.E., 'La "Devotio Moderna" et les origines de la Réforme aux Pays-Bas'. *Courants religieux et humanisme à la fin du XVe siècle et au début du XVIe siècle*, Paris 1959, 45–51.
 Halm, C., *Rhetores latini minores*, Leipzig 1863 (repr. Frankfurt a.M. 1964).
 Hamesse, J., *Les auctoritates Aristotelis. Un florilège médiéval*. Etude historique et édition critique, Louvain-Paris 1974.
 Hammerstein, N., 'Schule, Hochschule und Res publica litteraria'. *Res publica litteraria. Die Institutionen der Gelehrsamkeit in der Frühen Neuzeit*, ed. S. Neumeister, C. Wiedemann, Wiesbaden 1987 (Wolfenbütteler Arbeiten zur Barockforschung, 14/1), 93–110.
Handbuch der Dogmen- und Theologiegeschichte, ed. C. Andresen, 3 vols., Göttingen 1980–1984.
Handbuch der Kirchengeschichte, ed. H. Jedin, 10 vols., Freiburg etc. 1965–1979.
 Hartfelder, K., 'Unedierte Briefe von Rudolf Agricola. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Humanismus'. *Festschrift der badischen Gymnasien, gewidmet der Universität Heidelberg zur Feier ihres 500-jährigen Jubiläums*, Karlsruhe 1886, 1–36.
 Hartgerink-Koomans, M., *Het geslacht Ewsum. Geschiedenis van een jonkers-familie uit de Ommelanden in de 15e en 16e eeuw*, Groningen-Batavia 1938.
 Haubst, R., *Studien zu Nikolaus von Kues und Johannes Wenck*. Aus Handschriften der Vatikanischen Bibliothek, Münster 1955.
 Haverals, M., 'Une première rédaction du *De contemptu mundi* d'Erasmus dans un manuscrit de Zwolle'. *Humanistica Lovaniensia* 30 (1981), 40–54.
 Heel, D. van, 'De Tertiariissen van het Utrechtsche kapittel'. *Archief voor de Geschiedenis van het Aartsbisdom Utrecht* 63 (1939), 1–383.
 Heel, D. van, 'Het Olde Convent of het St. Agnesklooster te Groningen'. *Groningsche Volksalmanak* 1941, 192–208.
 Heinsius, Daniel, *Aphthonius Sophista Progymnasmata. Accedit eiusdem interpretatio (latina)*, Leiden 1626.
 Hellinga-Querido, L., C. de Wolf, *Laurens Janszoon Coster was zijn naam*, Haarlem 1988.
 Henderson, I.A., 'Quintilian and the Progymnasmata'. *Antike und Abendland* 37 (1991), 82–99.

- Hendrik van Gorkum, *Quaestiones in S. Thomam*, Esslingen 1473 (Nachdruck: Frankfurt a.M. 1967).
- Hermans, J.M.M., *Boeken in Stad en Lande voor 1600. Studies naar produktie, bezit en gebruik in Groningen, vooral rond de Sint Maartenskerk* (unpublished doctoral dissertation) Groningen 1987.
- Hermans, J.M.M., *Middeleeuwse handschriften uit Groningse kloosters*, Groningen 1988.
- Hermans, J.M.M., 'Rudolph Agricola and his books, with some remarks on the scriptorium of Selwerd'. *Rodolphus Agricola Phrisius (1444-1485)*, 123-135.
- Hermans, J.M.M., 'Laatmiddeleeuwse boekdecoratie en penwerk in Noordnederland. Methodologische overwegingen bij een 'atlas' van Groningse boekversiering alsmede een beknopte bibliografie'. *Middeleeuwse handschriftenkunde in de Nederlanden 1988. Verslag van de Groningse Codicologendagen 28-29 april 1988*, ed. J.M.M. Hermans, Grave 1989 (Nijmeegse Codicologische Cahiers, 10-12), 29-44.
- Hermans, J.M.M., A. Lem, *Middeleeuwse Handschriften en Oude Drukken in de collectie Emmanuëlshuizen te Zwolle*, Zwolle 1989.
- Heymeric van de Velde, *Problemata inter Albertum Magnum et Sanctum Thomam ad utriusque opinionem multum conferentia*, Cologne 1496 (= Hain *4302).
- Heyne, B., *Die Reformation in Bremen 1522-1524*, Bremen 1973 (Hospitium Ecclesiae, 8).
- Heinemeyer, K., 'Die Marburger kugelherren Wegbereiter der Universität'. *Academia Marburgensis, Beiträge Zur Geschichte der Philipps-Universität Marburg*, ed. W. Heinemeyer, Marburg 1977, 1-49.
- Hier beginnen sommige stichtige punten van onsen oelden zusteren. Naar het te Arnhem berustende handschrift uitgegeven*, ed. D. de Man, 's-Gravenhage 1919.
- Hilgenfeld, H., *Mittelalterlich-traditionelle Elemente in Luthers Abendmahlsschriften*, Zürich 1971.
- Hillenbrand, E., 'Die Observantenbewegung in der deutschen Ordensprovinz der Dominikaner'. *Reformbemühungen und Observanzbestrebungen*, 219-271.
- Hiss, W., *Die Anthropologie Bernards von Clairvaux*, Berlin 1964.
- Historie van Groningen. Stad en Land*, ed. W.J. Formsma e.a., Groningen 1976.
- Historisch bewogen. Opstellen over de radicale reformatie in de 16e en 17e eeuw. Opstellen aangeboden aan Prof. Dr. A.F. Mellink bij zijn afscheid als hoogleraar in de sociaal-religieuze geschiedenis aan de Rijksuniversiteit te Groningen*, ed. M.G. Buist e.a., Groningen 1984.
- Historisches Wörterbuch der Rhetorik I*, ed. G. Ueding, Darmstadt 1992.
- Hock, R.F., E.N. O'Neil, *The Chreia in Ancient Rhetoric I: The Progymnasmata*, Atlanta GA 1986.
- Hoen, Cornelis, *De Avondmaalsbrief van Cornelis Hoen (1525)*, ed. A. Eekhof, 's-Gravenhage 1917.
- Hövelmann, G., *Moritz Graf von Spiegelberg (1406/07-1483): Domherr in Köln, Propst in Emmerich, Mäzen und Stifter*, Kevelaer 1987.
- Hofmann, C.G., *De Magistro Contradictionum*, Wittenberg 1770.
- Hofmeister, A., *Die Matrikel der Universität Rostock, 1419-1563*, 3 vols., Rostock 1889 (repr. Nendeln-Liechtenstein 1976).
- Hofstede de Groot, P., *Johan Wessel Ganzevoort op het negende halve eeuwfeest zijner geboorte herdacht*, Groningen 1871.
- Hollerbach, H.-R., *Zur Bedeutung des Wortes Chreia*, Cologne 1964.
- Hombergh, F.A. van den, *Leven en werk van Jan Brugman O.F.M. (± 1400-1473) met een uitgave van twee van zijn tractaten*, Groningen 1967 (Teksten en uitgaven uitgegeven door het Instituut voor middeleeuwse geschiedenis, 6).
- Hombergh, F.A. van den, 'Brugman en de broeders'. *Ons Geestelijk Erf* 59 (1985), 357-370.
- Hommès, M., *Het Kapittel van Venlo. Geestelijk leven in een aantal vrouwenkloosters binnen het bisdom Luik aan het einde der middeleeuwen*. Amsterdam (unpublished doctoraalscriptie University of Amsterdam), 1987.
- Hooykaas, R., *Humanisme, science et réforme. Pierre de la Ramée (1515-1572)*, Leiden 1968.

- Horn, P., *Vita Gerardi Magni*, ed. W.J. Kühler. *Ned. Arch. Kerkgesch.* 6 (1909), 325–370.
- Huisman, G.C., *Rudolph Agricola. A Bibliography of Printed Works and Translations*, Nieuwkoop 1985 (*Bibliotheca Bibliographica Neerlandica*, 20).
- Huizinga, J., *Herfsttij der Middeleeuwen*. In *Verzamelde werken* III, Cultuurgeschiedenis I, Haarlem 1949.
- Hunger, H., *Die hochsprachliche profane Literatur der Byzantiner*, 2 vols., München 1978.
- Hyma, A., *The Christian Renaissance. A History of the 'Devotio Moderna'*, Grand Rapids 1924.
- Iamblichii Chalcidensis ex Syria coele De vita Pythagorae, & Protrepticae Orationes ad Philosophiam lib. II*, ed. Johannes Theodoretus Arcerius, Franeker 1598.
- Ijsewijn, J., 'Humanism and humanist literature in the Low Countries before 1500'. *Classical Influences in European Culture A.D. 500–1500*, ed. R. Bolgar, Cambridge 1971, 115–118.
- Ijsewijn, J., 'The Coming of Humanism to the Low Countries'. *Itinerarium Italicum*, 193–301.
- Ijsewijn, J., 'Groningen feierte Agricola'. *Renaissance Mitteilungen* 10 (1986), 45–47.
- Ijsewijn, J., 'Agricola as a Greek Scholar'. *Rodolphus Agricola Phrisius (1444–1485)*, 21–37.
- Iken, C., *Oratio de Illustri Bremensium Schola magnorum ingeniorum summorumque in omnia scientia virorum alma atque foecunda matre*, Bremen 1741.
- Iken, J.Fr., 'Das Bremische Gymnasium Illustre im 17. Jahrhundert'. *Bremisches Jahrbuch* 12 (1883), 1–34.
- Ilg, K.M., *Das topisch-dialektische System der Sprache*, unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, München 1984.
- Inventaris van archieven van kloosters in de provincie Groningen*, comp. S. Hiddema, C. Tromp, Groningen 1989 (Publikaties van het Rijksarchief in Groningen, 7).
- Inventaris van het klerken- of fraterhuis te Groningen en de daarmee samenhangende stichtingen*, comp. A.T. Schuitema Meijer, E. van Dijk, Groningen 1973.
- Itersen, A. van, 'Les Cisterciens et l'université de Louvain'. *Cîteaux* 21 (1970), 135–177.
- Itinerarium Italicum, The Profile of the Italian Renaissance in the Mirror of its European Transformations: Dedicated to Paul Oskar Kristeller*, ed. H. A. Oberman, T.A. Brady Jr., Leiden 1975 (*Studies in Medieval and Reformation Thought*, 14).
- Jan van Ruusbroec 1293–1381. Tentoonstellingscatalogus*. Met als bijlage een chronologische tabel en drie kaarten, Brussel 1981.
- Jardine, L., 'Distinctive Discipline: Rudolph Agricola's Influence on Methodical Thinking'. *Rodolphus Agricola Phrisius (1444–1485)*, 38–57.
- Jechová, H., 'La diffusion de la connaissance de la Bible'. *L'époque de la renaissance. L'avènement de l'esprit nouveau, 1400–1480 I*, ed. T. Klaniczay, E. Jushner, A. Stegman, Budapest 1988.
- Joester, I., *Enno Rudolph Brenneysen (1669–1734) und die ostfriesische Territorialgeschichtsschreibung. Versuch eines Beitrags zur historischen Empirie des frühen 18. Jahrhunderts*, thesis Münster 1963.
- Johannes Duns Scotus, *Lectura in librum primum Sententiarum*, Città del Vaticano 1966.
- Johannes de Jandun, *Quaestiones super libros Aristotelis De anima*, Venice 1587 (repr. Frankfurt a.M. 1966).
- Johannes Mauburnus, *De Dietse vertaling der 'Scala sacre communionis' van Ioan. Mauburnus*, ed. A.J. Persijn, Rijswijk 1960.
- Johnson, F.R., 'Two Renaissance Textbooks of Rhetoric: Aphthonius' Progyrnasmata and Rainolde's A Booke called the Foundation of Rhetorike'. *The Huntington Library Quarterly* 6 (1943), 427–444.
- Jordan, W.K., *Edward VI*, 2 vols., I: *The Young King: The Protectorship Of The Duke Of Somerset*, II: *The Threshold of Power: The Dominance Of The Duke Of Northumberland*, London 1968–1970.

- Jungmann S.J., J.A., *The Mass of the Roman Rite: Its Origins and Development* (Missarum Sollemnia), 2 vols., Westminster MD 1986.
- Kajanto, I., *Classical and Christian. Studies in the Latin Epitaphs of Medieval and Renaissance Rome*, Helsinki 1980 (Annales Academiae Scientiarum Fennicae, ser. B, 203).
- Kal, V., *On Intuition and Discursive Reasoning in Aristotle*, Leiden 1988.
- Kalkoff, P., *Die Anfänge der Gegenreformation in den Niederlanden*, 2 vols., Halle 1903.
- Kalkoff, P., *Die Depeschen des Nuntius Aleander vom Wormser Reichstage 1521*, Halle 1886.
- Kaluza, Z., 'Trois listes des oeuvres de Heimeric de Campo dans le "Catalogue du Couvent Rouge" ("Rouge Cloître")'. *Mediaevalia Philosophica Polonorum* 17 (1973), 3–20.
- Kaluza, Z., *Les querelles doctrinaires à Paris. Nominalistes et realistes aux confins du XIVe et du XVe siècles*, Bergamo 1988.
- Kan, J.B., ed., 'Wesseli Groningensis, Rhodolphi Agricola, Erasmi Roterodami Vitae ex Codice Vindobonensi typis descriptae'. *Erasmiani Gymnasii Programma Litterarium*, Rotterdam 1894.
- De kartuizers en hun klooster te Zelem*, ed. F. Hendrickx, Diest 1984.
- Kemper, J.A.R., 'Nam voces ac litterae quasi legum summa cutis'. *Apophoreta, aangeboden ter gelegenheid van het 25-jarig ambtsjubileum van Professor Dr. A.D. Leeman*, Amsterdam 1977, 73–83.
- Kennedy, G.A., *Greek Rhetoric under Christian Emperors*, Princeton 1983.
- Keussen, H., *Die Matrikel der Universität Köln I*, Bonn 1892.
- Kingma, J., *De Groningse Luther-Bijbel. Tentoonstelling rond Luthers exemplaar van Erasmus' Nieuwe Testament*, Basel 1527, Groningen 1983.
- Die Kirchenratsprotokolle der reformierten Gemeinde Emden 1557–1620*, ed. H. Schilling, vol. 1–, Cologne-Vienna 1989–.
- Kist, N.C., 'Nog iets over den Nederlandschen oorsprong der zoogenaamde Zwingliaansche Avondmaalsleer'. *Nederlandsch Archief voor Kerkelijke Geschiedenis* 3 (1843), 385–402.
- Klaniczay, T., *Histoire de la littérature hongroise des origines à nos jours*, Budapest 1980.
- Klapisch-Zuber, C., *Women, Family and Ritual in Renaissance Italy*, Chicago-London 1985.
- Klopsch, P., *Lateinische Lyrik des Mittelalters*, Stuttgart 1985.
- Knappert, L., *De opkomst van het Protestantisme in eene Noord-Nederlandsche stad: geschiedenis van de hervorming binnen Leiden van den aanvang tot op het beleg*, Leiden 1908.
- Knappert, L., *Het ontstaan en de ontwikkeling van het Protestantisme in de Nederlanden*, Utrecht 1924.
- Knierim, P.H.J., *Dirc van Herxen (1381–1457), rector van het Zwolsche Fraterhuis*, Amsterdam 1926.
- Koch, J., 'Die Magister-Jahre des Durandus de S. Porciana O.P. und der Konflikt mit seinem Orden'. *Kleine Schriften II*, Roma 1973, 7–118.
- Köhler, W., *Zwingli und Luther: ihr Streit über das Abendmahl nach seinen politischen und religiösen Beziehungen*, Leipzig 1924 (Quellen und Forschungen zur Reformationgeschichte, 6).
- Köpf, U., *Religiöse Erfahrung in der Theologie Bernhards von Clairvaux*, Tübingen 1980.
- Kohl, W., *Die Schwesternhäuser nach der Augustinusregel*. Berlin 1968 (Germania Sacra, neue Folge, Nr. 3. Die Bistümer der Kirchenprovinz Köln. Das Bistum Münster, 1).
- Kohl, W., *Die Klöster der Augustiner-Chorherren*, Berlin 1971 (Germania Sacra, neue Folge, Nr. 5. Die Bistümer der Kirchenprovinz Köln. Das Bistum Münster, 2).
- Kohl, W., 'Die Windesheimer Kongregation'. *Reformbemühungen und Observanzbestrebungen*, 83–106.

- Kolb, R., *Nikolaus von Amsdorf*, Nieuwkoop 1978.
- Korolec, J.B., 'Heymeric de Campo et sa vision néoplatonicienne de Dieu'. *Albert der Grosse. Seine Zeit, sein Werk, seine Wirkung*, ed. A. Zimmermann, Berlin-New York 1981, 208–216.
- Korolec, J.B., "Compendium divinorum" Heimeryka de Campo w rkp. BJ 695'. *Studia Mediewistyczne* 9 (1968), 3–90.
- Koster, W.J.W., *Traité de métrique grecque, suivi d'un précis de métrique latine*, Leiden 1962.
- Kraus, H.-J., *Psalmen*. 1. Teilband, Psalmen 1–59, Neukirchen-Vluyn (Biblischer Kommentar, Altes Testament, Band XV/1) 1985.
- Kronenberg, M.E., 'Iets over een onbekend Novum Testamentum, in Sept. 1522 te Amsterdam uitgegeven, en over de drukkerij van Corver'. *Het Boek* 15 (1926), 241–256.
- Kronenberg, M.E., *Verboden boeken en opstandige drukkers in de hervormingstijd*, Amsterdam 1948 (Patria 44).
- Kronenberg, M.E., 'Simon Corver in de gevangenis (1536)'. *Het Boek* 37 (1965–1966), 209–211.
- De kroniek van Abel Eppens tho Equart*, ed. J.A. Feith, H. Brugmans, 2 vols., Amsterdam 1911.
- Krüger, F., *Bucer und Erasmus: eine Untersuchung zum Einfluss des Erasmus auf die Theologie Martin Bucers*, Wiesbaden 1970.
- Kuksewicz, Z., *Albertyzm i Tomizm w XV wieku w Krakowie i Kolonii. Doktryna psychologiczna*, Wrocław etc., 1973.
- Kunst und Kultur im Weserraum 600–1600* (Ausstellungskatalog), 2 vols., Corvey 1966.
- Kuntz, M.L., R.G. Kuntz, *Jacob's Ladder and the Tree of Life. Concepts of Hierarchy and the Great Chain of Being*, New York 1987.
- Kustas, G.L., *Studies in Byzantine Rhetoric*, Thessaloniki 1973 (Analecta Vlatadon, 17).
- Lang, A., *Heinrich Totting von Oyta. Ein Beitrag zur Entstehungsgeschichte der ersten deutschen Universitäten und zur Problemgeschichte der Spätscholastik*, Münster 1937.
- Lasco, Johannes a, *Johannis a Lasco, opera tam edita quam inedita*, ed. A. Kuyper, 2 vols., Amsterdam 1866.
- Lausberg, H., *Handbuch der literarischen Rhetorik*, Stuttgart 1990³.
- Le Vasseur, L., *Ephemerides Ordinis Carthusiensis*, 5 vols., Monstrol 1890–1893.
- Leclercq, J., *L'amour des lettres et le désir de Dieu*, Paris 1957.
- Leclercq, J., 'The Monastic Tradition of Culture and Studies'. *American Benedictine Review* 11 (1960), 99–131.
- Leclercq, J., 'Esiste una teologia monastica?' *Inter fratres* 27 (1977) 115–120.
- Leclercq, J., 'Apropos de la Renaissance du XII^e siècle: nouveaux témoignages sur la "théologie monastique"'. *Collectanea Cisterciensia* 40 (1978), 65–72.
- Lengen, H. van, *Geschichte des Emsigerlandes vom frühen 13. bis zum späten 15. Jahrhundert*, 2 vols., Aurich 1973 (Abhandlungen und Vorträge zur Geschichte Ostfrieslands, 53).
- Lentzen, M., *Studien zur Dante-Exegese Cristoforo Landinos*, Cologne-Vienna 1971.
- Leonhardt, J., *Dimensio syllabarum. Studien zur lateinischen Prosodie- und Verslehre von der Spätantike bis zur frühen Renaissance*, Göttingen 1989 (Hypomnemata, 92).
- Leumann, M., J.B. Hoffmann, A. Szantyr, *Lateinische Grammatik*, 2 vols., 1972² (Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaften, II.2).
- Le Liber de causis*, ed. A. Pattin. *Tijdschrift voor Filosofie* 28 (1966), 90–203.
- Liessem, H.J., *Hermann van dem Busche. Sein Leben und seine Schriften*, Cologne 1884–1908 (repr. Nieuwkoop 1965).
- Limburg, R., *Cultuurdragers in bewogen tijden*, 's-Gravenhage 1941 (ch. 2: 'Wessel Gansfort. De Grondlegger van het Bijbels Humanisme').
- Lindeboom, J., *Het Bijbelsch Humanisme in Nederland*, Leiden 1913.
- Lindeboom, J., *De confessioneele ontwikkeling der reformatie in de Nederlanden*, 's-Gravenhage 1946.

- Lorgion, J.J. Diest, *Verhandeling over Regnerus Praedinius*, Groningen 1862.
- Lourdaux, W., *Moderne Devotie en Christelijk Humanisme. De geschiedenis van Sint-Maarten van 1433 tot het einde der XVIe eeuw*, Louvain 1967 (Werken op het gebied van de geschiedenis en de filologie, 5e reeks, I).
- Lourdaux, W., 'De Broeders van het gemene leven'. *Bijdragen. Tijdschrift voor filosofie en theologie* 33 (1972), 372-416.
- Lourdaux, W., 'Les Dévots Modernes, rénovateurs de la vie intellectuelle'. *Bijdragen en Mededelingen betreffende de Geschiedenis der Nederlanden* 95 (1980), 279-297.
- Lourdaux, W., M. Haverals, *Bibliotheca Vallis Sancti Martini in Lovanio. Bijdrage tot de studie van het geestesleven in de Nederlanden (15de-18de eeuw). A Contribution to the Study of Intellectual Life in the Netherlands, I De bewaarde handschriften. The Surviving Manuscripts; II De geschiedenis van de bibliotheek en de evolutie van haar inhoud. The History of the Library and of its Contents*, Louvain 1978-1982 (Symbolae Facultatis Litterarum et Philosophiae Lovaniensis, Series A, 8).
- Luther, J., *Die Titeleinfassungen der Reformationszeit*, Leipzig 1909.
- Dr. Martin Luthers Briefwechsel, ed. E.L. Enders, 18 vols., Calw-Leipzig 1884-1923.
- Luther, Martin, *Werke. Kritische Gesamtausgabe*, vol. 1- , Weimar 1883- .
- Martin Luther. *Studienausgabe*, ed. Hans-Ulrich Delius, vol. 1- , Berlin 1979- .
- McGrath, A.E., *Luther's Theology of the Cross: Martin Luther's Theological Break-through*, Oxford 1985.
- McGrath, A.E., *The Intellectual Origins of the European Reformation*, New York 1987.
- Mack, P., *Rudolph Agricola and Renaissance Dialectic*, University of London Ph.D. thesis, 1983.
- Mack, P., 'Rudolph Agricola's Reading of Literature'. *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 48 (1985), 23-41.
- McLaughlin, R.E., 'The Genesis of Schwenckfeld's Eucharistic Doctrine'. *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 74 (1983), 94-121.
- Mályusz, E., *Egyházi társadalom a középkori Magyarországon* (Kirchliche Gesellschaft im mittelalterlichen Ungarn), Budapest 1971.
- Manschreck, C.L., *Melanchthon. The Quiet Reformer*, New York 1957.
- Manschreck, C.L., *Melanchthon on Christian Doctrine*, Grand Rapids 1965.
- Manselli, R., 'L'osservanza francescana: dinamica della sua formazione e fenomenologia'. *Reformbemühungen und Observanzbestrebungen*, 173-187.
- Margolin, J.-C., 'La Rhétorique d'Aphthonius et son influence au XVIe siècle'. R Chevalier éd., *Colloque sur la Rhétorique Calliope I*, Paris 1979, 239-269.
- Markowski, M., 'L'influence de Jean Buridan sur les universités d'Europe Centrale'. *Logique, ontologie et théologie au XIVe siècle. Preuves et raisons à l'université de Paris*, ed. Z. Kaluza, P. Vignaux, Paris 1984, 149-163.
- Marrone, S.P., *William of Auvergne and Robert Grosseteste. New Ideas of Truth in the Early Thirteenth Century*, Princeton NJ 1983.
- Mars, K.H.M., 'De latijnse school en het fraterhuis te Harderwijk'. *Archief voor de Geschiedenis van de Katholieke Kerk in Nederland* 16 (1974), 154-236.
- Marshall, P., *Nicholas Oresme's 'Quaestiones super libros Aristotelis de anima': A Critical Edition with Introduction and Commentary*, Ph.D. Diss. Cornell University 1980.
- Martin, F.X., 'The Augustinian Observant Movement'. *Reformbemühungen und Observanzbestrebungen*, 325-345.
- Matthias Corvinus und die Renaissance in Ungarn, 1458-1541, Ausstellungskatalog, Schallaburg 1982.
- Maurach, G., *Enchiridion Poeticum: zur lateinischen Dichtersprache*, Darmstadt 1989.
- Meersseman, G., *Geschichte des Albertismus, I: Die Pariser Anfänge des Kölner Albertismus*, Paris 1933; *II: Die ersten Kölner Kontroversen*, Rome 1935.
- Meier, G., D. Sagittarius, *Orationes III. de Scholae Bremensis nataliis, progressu et incremento*, Bremen 1684.
- Meijering, E.P., *Melanchthon and Patristic Thought. The Doctrines of Christ and Grace, the Trinity and the Creation*, Leiden 1983 (Studies in the History of Christian Thought, 32).

- Melanchthon, Philippus, *Loci Communes*, Wittenberg 1543.
- Melanchthon, *Studienausgabe: Melanchthons Werke. Studienausgabe*, ed. R. Stupperich, 6 vols., Gütersloh 1980.
- Mellink, A.F., 'Uit de voorgeschiedenis van de reformatie in Groningen'. *Historisch bewogen*, 139–158.
- Mémoires de Francisco de Enzinas*, ed. Ch.-Al. Campan, 2 vols., Bruxelles-The Hague 1862.
- Memorialen van het Hof (den Raad) van Holland, Zeeland en West-Friesland, van den secretaris Jan Rosa*, ed. A. Blécourt, E.M. Meijers, Haarlem 1929.
- Menk, G., *Die Hohe Schule Herborn in ihrer Frühzeit (1584–1660). ein Beitrag zum Hochschulwesen des deutschen Calvinismus im Zeitalter der Gegenreformation*, Wiesbaden 1981 (Veröffentlichungen der Historischen Kommission für Nassau, 30).
- Mertens, D., 'Reformkonzilien und Ordensreform im 15. Jahrhundert'. *Reformbemühungen und Observanzbestrebungen*, 431–457.
- Mertz, G., *Das Schulwesen der deutschen Reformation*, Heidelberg 1902.
- Mestwerdt, P., *Die Anfänge des Erasmus. Humanismus und 'Devotio Moderna'*. ed. H. von Schubert, Leipzig 1917 (Studien zur Kultur und Geschichte der Reformation, 2).
- Meuthen, E., *Die alte Universität*, Cologne-Vienna 1988.
- Mezey, L., 'A "Báthory-Biblia" körül. A mu és szerzője' (Um die sogenannte Báthory-Bibel. Das Werk und sein Verfasser). *A Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Nyelv — és Irodalomtudományi Osztályának Közleményei* 8 (1956), 191–221.
- Mezey, L., 'Die Devotio Moderna der Donauländer Böhmen, Österreich und Ungarn'. *Acta Litteraria Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 12 (1970), 37–51.
- Mezey, L., 'Maestro Agostino da Vicenza, agostiniano platonista nell'Ungheria cinquecentesca'. *Rapporti Veneto-Ungheresi all'epoca del rinascimento*, 'Studia humanitatis' II, Budapest 1975, 325–335.
- Michael, B., *Johannes Buridan: Studien zu seinem Leben, seinen Werken und zur Rezeption seiner Theorien im Europa des späten Mittelalters*, Berlin 1985.
- Mikkers, E., 'Sint Bernardus en de Moderne Devotie'. *Cîteaux in de Nederlanden* 4 (1953), 149–186.
- Miklós, R., *A Krisztus követése magyar fordításai* (Die ungarischen Übersetzungen des Buches *Die Nachfolge Christi*), Szombathely 1935.
- Milis, L., 'Reformatory Attempts within the Ordo canonicus in the Late Middle Ages'. *Reformbemühungen und Observanzbestrebungen*, 61–69.
- Mittelalter. Kirchen- und Theologiegeschichte in Quellen*, ed. R. Mokrosch, H. Walz, Neukirchen-Vluyn 1986².
- Moderne Devotie. Figuren en Facetten*. Tentoonstelling ter herdenking van het sterfjaar van Geert Grote 1384–1984, Nijmegen 1984.
- Moeller, B., 'Die Reformation in Bremen'. *Jahrbuch der Wittheit zu Bremen* 17 (1973), 51–73.
- Mokrosch, R., 'Devotio moderna II. Verhältnis zu Humanismus und Reformation'. *TRE* VIII 609–616.
- Molhuysen, P.C., 'Cornelius Aurelius'. *Nederlands Archief voor Kerkgeschiedenis* 2 (1903), 1–35.
- Moll, W., *Johannes Brugman en het godsdienstig leven onzer vaderen in de vijftiende eeuw, grotendeels volgens handschriften geschetst*, 2 vols., Amsterdam 1854.
- Moll, W., 'Gozewijn Comhaer, een Nederlander aan het hoofd der kerk van IJsland'. *Studien en Bijdragen op 't gebied der historische theologie*, ed. W. Moll, J.G. de Hoop Scheffer, Amsterdam, IV (1880) 145–206.
- Moltmann, J., 'Johannes Molanus (1510–1583) und der Übergang zum Calvinismus'. *Jahrbuch der Wittheit zu Bremen* 1, (1957), 119–141.
- Moltmann, J., 'Zur Bedeutung des Petrus Ramus für Philosophie und Theologie des Calvinismus'. *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 68 (1957), 295–318.
- Moltmann, J., 'Christoph Pezel (1539–1604) und der Calvinismus in Bremen'. *Hospitium Ecclesiae* 2 (1958).

- Mombaer, Jan, *De Dietse vertaling der 'Scala sacre communionis' van Ioan. Mauburnus*, Rijswijk 1960.
- Monasticon Fratrum Vitae Communis*, ed. W. Leesch, E. Persoons, A.G. Weiler, Brussels 1977–1979, 2 vols. (*Archives et Bibliothèques de Belgique / Archief- en Bibliotheekwezen in België*, numéro spécial / Extranummer 18, 19).
- Monasticon Windeshemense*, ed. W. Kohl, E. Persoons, A.G. Weiler, Brussels 1976–1984, 4 vols. (*Archives et Bibliothèques de Belgique / Archief- en Bibliotheekwezen in België*, numéro spécial / Extranummer 16, 1–4) 1976–1984.
- Mone, F.J., *Lateinische Hymnen des Mittelalters*, 3 vols., Freiburg i.Br. 1853–1855 (repr. Aalen 1964).
- Monfasani, J., 'The Byzantine Rhetorical Tradition'. *Renaissance Eloquence*, ed. J.J. Murphy, 174–187.
- Monfasani, J., 'Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite in mid-Quattrocento Rome'. *Supplementum Festivum. Studies in honor of Paul Oskar Kristeller*, Binghamton 1987, 189–219.
- Monfasani, J., 'Lorenzo Valla and Rudolph Agricola'. *Journal of the History of Philosophy* 28 (1990), 181–200.
- Mulerius, Nicolaus, *Elogium Ubbonis Emmii historiarum & Graecae linguae in Acad. Groning. Professoris primi: id est, de ortu, totius vitae curriculo, scriptis & morte ejusdem narratio brevis ab amico conjunctissimo contexta. Addita sunt in defuncti laudem epicedia varia*, Groningen 1628.
- Murphy, J.J., *Renaissance Rhetoric. A Short-Title Catalogue of Works on Rhetorical Theory from the Beginnings of Printing to AD 1700*, New York 1981.
- Muurling, G., *Commentatio historico-theologica de Wesseli Gansfortii cum vita, tum meritis in praeparanda sacrorum emendatione, in Belgio septentrionali. Pars prior*, Utrecht 1831. The second part was never printed, but the manuscript is in the University Library at Groningen (MS 22a).
- Muurling, G., *De Wesseli Gansfortii, Germani theologi, principis atque virtutibus, etiamnunc probandis et sequendis Oratio*, Amsterdam 1840.
- Nadeau, R., 'The Progymnasmata of Aphthonius in Translation'. *Speech Monographs* 19 (1952), 264–285.
- Nauwelaerts, M.A., *Latijnse School en Onderwijs te 's-Hertogenbosch tot 1629*, Tilburg 1974 (Bijdragen tot de geschiedenis van het zuiden van Nederland, 30).
- NBW : *Nationaal Biografisch Woordenboek*.
- Neuser, W.H., 'Albert Rizaëus Hardenberg (ca. 1510–1574)'. *TRE* XIV, 442–444.
- Neuser, W.H., 'Hardenberg und Melanchthon. Der Hardenbergische Streit 1554–1560'. *Jahrbuch der Gesellschaft für Niedersächsische Kirchengeschichte* 65 (1967), 142–186.
- Nichols, F.J., *An Anthology of Neo-Latin Poetry*, New Haven 1979.
- Nichols, J.G., *Literary Remains Of King Edward The Sixth: Edited From His Autograph Manuscripts, With Historical Notes And A Biographical Memoir*, 2 vols., New York 1857 (repr. 1964).
- Nimmo, D.B., 'The Franciscan Regular Observance. The Culmination of Medieval Franciscan Reform'. *Reformbemühungen und Observanzbestrebungen*, 189–205.
- Nissen, P.J.A., 'Wessel Gansfort'. *Moderne Devotie. Figuren en facetten*, 335–339.
- NK : Nijhoff, W., M.E. Kronenberg, *Nederlandsche Bibliographie van 1500 tot 1540*, 3 vols., 's-Gravenhage 1923–1971.
- NNBW : *Nieuw Nederlandsch Biographisch Woordenboek*, ed. P.C. Molhuysen, P.J. Blok, Fr.K.H. Kossmann. 10 vols., Leiden 1911–1937.
- Noël, F., *Gradus ad Parnassum ou Nouveau Dictionnaire Poétique latin-français*, ed. F. de Parnajon, Paris 1875.
- Nyberg, T., 'Der Birgittenorden im Zeitalter der Ordensreformen'. *Reformbemühungen und Observanzbestrebungen*, 373–396.
- Nyhus, P.L., 'The Franciscan Observant Reform in Germany'. *Reformbemühungen und Observanzbestrebungen*, 207–217.
- Oakley, F., 'Disobedience, Consent, Political Obligation; The Witness of Wessel Gansfort (c. 1419–1489)'. *History of Political Thought* 9 (1988), 211–221.

- Oberman, H.A., *The Harvest of Medieval Theology: Gabriel Biel and Late Medieval Nominalism*, Cambridge, Mass., 1974².
- Oberman, H.A., *Forerunners of the Reformation. The Shape of Late Medieval Thought*, London 1967.
- Oberman, H.A., "Immo". Luthers reformatiorische Entdeckungen im Spiegel der Rhetorik'. *Archiv zur Weimarer Ausgabe der Werke Martin Luther V*, Cologne 1984, 17–38.
- Oberman, H.A., 'The "Extra" Dimension in the Theology of Calvin'. *The Dawn of the Reformation: Essays in Late Medieval and Early Reformation Thought*, Edinburgh 1986, 234–258.
- Oberman, H.A., 'Via Antiqua and Via Moderna', Late Medieval Prolegomena To Early Reformation Thought'. *From Ockham to Wyclif*, ed. A. Hudson, M. Wilks, Oxford 1987 (Studies in Church History, Subsidia 5).
- Oberman, H.A., *Werden und Wertung der Reformation, vom Wegestreit zum Glaubenskampf*, Tübingen 1977¹, 1989³.
- Oberman, H.A., 'Die Gelehrten die Verkehrten. Popular Response to Learned Culture in the Renaissance and Reformation'. *Religion and Culture in the Renaissance and Reformation*, ed. Steven Ozment, Kirksville, Miss., 1989 (Sixteenth Century Essays & Studies, 16), 43–63.
- Oberman, H.A., *Initia Calvini. The Matrix of Calvin's Reformation*, Amsterdam 1991.
- Ogilvie, M.H., 'Wessel Gansfort's Theology of Church Government'. *Nederlands Archief voor Kerkgeschiedenis* 55 (1975), 125–150.
- 'Om niet aan onwetendheid en barbarij te bezwijken.' *Groningse geleerden 1614–1988*, ed. G.A. van Gemert, J. Schuller tot Peursum-Meijer, A.J. Vanderjagt, Hilversum 1989.
- Ong, W., *Ramus and Talon Inventory*, Cambridge MA 1958.
- Ong, W., *Ramus. Method and the Decay of Dialogue*, Cambridge MA 1958 (repr. 1974).
- Onings, I., 'Wessel Gansfort en Maria'. *De Standaard van Maria* (Orgaan der geestelijke leer van de Zalige L.M.G. de Montfort) 16 (1936) Maastricht 1936, 19–25, 40–47.
- Orationes ad Inaugurationem Academiae Illustrum Ordinum Groningae et Omlandiae. Habita ab Hermanno Ravenspergero Doctore et Professore Theologo, et loh. Huninga Oostwoldano IU. et PH.D. et Institutionum Practiceque Professore*, Groningen 1614.
- Otto, S., 'Rhetorische Techne oder Philosophie sprachlicher Darstellungskraft? Zur Rekonstruktion des Sprachhumanismus der Renaissance'. *Zeitschrift für philosophische Forschung* 37 (1983), 497–514.
- Palmieri, Matteo, *Della vita civile*, ed. G. Belloni, Florence 1982.
- Park, K., 'Albert's Influence on Late Medieval Psychology'. *Albertus Magnus and the Sciences. Commemorative Essays 1980*, ed. J. A. Weisheipl, Toronto 1980, 501–535.
- Parment, A., *Rudolf von Langen. Leben und gesammelte Gedichte des ersten münsterschen Humanisten*, Münster 1869.
- Pathuis, A., *Groninger Gedenkwaardigheden. Teksten, wapens en huismerken van 1298–1814*, Assen-Amsterdam 1977.
- Pattin, A., 'Jan van Hulshout (1405–2475). Vlaams wijsgeer en theoloog van de universiteit te Keulen'. *Tijdschrift voor Filosofie* 38 (1976), 104–128.
- Paulus, N., 'Über Wessel Gansforts Leben und Lehre'. *Der Katholik* (Mainz) 2 (1900), 11–29, 138–154, 226–247.
- Pauly, A., G. Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft I*, Stuttgart 1884.
- Pecham, Johannes, *Tractatus de anima*, ed. G. Melani, Florence 1948.
- Pegg, M.A., *A Catalogue of German Reformation Pamphlets (1516–1972) in Swiss Libraries*, Baden-Baden 1983 (Bibliotheca Bibliographica Aureliana).
- Perosa, A., J. Sparrow, *Renaissance Latin Verse. An Anthology*, London 1979.
- Persoons, E., *Recente Publicaties over de Moderne Devotie (1959–1972)*, Leuven 1972 (pro manuscripto).

- Persoons, E., 'De verspreiding der moderne devotie'. *Geert Grote en de Moderne Devotie*, ed. C.C. de Bruin, E. Persoons, A.G. Weiler, Zutphen 1984, 57–101.
- Petrarca, Francesco, *Prose*, ed. G. Martellotti, P.G. Ricci, E. Carrara, E. Bianchi, Milan-Naples 1955.
- Petrarca, Francesco, *De otio religioso*, ed. G. Rotondi, Città del Vaticano 195 (Studi e Testi, 195).
- Petri, Suffridus, *De scriptoribus Frisiae, Decades xvj & semis*, Cologne 1593.
- Petrus Trudonensis, *Catalogus scriptorum Windeshemensium*, ed. W. Lourdaux, E. Persoons, Leuven 1968 (Publicaties op het gebied van de geschiedenis en de filologie, 5e reeks, 3).
- Piebenga, G.A., 'Over de aflaatbrieven van Gozewijn Comhaer'. *Archief voor de Geschiedenis van de Katholieke Kerk in Nederland* 28 (1986), 130–138.
- Piebenga, G.A., 'Over een vrouwenleven uit de 15de eeuw', *Spiegel Historiael* 21 (1986), 210–216.
- Pixberg, H., *Der deutsche Calvinismus und die Pädagogik*, Gladbeck 1952.
- Platnauer, M., *Latin Elegiac Verse. A Study of the Metrical Usages of Tibullus, Propertius and Ovid*, Cambridge 1951.
- Plinius Caecilius Secundus, C., *Pline le Jeune, Panégyrique de Trajan*, ed. M. Durry, Paris 1938.
- Pluta, O., *Kritiker der Unsterblichkeitsdoktrin in Mittelalter und Renaissance*, Amsterdam 1986.
- Pluta, O., *Die philosophische Psychologie des Peter von Ailly*, Amsterdam 1987.
- Pluta, O., 'Die Diskussion der Frage nach der Unsterblichkeit in einer Leipziger Handschrift des frühen 15. Jahrhunderts'. *Die Philosophie im 14. und 15. Jahrhundert. In memoriam Konstanty Michalsky (1879–1947)*, ed. O. Pluta, Amsterdam 1988, 495–534.
- Poel, M.G.M. van der, *De Declamatio bij de humanisten. Bijdrage tot de studie van de rhetorica in de Renaissance*, Nieuwkoop 1987.
- Poemata et effigies trium fratrum Belgarum*, ed. Bonaventura Vulcanius, Leiden 1612.
- Poetae Latini Minores*, ed. Ae. Baehrens, 5 vols., Leipzig 1879–1883 (repr. New York-London 1979).
- Poliziano, Angelo, *Opera Omnia*, (Opera ab Isidoro del Lungo edita Florentiae MDCCCLXVII) ed. I. Maier, Turin 1970.
- Poliziano, Angelo, *Commento inedito alle satire di Persio*, ed. L. Cesarini Martinelli, R. Ricciardi, Florence 1985 (Studi e Testi, Istituto Nazionale di Studi sul Rinascimento, 11).
- Pollet, J.V., *Martin Bucer. Etudes sur les relations de Bucer avec les Pays-Bas, l'électorat de Cologne et l'Allemagne du Nord*, 2 vols., Leiden 1985.
- Post, R.R., 'Wessel Gansfort in het licht van zijn tijd'. *De Beiaard* 5 (1920), 25–42, 111–125.
- Post, R.R., *Scholen en onderwijs in Nederland gedurende de middeleeuwen*, Utrecht 1954.
- Post, R.R., *The Modern Devotion. Confrontation with Reformation and Humanism*, Leiden 1968 (Studies in Medieval and Reformation Thought, 3).
- Postma, F., 'Friese intellectuelen en patronage in de zestiende eeuw'. *Philologia Frisica anno 1984*, Leeuwarden 1986, 113–130.
- Postma, F., *Viglius van Aytta als humanist en diplomaat 1507–1549*, Zutphen 1983.
- Postma, F., 'Regnerus Praedinius (ca. 1510–1559), zijn school en zijn invloed'. *Archief voor de Geschiedenis van de Katholieke Kerk in Nederland* 32 (1990), 153–181.
- Postma, F., 'Nieuw licht op een oude zaak: de oprichting van de nieuwe bisdommen in 1559'. *Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis* 103 (1990), 10–27.
- Praedinius, *Opera* (1563): *Regneri Praedinii Frisii, Groningensis, viri clarissimi atque doctissimi, Scholae quondam Groningae rectoris, Opera, quae supersunt, Omnia*, Basel: Ioannes Oporinus, 1563.
- Praedinius, *Commentationes. De fidei antecessionibus etc. . . . Regnero Praedinio Frisio Autore. Quibus subiunctae sunt aliae eiusdem Autoris commentationes*, Geneva: Jean Crespin, 1568.

- Preger, W., *Matthias Flacius Illyricus*, 2 vols., Nieuwkoop 1964 (repr. Hildesheim 1964).
- Prüser, Fr., *Das Bremer Gymnasium Illustre in seinen landschaftlichen und personellen Beziehungen*, Bremen 1961.
- Prüser, Fr., 'Hospitium Ecclesiae — Herberge der Kirche'. *Hospitium Ecclesiae* 3 (1961), 97–99.
- PSI : *Pubblicazioni della Società italiana per la ricerca dei papiri greci e latini in Egitto*, vol. 1–, Florence 1912–.
- Pijper, F., *Jan Utenhove. Zijn leven en zijne werken*, Leiden 1883.
- Raa, C.M.G. ten, 'Everaerts (Nicolaas)', in: *NBW VII*, col. 214–231.
- RAG : Rijksarchief Groningen.
- Rainolde, R., *A Book Called the Foundation of Rhetorike, because all other partes of Rhetorike are grounded thereupon, every parte sette forth in an Oracion upon questions, verie profitable to bee known and redde*, London 1563 (repr. Amsterdam. New York 1969: The English Experience, 91).
- Reedijk, C., *The Poems of Desiderius Erasmus*, Leiden 1956.
- Reeves, S.D., 'Gansfort, Wessel (ca. 1419–1489)'. *TRE XII*, 25–28.
- The Reformation in Medieval Perspective*, ed. S.E. Ozment, Chicago 1971.
- Reformbemühungen und Observanzbestrebungen im spätmittelalterlichen Ordenswesen*, ed. K. Elm, Berlin 1989 (Berliner Historische Studien, 14; Ordensstudien 6).
- Die reformierte Konfessionalisierung in Deutschland — Das Problem der 'Zweiten Reformation'*, ed. H. Schilling, Gütersloh 1986.
- Reformtheologen des 15. Jahrhunderts. Johan Pupper von Goch, Johann Ruchrath von Wesel, Wessel Gansfort*, ed. G.A. Benrath, Gütersloh 1968.
- Rehm, G., *Die Schwestern vom gemeinsamen Leben im nordwestlichen Deutschland. Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der Devotio moderna und des weiblichen Religiosentums*, Berlin 1986 (Berliner Historische Studien, 11; Ordensstudien, 5).
- Renaissance Eloquence. Studies in the Theory and Practice of Renaissance Rhetoric*, ed., J.J. Murphy, Berkeley CA 1983.
- Reusch, F.H., *Der Index der verbotenen Bücher: ein Beitrag zur Kirchen- und Literaturgeschichte I*, Bonn 1883.
- Reussens, E., J. Wils, A. Schillings, ed., *Matricule de l'Université de Louvain*, 10 vols., Brussels 1903–1967.
- Rhetores Graeci*, ed. H. Rabe, 15 vols., Leipzig 1913–1931.
- Rhijn, M. van, 'Jacobus Hoeck'. *Nederlandsch Archief voor Kerkgeschiedenis* 12 (1916), 209–228; also in Van Rhijn, *Studiën over Wessel Gansfort*, 112–126.
- Rhijn, M. van, *Wessel Gansfort*, 's-Gravenhage 1917.
- Rhijn, M. van, 'Wessel Gansfort te Heidelberg en de strijd tusschen de "via antiqua" en de "via moderna"'. *Nederlandsch Archief voor Kerkgeschiedenis* n.s. 18 (1925), 251–265; also in Van Rhijn, *Studiën over Wessel Gansfort*, 23–37.
- Rhijn, M. van, 'De invloed van Wessel Gansfort'. Van Rhijn, *Studiën over Wessel Gansfort*, 38–73.
- Rhijn, M. van, 'De dogmenhistorische achtergrond van Wessel Gansfort's Avondmaalsleer'. Van Rhijn, *Studiën over Wessel Gansfort*, 74–90.
- Rhijn, M. van, 'De dogmenhistorische achtergrond van Wessel Gansfort's gedachtenwereld'. Van Rhijn, *Studiën over Wessel Gansfort*, 91–102.
- Rhijn, M. van, 'Wessel Gansfort als geneeskundige'. Van Rhijn, *Studiën over Wessel Gansfort*, 103–107.
- Rhijn, M. van, 'Goswinus van Halen'. *Nederlandsch Archief voor Kerkgeschiedenis*, n.s. 18 (1925), 1–24; also in Van Rhijn, *Studiën over Wessel Gansfort en zijn tijd*, 137–159.
- Rhijn, M. van, 'Nieuwe gegevens uit de Keulse matrikels'. Van Rhijn, *Studiën over Wessel Gansfort*, 177–178.
- Rhijn, M. van, 'Een Amerikaanse boek over Wessel Gansfort'. Van Rhijn, *Studiën over Wessel Gansfort*, 179–185.
- Rhijn, M. van, *Studiën over Wessel Gansfort en zijn tijd*, Utrecht 1933.
- Ritter, F., 'Eine ostfriesische Lutherreliquie. Der Jennelter Junker Christof von

- Ewsum'. *Jahrbuch der Gesellschaft für bildende Kunst und vaterländische Altertümer zu Emden* 20 (1920).
- Ritter, G., 'Romantic and Revolutionary Elements in German Theology on the Eve of the Reformation'. *The Reformation in Medieval Perspective*, 15–49 (= 'Romantische und revolutionäre Elemente in der deutschen Theologie am Vorabend der Reformation'. *Deutsche Vierteljahresschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Geistesgeschichte* 5 (1927), 342–380).
- Rizzo, S., *Il lessico filologico degli umanisti*, Rome 1973.
- Rodolphus Agricola Phrisius (1444–1485). Proceedings of the International Conference at the University of Groningen 28–30 October 1985, ed. by F. Akkerman, A.J. Vanderjagt, Leiden 1988 (Brill's Studies in Intellectual History, 6).
- Rogge, H.C., 'Gerardus Listrius'. *Archief voor Nederlandsche Kerkgeschiedenis* 7 (1899), 207–220.
- Rogier, L.J., *Geschiedenis van het katholicisme in Noord-Nederland in de 16e en 17e eeuw*, 2 vols., Amsterdam 1946–1947.
- Roisling, S., 'Réflexions sur la culture intellectuelle en nos abbayes cisterciennes médiévales'. *Miscellanea historica in honorem Leonis van der Essen* I, Brussel-Paris 1947.
- Rotermund, H.W., *Lexikon aller Gelehrten, die seit der Reformation in Bremen gelebt haben*, Bremen 1818.
- Rott, J., 'Martin Bucer und die Schweiz: Drei unbekannte Briefe von Zwingli, Bucer und Vadian (1530, 1531, 1536)', in: J. Rott, *Investigationes Historicae: Églises et Société au XVIe siècle. Gesammelte Aufsätze*, Strasburg 1986.
- Rotländer, C., *Der Bürgermeister Daniel von Büren und die Hardenbergischen Religionshandel*, Göttingen 1892.
- RSG (NR) : *Resolutiën der Staten-Generaal (Nieuwe Reeks)*, 14 vols., 's-Gravenhage 1915–1970.
- Rudloff, O., 'Bremen'. *TRE* VII, 153–168.
- Rüthing, H., 'Die Kartäuser und die spätmittelalterlichen Ordensreformen'. *Reformbemühungen und Observanzbestrebungen*, 35–58.
- Rummel, E., 'Quoting Poetry instead of Scripture: Erasmus and Eucherius on *Contemptus mundi*'. *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance* 45 1983, 503–509.
- Russel, D.A., *Greek Declamation*, Cambridge 1983.
- Sabbadini, R., *Le scoperte dei codici latini e greci ne' secoli XIV e XV. Nuove ricerche col riassunto filologico dei due volumi* (edizione anastatica [of the edition Florence 1914] con nuove aggiunte e correzioni dell'autore a cura di Eugenio Garin), Florence 1967 (Biblioteca storica del Rinascimento, IV**).
- Salutati, Coluccio, *De seculo et religione*, ed. B.L. Ullman, Florence 1981.
- Santing, C.G., 'Theodoricus Ulsenius, alter Agricola?'. *Rodolphus Agricola Phrisius (1444–1485)*, 170–179.
- Santing, C.G., *Geneeskunde en Humanisme. Een intellectuele biografie van Theodericus Ulsenius (c. 1460–1508)*, Rotterdam 1992.
- Sarbak, G., 'A pálos Liber viridis' (Der sog. Liber viridis der Pauliner). *Tanulmányok a középkori magyarországi könyvkultúrához*, Budapest 1989, 155–167.
- Sarbak, G., 'Appunti al Decalogus di Gergely Gyöngyösi, priore generale dell'ordine dei Paolini, pubblicato a Roma'. *Roma Humanistica. Studia in honorem Revi adm. Dni Dni Iosaei Ruysschaert*, ed. J. IJsewijn, Louvain 1985 (= *Humanistica Lovaniensia*, 34A), 228–235.
- Sarbak, G., 'Entstehung und Frühgeschichte des Ordens der Pauliner'. *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 99 (1988), 93–103.
- Schama, S., *The Embarrassment of Riches. An Interpretation of Dutch Culture in the Golden Age*, New York 1987.
- Schanze, H., ed., *Rhetorik. Beiträge zu ihrer Geschichte in Deutschland vom 16.–20. Jahrhundert*, Frankfurt a.M. 1974.
- Schaub, G., *Georg Büchner und die Schulrhetorik. Untersuchungen und Quellen zu seinen Schularbeiten*, Frankfurt a.M. 1975.

- Scheffer, J.G. de Hoop, *Geschiedenis der kerkhervorming in Nederland van haar ontstaan tot 1531*, Amsterdam 1873.
- Scheible, H., *Die Anfänge der reformatorischen Geschichtsschreibung. Melancthon, Sleidan, Flacius und die Magdeburger Zenturien*, Gütersloh 1966 (Texte zur Kirchen- und Theologiegeschichte, 2).
- Schelven, A.A. van, *De Nederduitsche vluchtelingenkerken der XVIe eeuw in Engeland en Duitsland in hunne beteeckenis voor de reformatie in de Nederlanden*, 's-Gravenhage 1908.
- Schelven, A.A. van, 'Albertus Rizaëus Hardenberg'. *NNBW I*, 1023ff.
- Schelven, A.A., van, ed., 'Een brief van Praedinius'. *Nederlandsch Archief voor Kerkgeschiedenis*, ns. 21 (1928), 54–56.
- Schilling, H., 'Die politische Elite nordwestdeutscher Städte in den religiösen Auseinandersetzungen des 16. Jahrhunderts'. *Stadt und Kirche im 16. Jahrhundert*, ed. B. Moeller, Gütersloh 1978, 235–308.
- Schimmelpfennig, B., 'Das Papsttum und die Reform des Zisterzienserordens im späten Mittelalter'. *Reformbemühungen und Observanzbestrebungen*, 399–410.
- Schindling, A., 'L'école latine et l'Académie de 1538 à 1621'. *Histoire du gymnase Jean Sturm. Berceau de l'université de Strassbourg 1538–1988*, ed. P. Schang, G. Livet, Strassbourg 1988.
- Schmaus, M., *Die psychologische Trinitätslehre des heiligen Augustinus*, Münster 1967.
- Schmidt, H., *Politische Geschichte Ostfrieslands*, Leer 1975 (Ostfriesland im Schutze des Deiches, 5).
- Schmidt Mayer, A., 'Die Beziehungen des Bremer Gymnasium Illustre zu J.A. Comenius und den mährischen Brüdern'. *Bremisches Jahrbuch* 33 (1931), 305–347.
- Schneppen, H., *Niederländische Universitäten und deutsches Geistesleben. Von der Gründung der Universität Leiden bis ins späte 18. Jahrhundert*, Münster 1960 (Neue Münstersche Beiträge zur Geschichtsforschung, 6).
- Schnur, H.C., *Lateinische Gedichte deutscher Humanisten*, Stuttgart 1967.
- Schoengen, M., *Die Schule von Zwole von ihren Anfängen bis zum Auftreten des Humanismus*, Freiburg i.Br. 1898.
- Scholtens, H.J.J., 'Gozewijn Comhair. Karthuizer en bisschop van IJsland, een bijdrage tot zijn biografie'. *Archief voor de geschiedenis van het aartsbisdom Utrecht* 52 (1926), 101–173.
- Scholtz, J.G.L., *Dissertatio historica-theologica inauguralis, exhibens disquisitionem qua Thomae a Kempis sententia de re christiana exponitur et cum Gerardi Magni et Wesseli Gansfortii sententiis comparatur*, Groningen 1839.
- Schoockius, Martinus, *Liber de bonis vulgo ecclesiasticis dictis*, Groningen 1651.
- Schoonbeeg, P., 'Bartholomaeus Coloniensis: Two Fables'. *Acta Conventus Neo-Latini Torontoniensis. Proceedings of the Seventh International Congress of Neo-Latin Studies*, ed. A. Dalzell, C. Fantazzi, R.J. Schoeck, New York 1991 (Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 86), 631–644.
- Schottenloher, K., *Philipp Ulhart: ein Augsburger Winkeldrucker und Helfershelfer der "Schwärmer" und "Wiedertäufer" (1523–1529)*, Munich-Freising 1921.
- Schröder, R., 'Erinnerung an den Bremer Abendmahlsstreit um Albert Hardenberg'. *Hospitium Ecclesiae* 11 (1978), 13–34.
- Schumann, O., *Lateinisches Hexameter-Lexikon. Dichterisches Formelgut von Ennius bis zum Archipoeta*, 6 vols., Munich 1979–1983 (Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Hilfsmittel 4, 1–6).
- Schwenckendieck, W., *Dr. Albert Hardenberg. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Reformation*, Emden 1859.
- Schwarzwälder, H., *Geschichte der Freien Hansestadt Bremen*, 4 vols., Bremen-Hamburg 1975–1985.
- Scudder, E.W., J.W. Miller, *Wessel Gansfort. Life and Writings. Principal Works Translated*, 2 vols., New York, London, 1917.
- Seeberg, R., *Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte III*, Leipzig 1930⁴.
- Senger, H.G., 'Albertismus? Überlegungen zur "via alberti" im 15. Jahrhundert'.

- Albert der Grosse. *Seine Zeit, sein Werk, seine Wirkung*, ed. A. Zimmerman, Berlin-New York 1981, 217–236.
- Skinner, Q., *The Foundations of Modern Political Thought II: The Age of Reformation*, Cambridge 1978.
- Slee, J.C. van, *De kloostervereeniging van Windesheim, eene filiaalstichting van de Broeders van het Gemeene Leven. Kerkhistorische studie*, Leiden 1874.
- Smalley, B., *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages*, Notre Dame IN 1978.
- Smet, J., 'Pre-Tridentine Reform in the Carmelite Order'. *Reformbemühungen und Observanzbestrebungen*, 293–323.
- Smid, M., 'Kirchliche Beziehungen zwischen Groningen und Ostfriesland im 16. Jahrhundert.' *Geloven in Groningen*, 28–42.
- Solmsen, F., 'Aristotle and Cicero on the Orator's Playing upon the Feelings'. *Classical Philology* 33 (1938) 390–404.
- Southern, R.W., *Western Society and the Church in the Middle Ages*, Harmondsworth 1970.
- Spiegel, B., 'Dr. Albert Rizäus Hardenberg. Ein Theologenleben aus der Reformationszeit'. *Bremisches Jahrbuch* 4 (1869), 1–383.
- Spitz, L.W., *The Religious Renaissance of the German Humanists*, Cambridge MA 1963.
- Spitzen, O.A., 'Leven der eerwaardige Moeder Andries Yserens, overste van het Lammenhuis te Deventer'. *Archief voor de geschiedenis van het aartsbisdom Utrecht* 2 (1875), 178–216.
- Spruyt, B. J., 'Hinne Rode (c. 1680–c. 1539): het leven en de ontwikkeling van de dissidente rector van het Utrechtse Fraterhuis.' *Utrechtse entre-deux; Stad en Sticht in de eeuw van de Reformatie, 1520–1620*, ed. H. ten Boom e.a., Delft 1992, 21–42.
- Stadelmann, R., *Vom Geist des ausgehenden Mittelalters*, Halle a.S. 1929.
- Staedtke, J., 'Voraussetzungen der Schweizer Abendmahlslehre'. *Theologische Zeitschrift* 16 (1960), 19–32.
- Staehelin, E., *Briefe und Akten zum Leben Oekolampads*, 2 vols., Leipzig 1927–1934 (Quellen und Forschungen zur Reformationgeschichte, 10, 19).
- Staehelin, E., *Das theologische Lebenswerk Johannes Oekolampads*, Leipzig 1939 (Quellen und Forschungen zur Reformationgeschichte, 21).
- Stauber, R., *Die Schedelsche Bibliothek: ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Ausbreitung der italienischen Renaissance, des deutschen Humanismus und der medizinischen Literatur*, Freiburg i. B. 1908.
- Steensma, R., *Het klooster Thabor bij Sneek en zijn nagelaten geschriften. Een inleiding en inventarisatie*, Leeuwarden 1970.
- Steggink, O., 'De Moderne Devotie in het Montserrat van Ignatius van Loyola'. *Ons Geestelijk Erf*, 59 (1985), 383–392.
- Stroux, J., *Römische Rechtswissenschaft und Rhetorik*, Potsdam 1949.
- Stupperich, R., 'Die Reformation in Weserraum'. *Kunst und Kultur im Weserraum 600–1600 I*, 257–271.
- Stupperich, R., 'Das Hospitium Ecclesiae im Verständnis Philipp Melanchthons'. *Hospitium Ecclesiae* 10 (1976), 13–19.
- Stupperich, R., 'Brüder vom gemeinsamen Leben'. *TRE VII*, 220–225.
- Sudbrack, J., 'Existentielles Christentum. Gedanken über die Frömmigkeit der Nachfolge Christi'. *Geist und Leben*, 37 (1964), 38–63.
- Sudbrack, J., 'Das geistliche Gesicht der vier Bücher der Nachfolge Christi'. *Thomas von Kempen* (1971), 14–36.
- Sudbrack, J., *Personale Meditation. Die vier Bücher von der Nachfolge Christi — neu betrachtet*, Düsseldorf 1973 (Topos-Taschenbücher, 14).
- Tarnai, A., 'A magyar nyelvet írni kezdik'. *Irodalmi gondolkodás a középkori Magyarországon* ('Das Ungarische wird von nun an geschrieben'. Literaturwissenschaft im mittelalterlichen Ungarn), Budapest 1984.
- Tellegen, J.W., 'Oratores, Iurisprudentes and the Causa Curiana. *Revue internationale des droits de l'antiquité* 30 (1983), 293–311.

- Tex, J. den, *Oldenbarnevelt*, Haarlem-Groningen 1960–1972, 5 vols.
- Thomas Aquinas, *De potentia*, Quaestiones disputatae II, editio IX revisa, cura et studio P. Bazzi e.a., Turin-Rome 1953.
- Thomas Aquinas, *Scriptum super libros Sententiarum*, I–II ed. P. Mandonnet, Paris 1929; III–IV, ed. M.F. Moos, Paris 1933–1947.
- Thomas Aquinas, *Summa theologiae*, cura et studio Instituti Studiorum mediaevalium Ottaviensis, Ottawa 1953–.
- Thomas a Kempis, *Opera omnia*, ed. M.J. Pohl, 7 vols., Freiburg i.Br. 1902–1922.
- Thomas a Kempis, *The Imitation of Christ*, transl. L. Sherley-Price Harmondsworth 1952.
- Thomas a Kempis, *Dialogus noviciorum*, ed. M.I. Pohl, Freiburg im Br. 1922, (*Opera omnia*, VII).
- Thomas von Kempen*. Beiträge zum 500. Todesjahr 1471–1971, Kempen 1971.
- Tilmans, C.P.H.M., *Cornelius Aurelius en de Divisiekronek van 1517: Historiografie en Humanisme in Holland in de tijd van Erasmus*, Hilversum 1988 (Hollandse studiën, 21).
- Tilmans, C.P.H.M., 'Cornelius Aurelius (c. 1460–1531), praeceptor Erasmi?'. *Rodolphus Agricola Phrisius 1444–1485*, 200–210.
- Timann, Johann, *Farrago Sententiarum . . . de Coena Domini*, Frankfurt a.M. 1555.
- Tjaden, Enno Johann Heinrich, *Das Gelehrte Ostfriesland*, 3 vols. Aurich 1785–1790.
- Trapman, J., *De Summa der godliker scripturen* (1523), Leiden 1978.
- Trapman, J., 'Le rôle des "sacramentaires" dès origines de la Réforme jusqu'en 1530 aux Pays-Bas'. *Nederlands Archief voor Kerkgeschiedenis* 63 (1983), 1–24.
- Trapman, J., 'Afscheid van de sacramentariërs?' *Doopsgezinde Bijdragen* 15 (1989), 143–147.
- TRE : *Theologische Realenzyklopädie* I–, Berlin-New York 1977–.
- Tresling, T.P., 'Johan Wessel Ganzevoort'. *Groninger Volksalmanak* 1842.
- Trigland, J., *Kerkelycke Geschiedenissen, begrypende de waere en bekommerlycke geschillen in de Vereenigde Nederlanden voorgevallen*, Leiden 1650.
- Trinkaus, C., 'Humanist Treatises on the Status of the Religious: Petrarch, Salutati, Valla'. *Studies in the Renaissance* 11 (1964), 7–45.
- Trinkaus, C., *In Our Image and Likeness: Humanity and Divinity in Italian Humanist Thought*, 2 vols., London 1970.
- Trinkaus, C., 'The Religious Thought of the Italian Humanists and the Reformers: Anticipation or Autonomy'. *The Pursuit of Holiness in Late Medieval and Renaissance Religion*, ed. C. Trinkaus and H.A. Oberman, Leiden 1974, 339–366.
- Troelstra, A. *Stof en methode der catechese in Nederland vóór de Reformatie*, Groningen 1903.
- Ubbo Emmius. Programma bij de aanvaarding van het rectoraat der Latijnse School (thans Praedinius-Gymnasium) te Groningen in 1594, ed. A.G. Roos, Groningen 1951.
- Ueding, G. *Historisches Wörterbuch der Rhetorik*, vol. 1–, Tübingen 1992–.
- Uiterdijk, J. Nanninga, 'Dr. Johan de Mepsche'. *Bijdragen tot de geschiedenis en oudheidkunde inzonderheid van de provincie Groningen* 9 (1872), 81–160.
- Ullmann, C., *Johann Wessel, ein Vorgänger Luthers. Zur Charakteristik der christlichen Kirche und Theologie in ihrem Übergang aus dem Mittelalter in die Reformationszeit*, Hamburg 1834.
- Ullmann, C., *Reformatoren vor der Reformation, vornehmlich in Deutschland und den Niederlanden*, 2 vols., Hamburg 1841–1842.
- Ullmann, C., *Johannes Wessel, een voorganger van Luther*, transl. W.N. Munting, Leiden 1835 (includes numerous notes by the translator).
- Ullmann, W., *Law and Politics in the Middle Ages. An Introduction to the Sources of Medieval Political Ideas*, London 1975.
- Uphoff, B., *Ostfriesische Masze und Gewichte*, I Die Einheiten, II Zur Geschichte, Aurich 1973, 2 vols. (Quellen zur Geschichte Ostfrieslands, 9).
- Van Ortroy, F., 'Lettres de Jean Molanus (van der Moelen) à Gérard et à

- Barthélemy Mercator'. *Académie Royale de Belgique. Compte rendu des séances de la commission royale d'histoire* 70, 5me série, tome 11, 1e Bulletin (1901), 145-214.
- Van Santbergen, R., *Un proces de religion à Louvain: Paul de Roovere 1542-1546*, Brussel 1953.
- Van Uytven, R., 'Bijdrage tot de sociale geschiedenis van de protestanten te Leuven in de eerste helft der XVIe eeuw', *Mededelingen van de Geschied- en Oudheidkundige Kring voor Leuven en omgeving* (1963).
- Vanderjagt, A.J., 'Filosofie tussen humanisme en eclecticisme. Van Ubbo Emmius (1547-1625) tot Martinus Schoock (1614-1669)'. 'Om niet aan onwetendheid en barbarij te bezwijken.' *Groningse geleerden*, ed. G.A. van Gemert, J. Schuller tot Peursum-Meijer, A.J. Vanderjagt, Hilversum 1989, 32-49.
- Vanderjagt, A.J., 'De intellectuele achtergrond van de stichting van de Groningse Academie.' *Batavia Academica* 7 (1989), 1-4.
- Vanhoof, F., 'De turbulente verhouding tussen het Kapittel van Sion en zijn kloosters te Ekeren en Heindonk (1480-1502)'. *Ons Geestelijk Erf* 61 (1987), 163-209.
- Vansteenbergh, E., *Le 'De ignota litteratura' de Jean Wenck de Herrenberg contre Nicolas de Cuse, Texte inédit et étude*, Münster 1910 (Beiträge zur Geschichte des Philosophie des Mittelalters, Bd. VIII, Heft 6).
- VD 16 : *Verzeichnis der im deutschen Sprachbereich erschienenen Drucke des XVI. Jahrhunderts*. Hrsg. von der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek München in Verbindung mit der Herzog August Bibliothek in Wolfenbüttel, vol. 1- , Stuttgart 1983- .
- Van Engen, J., 'The Virtues, the Brothers, and the Schools. A Text from the Brothers of the Common Life'. *Revue Bénédictine* 98 (1988), 178-217.
- Vaughn, J.W., 'Law and Rhetoric in the Causa Curiana'. *Classical Antiquity* 4 (1985), 208-222.
- Veeck, O., *Geschiede der reformierten Kirche Bremens*, Bremen 1909.
- 'Veeck, O., 'Johannes Molanus, 1510-1583, Rektor der lateinischen Schule in Bremen, ein reformierter Theologe'. *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 34 (1913), 514-538.
- Veeck, O., *Die Reformation in Bremen*, Bremen 1917².
- Velden, H.E.J.M. van der, *Rodolphus Agricola (Roelof Huusman). Een Nederlandsch Humanist der vijftiende eeuw*, Leiden (1911).
- Verfasserlexikon. Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters*, ed. K. Ruh, vol. 1- , Berlin-New York 1984- .
- Vervou, F. van, *Enige gedenkwaardige geschiedenissen tot narichtinge der nakomelingen, sommarischer wijze beschreven deur --, dewelcke hij eensdeels gesien, om ende over geweest, anderdeels deur loffweerdige mannen gehoord ende verstaan heeft; dit alles na den ouden stijl*. Uitgegeven door het Provinciaal Friesch Genootschap ter beoefening der Friesche geschied-, oudheid- en taalkunde, Leeuwarden 1841.
- Vickers, B., *In Defence of Rhetoric*, Oxford 1988.
- Voci, A.M., *Petrarca e la vita religiosa: il mito umanista della vita eremitica*, Rome 1983.
- Voecht, Jacobus Traiecti alias de, *Narratio de inchoatione domus clericorum in Zwollis*, ed. M. Schoengen, Amsterdam 1980 (Werken uitgegeven door het Historisch Genootschap, 3e serie, 13).
- Voolstra, S., *Het Woord is vlees geworden: de melchioritisch-menniste incarnatieleer*, Kampen 1982.
- Vor der Hake, J.A., 'Een zestiend' eeuwse taal voor literair verkeer'. *De Nieuwe Taalgids* 5 (1911), 225-245.
- Vor der Hake, J.A., *Proeven van zestiende eeuws Nederlands*, Groningen-Den Haag 1919 (Documenten en kleine teksten ten gebruike bij de studie van vaderlandsche geschiedenis, taal- en letterkunde, 2).
- Vormbaum, R., *Die evangelischen Schulordnungen des 16. Jahrhunderts* I, Gütersloh 1860.

- Vos, K., 'Wessel Gansforts invloed'. *Groningsche Volksalmanak* 1920, 143–153.
- Vries, O., *Het Heilige Roomse Rijk en de Friese Vrijheid*, Leeuwarden 1986.
- Wachters, H.J.J., *Wessel Gansfort*, 's-Hertogenbosch 1940 (Geert Groote Genootschap: Kerkelijke Geschiedenis No. 593: Voorloppers der Hervorming).
- Waite, G.K., 'The Anabaptist Movement in Amsterdam and the Netherlands, 1531–1535: An Initial Investigation into its Genesis and Social Dynamics'. *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 18 (1987), 249–265.
- Walch, C.F.W., *Monimenta medii aevi Bibliotheca Regia Hanoverana*, 3 vols. in 6 pts., Göttingen 1757–1764.
- Walsh, K., 'Papsttum und Ordensreform im Spätmittelalter und Renaissance: Zur Wechselwirkung von Zentralgewalt und lokaler Initiative'. *Reformbemühungen und Observanzbestrebungen*, 411–430.
- Walz, E.C.F., *Rhetores Graeci ex Codicibus Florentinis . . .*, 9 vols. Stuttgart 1832–1836.
- Waterbolk, E.H., *Verspreide opstellen, aangeboden aan de schrijver bij zijn aftreden als hoogleraar aan de Rijksuniversiteit te Groningen*, Amsterdam 1981.
- Waterbolk, E.H., 'Een hond in het bad'. *Verspreide opstellen*, 27–44.
- Waterbolk, E.H., 'Een verwaarloosde samenhang'. *Verspreide opstellen*, 257–262.
- Waterbolk, E.H., 'Twee kladjes van Ubbo Emmius over drukken en binden'. *Verspreide opstellen*, 245–256.
- Weiler, A.G., *Heinrich von Gorkum (†1431). Seine Stellung in der Philosophie und der Theologie des Spätmittelalters*, Einsiedeln etc., 1962.
- Weiler, A.G., 'Recent Historiography on the Modern Devotion: some debated questions'. *Archief voor de Geschiedenis van de Katholieke Kerk in Nederland* 26 (1984), 161–179.
- Weiler, A.G., 'Over de geestelijke praktijk van de Moderne Devotie'. *De doorwerking van de Moderne Devotie, Windesheim 1387–1987*, ed. P. Bange e.a., Hilversum 1988, 29–45.
- Wessel Gansfort en het Noordelijk Humanisme, ed. G.C. Huisman, C.G. Santing (Catalogus bij de tentoonstelling), Groningen 1989.
- Wiarda, Tileman Dothias, *Ostfriesische Geschichte*, vols. I–IX, Aurich 1791–1798, vol. X, Leer 1817 (repr. Leer 1968).
- Wielema, M.R., 'Wessel Gansfort, Rudolf Agricola en het noordelijk humanisme'. *Geschiedenis van de wijsbegeerte in Nederland. Documentatieblad van de Werkgroep-Sassen* 0 (1989), 3–20.
- Wiemann, H., *Die Grundlagen der landständischen Verfassung Ostfrieslands. Die Verträge von 1595 bis 1611*, Aurich 1974 (Quellen zur Ostfriesischen Geschichte, 8).
- Williams, G.H., *The Radical Reformation*, Philadelphia 1962.
- Witt, R.G., *Hercules at the Crossroads. The Life, Work and Thought of Coluccio Salutati*, Durham NC 1983.
- Wolfs, S.P., *Das Groninger 'Religionsgespräch' (1523) und seine Hintergründe*, Utrecht-Nijmegen 1959.
- Wolfs, S.P., 'Dominikanische Observanzbestrebungen: Die Congregatio Hollandiae (1464–1517)'. *Reformbemühungen und Observanzbestrebungen*, 273–292.
- Wolfson, H.A., *The Philosophy of Kalam*, Cambridge, MA 1976.
- Wolkan, R., *Die Briefwechsel des Eneas Silvius Piccolomini*, 4 vols., Vienna 1909–1918 (Fontes Rerum Austriacarum 61–62, 67–68).
- Wijk, N. van, *Het Getijdenboek van Geert Grote naar het Haagsche Handschrift 133 E 21*, Leiden 1940 (Leidsche Drukken en Herdrukken, Kleine Reeks 3).
- Yates, F.A., *The Art of Memory*, London 1966.
- Die Zisterzienser. Ordensleben zwischen Ideal und Wirklichkeit*. Katalog zur Ausstellung des Landschaftsverbandes Rheinland, ed. K. Elm, 3 vols., Bonn 1981–1982.
- Zorzin, A., 'Karlstads *Dialogus vom Tauff der Kinder* in einem anonymen Wormser Druck aus dem Jahr 1527. Ein Beitrag zur Karstadtbibliographie'. *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 79 (1988), 27–58.
- Zuidema, W., *Wilhelmus Frederici, persona van Sint-Maarten te Groningen (1489–1525) en de Groninger staatkunde van zijn tijd*, Groningen 1881.

- Zumkeller, A., 'Die Beteiligung der Mendikanten an der Arbeit der Reformkonzilien von Konstanz und Basel'. *Reformbemühungen und Observanzbestrebungen*, 459–467.
- Zwingli, *Werke: Huldreich Zwinglis sämtliche Werke*, vol. 1–, (Corpus Reformatorum, 88–).
- Zijlstra, S., *Nicolaas Meyndertsz. van Blesdijk. Een bijdrage tot de geschiedenis van het Davidjorisme*, Assen 1983.

INDEX OF PERSONAL NAMES

- Acquoy, J.G.R. 167
 Acronius, Johannes 291f., 311
 Adam de Marisco 85
 Adama, Lollius 308f., 320
 Adel, K. 385
 Aduard, Wolterus I, abbot of 25ff.
 Aduard, Wolterus II, abbot of 27
 Aelred of Rievaulx 47
 Aemilius, Egbertus 239
 Agricola, Hendrik 327
 Agricola, Rodolphus vii, x, 23f.,
 35, 100f., 143f., 147, 152f., 198,
 254f., 267, 273-289 *passim*, 291ff.,
 320, 325f., 328f., 331, 349ff.,
 354f., 358, 360, 363, 367f., 373,
 375f., 378f., 381ff.
 Ailly, Pierre d' 35f., 81f., 94
 Aitetz, Hilbrandus 235
 Akkerman, F. x, 28, 57ff., 168,
 198, 247, 289, 295, 326, 328f.,
 331, 349, 352, 368
 Akkerman, Fr. 289
 Alardus of Amsterdam 143, 255,
 274, 288, 373
 Alberda, Reint 312
 Alberts, W.J. 157
 Albertus Magnus 16, 32, 73
 Albrecht von Eyb 203
 Aleander, Hieronymus 136
 Alexander de Villa Dei 363, 372,
 379
 Alexander of Aphrodisias 81f.
 Alexander the Great 62
 Allen, P.S. 363, 375, 386
 Alma, R. 352
 Althamer, Andreas 11
 Althusius, Johannes 210, 217, 229,
 236, 241
 Alting, Daniel 217, 230, 236, 241
 Alting, Joachim 44
 Alting, Menso 210, 217
 Amama, Sixtus van 224, 226ff.,
 229, 235, 237, 242
 Ambrose, St 150, 172, 199, 296,
 370
 Ameling, Johan 236
 Amsweer, Doede van 292f., 309
 Ancelet-Hustache, J. 164
 Anselm of Canterbury 103f., 177
 Anshelmus, Thomas vii, 201f.
 Antonius de Tata 174
 Aphthonius Sophista 203, 253f.,
 255, 257f.
 Aquinas, Thomas 16, 38, 47, 73,
 77ff., 81, 85, 92f., 104f., 128f.,
 145
 Arcerius, Johannes 292f., 309, 320
 Aristotle 74, 82ff., 94, 99, 105,
 199f., 203, 206, 208f., 275, 280,
 282, 284, 287, 297, 319
 Arius 144
 Arminius, Jacobus 228, 239
 Arnobius 203
 Ascheberg, Bernhard ten 236
 Asconius Pedianus 203
 Assendelft, Gerrit van 123
 Augustijn, C. 5, 17f., 119, 143,
 159, 302, 305
 Augustine, St 9, 89, 94, 115, 145,
 150, 172, 177, 199, 203, 296, 370,
 381
 Aurelius, Cornelius 123f., 325
 Averdunk, H. 197
 Averroes 81, 84
 Ayltz, Campen 229
 Bachem, R. 246
 Bacon, Roger 85
 Bainton, R.H. 314
 Baker, J.W. 305
 Bakhuizen van den Brink, J.N. 19
 Bakker, F.J. 23, 27
 Baldwin, T.W. 245f.
 Barbirius, Petrus 122
 Barnikol, E. 96
 Baroldes, Henrick 25
 Baron, H. 52, 120
 Bartels, P. 294
 Bartholomeus Coloniensis 325,
 329, 367, 369ff., 372, 375
 Basil the Great, St 151f., 203, 208
 Báthori, Ladislaus 173
 Bavaria, Albrecht, duke of 325
 Bax, W. 140
 Baxandall, M. 286
 Becker, P. 165
 Beetz, M. 246
 Benedict, St 111
 Benedictus, prior of the Order of
 St Paul 176
 Beninga, Jost 223f., 227f.
 Beninga, Schotto 229

- Benninga, Eger 236
 Benrath, G.A. 19f.
 Bentinga, Schotto 230
 Benzing, J. 4, 11, 128, 135
 Berengar of Tours 136
 Bergel, Arnold 11
 Bergen, Grete van 226
 Bernard of Clairvaux 55, 89f., 105,
 113, 141f., 150f., 177, 199
 Bernardus (pseudo-) 47
 Beyaerts, Jean 141
 Beyma, Julius a 320
 Beza, Theodorus 207
 Biel, Gabriel 3, 111f., 139
 Bijleveld, W.J.J.C. 237
 Bijwema, Wigbold 268
 Bippen, W. von 195, 198
 Blaise, A. 138, 362, 375, 381
 Blasius Egidii de Pest 174
 Blok, F.F. 362, 380
 Boeles, W.B.S. 265, 307, 317, 320
 Boer, J.J. 210, 213, 225, 247
 Boer, W. de 196f., 204
 Boethius 275
 Bolens, Rudolph 349
 Bonaventure, St 113, 142, 150f.
 Bonet-Maury, G. 160
 Booma, J.G.J. van 312
 Bosch, P. van den 163
 Bot, P.N.M. 245, 253, 259
 Bouwsma, W. 117
 Boyen, Aggo 212, 215
 Boyen, Eggo 226
 Boyen, Folcmet 226
 Boyen, Gerlacus 211, 230, 236f.
 Boyen, Gerlacus 215
 Boyen, Hero vii, 210–244 *passim*
 Boyen, Houke 219
 Boyen, Liure 236
 Boyen, Siwerke 212
 Boyle, M.O. 302
 Braakhuis, H.A.G. 33, 35, 101
 Brant, Sebastian 265, 384
 Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel,
 Christoph, archbishop of 197
 Brenneysen, Johann 210, 223, 225,
 234ff.
 Breuer, D. 263
 Brictius 176
 Brinkerink, D.A. 185, 190
 Brouette, E. 196
 Browne, Thomas 153
 Brucherus, H.H. 313, 316
 Brugman, Johannes 27, 80, 164
 Brugmans, H. 265
 Bruin, C.C. de 19f., 46, 55f., 140,
 157
 Brundage, J.A. 137
 Bruni, Leonardo 52
 Brzoska, J. 253
 Bucer, Martin 127, 139, 203
 Buck, A. 52
 Buckelt, Johan van 229
 Budé, Guillaume 203
 Büren, Daniel von 199
 Bugenhagen, Johannes 13, 203
 Bullinger, Heinrich 203, 305, 308
 Buning, Laurentius 33
 Bunte, B. 197
 Burgundy, Anthony of 185
 Burgundy, Charles the Bold, duke
 of 378f.
 Burgundy, David of, bishop of
 Utrecht 23, 27f.
 Buridan, John 81f., 86, 94
 Burrichter, B. 83
 Buschius, H. 354, 367
 Bynum, C. Walker 115f.
 Bywema, Sybrandus 267
 Cairns, F. 383
 Calvin, John 117f., 203, 270, 301,
 305, 308
 Campo, Dionysius a 268f., 272,
 300, 322
 Canirivus, F. 124
 Canter, Jacobus 380
 Canter, Willem 262
 Capilupus, Hippolytus 366
 Cassander, G. 316
 Cassel, J.C. 196, 204ff.
 Cassiodorus 16
 Castro, Anthony de 9f., 12, 22
 Cataneus, Johannes 254f.
 Cato 203, 277
 Catullus 374, 383
 Caulibus, Joannes de 142, 149f.
 Cavigioli, J.-D. 72
 Cele, Johannes 167
 Celtis, Conrad 152, 366f., 381, 384
 Ceporinus, Jacobus 203
 Chapman, H.W. 262
 Charles the Bald, emperor 384
 Charles V, emperor 247, 270, 295,
 300, 306, 315
 Cheke, John 263
 Chénon, E. 138f.
 Chytraeus, David 293, 309
 Cicero, M.T. 5, 7, 53f., 113, 116,
 199, 203, 206ff., 257f., 273, 275f.,
 281, 283, 286, 288, 296, 319, 377,
 383
 Circsena, Edzard II, count of East
 Friesland 215, 238
 Circsena, Enno II, count of East
 Friesland 294

- Circsena, Enno III, count of East Friesland 210-244 *passim*
 Circsena, Iko, brother of Edzard II 238
 Circsena, Johan, count of East Friesland 215
 Circsena, Katharina, mother of Enno III 241
 Cirksena, Christoph 197, 215, 228
 Cirksena, family name of the counts of East Friesland 212, 231
 Cirksena, Johann 215
 Cisneros, Garcia de 159
 Claesson, G. 138
 Clark, D.L. 246, 255, 264
 Claudianus 363
 Claus, H. 12f., 128
 Clemen, O. 5f., 11, 127, 130
 Clement VI, pope 36
 Clenard, Nicolas 206
 Clooster, Gerard van 7
 Coenders, Abel 228
 Coenders, Derk 311f.
 Coenders, Evert 311
 Coenders, Frederik 311
 Cognet, L. 164
 Cologne, Ruprecht of Bavaria, archbishop-elect of 378
 Comhaer, Gerrit 182ff., 190
 Comhaer, Gozewijn vii, 180-192 *passim*
 Constable, G. 55
 Cordus, Euricius 372
 Corver, Simon 4ff.
 Corvinus, Matthias 170, 178
 Courtenay, W.J. 30, 37, 77, 100, 102f., 107, 198
 Cousardus, Johannes 141
 Cramer, Th.W. 247
 Cratander, A. 13, 122
 Crecelius, W. 204f., 359f., 362, 367, 371, 373f., 385
 Crespin, Jean 292, 297ff.
 Crinitus, Petrus 203
 Cuick, Johannes 268
 Curtius, E.R. 203, 369, 384
 Cusanus, Nicolaus 39, 72f., 78, 167
 Cyprian, St 208, 370
 Cyrus the Great 62

 Dalarun, J. 163
 Dalton, H. 315f.
 Damasus, pope 370
 Dankbaar, W.F. 19, 291, 299, 305, 311
 David, king 40, 369
 Debongnie, P. 46, 157, 159
 Deeters, W. 210
 Delen, Swer van 223f., 227, 229, 236
 Delprat, G.H.M. 160, 167
 Demosthenes 118, 206, 258, 319
 De Roovere, Paul 140f.
 De Vocht, H. 131f., 298
 Dewender, Th. 82
 De Wolf, C. 365, 381
 Dieckhoff, A. 129
 Dierickx, M. 319
 Diest Lorgion, J.J. 291, 293f.
 Dijk, E. van 318f.
 Dijk, R.Th.M. van 149, 157, 159, 163, 167
 Diken, Emmo 212, 214
 Diken, Gerlt 214
 Diodorus Siculus 203
 Diogenes Laertius 203
 Dionysius Cartusianus 93
 Dionysius the pseudo-Areopagite 203
 Ditsche, M. 157
 Doedes, J.I. 6
 Dols, J.M.E. 157
 Dominic, St 113
 Dorpius, Martinus 123, 130
 Doxapatres, Johannes 254
 Dresden, S. 53, 118
 Dryander, Francisco 313
 Du Cange, J. 351
 Duff, A.M. 364
 Duff, J.W. 364
 Duifhuis, H. ix
 Duns Scotus, J. 16, 38, 78ff.
 Durandus, Guglielmus 79, 381
 Dutmarus, Johannes 268f., 271

 Ebeling, R. 213, 291
 Ecke, K. 214, 236f.
 Eekhof, A. 122, 127
 Eelts, Johannes 317f.
 Ehlers, J. 145
 Ehrle, F. 32, 38
 Eijl, E.J.M. van 53
 Elijah 15
 Elm, K. 111, 159, 165f., 170, 196
 Elsmann, Th. xi, 196, 206, 209
 Elte, S. 5
 Emmen, Dyke 214
 Emmen, Ide 214
 Emmen, Remets 237
 Emmius, Aggo 237
 Emmius, Ailtet 226
 Emmius, Ubbo vii, x, 24, 206, 210-266 *passim*
 Emmius, Wesselus 237
 Enders, E.L. 129

- Enenkel, K.A.E. 40, 51ff., 55, 58ff.
 Engelbert, P. 165
 Engelsing, R. 203
 England, Edward VI, king of 246, 262f., 265, 315
 England, Henry VI, king of 187f.
 England, Henry VIII, king of 246
 England, Mary Tudor, queen of 316
 Ennius 16, 377
 Ensinnck, Ludolphus 268, 272
 Ensink, J. vii
 Entholt, H. 195ff.
 Epiney-Burgard, G. 163f.
 Eppens, Abel 308, 310, 312
 Erasmus, Desiderius ix, 5, 16ff., 52f., 106f, 112, 114, 117, 119, 122-141 *passim*, 143, 159, 168, 200, 202f., 286, 288f., 293, 296f., 299f., 305, 317, 325, 367, 369, 373f.
 Erdman-Visser, E. xi
 Ernout, A. 351
 Escobar, Francesco de 255
 Esych, Johann 206, 208
 Esych, Theodor 208
 Eucles, Johannes 81f.
 Euripides 205
 Eusebius 203
 Everaerts, N., see Everhardi, N.
 Everhardi, N. 123
 Ewsum, Beetke van 271
 Ewsum, Christoffer van 268, 270, 316
 Ewsum, family Van 267
 Ewsum, Johan van 267ff., 312, 322ff.
 Ewsum, Joost van 268, 271
 Ewsum, Jurgen van 268, 271
 Ewsum, Onne van 267f., 270ff., 300
 Ewsum, Wigbold Jr van 267f.
 Ewsum, Wigbold van 267, 270, 272
 Faber, J.A. 311
 Fabri, Johann 19
 Fabricius, Georg 206
 Farel, G. 122
 Fauser, M. 257, 263
 Fécamp, Jean de 55
 Feenstra, H. 217
 Feith, H.O. 25, 292, 311, 319
 Ferguson, G. 138
 Ferkel, Nicolaus 174
 Festus, Sextus Pompeius 327
 Fewen, Joannes 219
 Fichardus, Johannes 119
 Ficino, Marsiglio 203
 Filelfo, Francesco 363
 Finus, J. 189
 Finsler, G. 122
 Flasch, K. 74
 Florus, Lucius 206
 Flower, L.S. 264
 Foeldriks, Ubbo 211, 217, 222f., 225, 236, 244
 Forcellini, A. 380
 Forliviensis, Livius 368
 Formsma, W.J. 300
 Fraling, B. 163
 France, Francis I, king of 270
 France, Louis XI, king of 32
 Francis, St 111, 149
 Franciscus of Mayronis 80
 Franciscus, prior of the Order of St Paul 175
 Franck, Sebastian 141
 Franzius, Thomas 210, 228, 241
 Frederichs, Hector 236
 Frederici, Hieronymus 312f., 314ff., 319f., 324
 Frederici, Wilhelmus 295, 306, 312, 317, 319, 351f.
 Frederik van Blankenheim 182, 184
 Frederiks, Willem 28
 Frisius, Bernardus 144
 Frisius, Johannes 268, 270
 Frobenius, Johannes 4, 12
 Froschauer, Chr. 127
 Fügedi, E. 170
 Fusipedius, Johannes 268, 271f.
 Gabbema, S.A. 316, 320
 Gäbler, U. 18
 Galen 7, 309, 319
 Gauthier, R.A. 85
 Gaza, Theodoros 203
 Geel, R. 264
 Geerinckx, L. 255
 Geldenhouwer, Gerard 54, 99, 119, 121, 143
 Gellius, Aulus 203
 Gentili, cardinal 171
 Gerald of Harderwijk 33
 Gerdes, Daniel 127f., 131, 202, 295
 Gerlachius, Jacobus 235
 Gerlaci, Hero 214, 221
 Gerlts, Dico 219
 Gerlts, Liure 213f., 219, 226
 Gerlts, Livia 226
 Gerlts, Remet 226
 Gerretsen, J.H. 45, 366
 Gerson, Jean 8, 36ff., 80, 178
 Gilbertus Porretanus 152

- Gilbert, N.W. 30
 Gilmont, J.F. 292
 Gilson, E. 84f.
 Gnaphaeus, Gulielmus 124, 269
 Gogh, Theodericus van 23
 Gomarus, Johannes 228, 239
 Goossens, L.A.M. 45
 Gosen van Dulck 25
 Goswinus van Halen 7, 24, 100,
 130, 143f., 152, 198f., 208, 293ff.,
 306, 308, 385
 Gotfridus, Hieronymus 268
 Goy, R. 151
 Grabmann, M. 78, 85
 Graes, Mencke van 226
 Gratius, Ortwin 6
 Gregory I, prior of the Order of St
 Paul 177
 Gregory IX, pope 126
 Gregory of Nazianze 205
 Gregory of Nyssa 203, 296
 Gregory of Rimini 78
 Gregory the Great 47, 51, 172,
 199, 370
 Grey, William 78
 Grimlaic, priest of Rheims 47
 Grosseteste, Robert 85
 Grote, Geert 80, 108ff., 112, 121,
 135, 161, 163f., 166, 177, 182
 Groutius, Hugo 235
 Grudius, Nicolaus 123
 Grundmann, H. 163
 Guarino da Verona 203
 Guelders, Anthony, duke of 378
 Guggisberg, H.R. 311, 321
 Gutenberg, Johann 365
 Guthrie, W.K.C. 83
 Gyöngyösi, G. 165, 171ff.
- Hadrianus Marius 123
 Haga, A. 4
 Hamesse, J. 78
 Hamm, B. 102
 Hammerstein, N. 196
 Haneron, Antoine 368
 Hanzow, Otto ter 25
 Hardenberg, Albert 8, 10, 13, 20f.,
 73, 95, 99, 129ff., 141, 143,
 145ff., 195–209 *passim*, 294, 296,
 313, 326
 Harkama, correspondent of the Van
 Ewsum family 268
 Hartfelder, K. 279, 363, 375, 386
 Hartgerink-Koomans, M. 267, 306,
 312
 Haubst, R. 74
 Haverals, M. 53, 158
 Heck, A. van 57ff.
- Heel, D. van 23, 167
 Hegius, Alexander 21, 114, 118f.,
 152, 198, 295, 320, 327
 Heinemeyer, K. 327f.
 Heinsius, Daniel 254
 Heiric of Auxerre 384
 Hellinga-Querido, L. 365, 381
 Henderson, I.A. 254
 Hendriks, Hendrik 257f.
 Henrici, Henricus vii, 250f.
 Henricus Leddensis 269
 Henry of Gorkum 79
 Henry of Oyta 80
 Herbers, Henricus vii, 260f.
 Hermans, J.M.M. 28, 159, 169, 384
 Hermogenes of Tarsus 253
 Hermolaus Barbarus 385
 Herodotus 199, 203, 296
 Herxen, Dirc van 45
 Hesiod 209, 258
 Hesse, Benedikt 81f., 93
 Heymeric de Campo 31ff., 39,
 72ff., 89ff.
 Heyne, B. 195
 Hilgenfeld, Hartmut 135, 138
 Hillenbrand, E. 165
 Hiss, W. 90
 Hock, R.F. 253, 257
 Hoek, Jacobus 8f., 31, 34ff., 42,
 94f., 97, 101, 130f.
 Hoen, Cornelis 10, 110, 121,
 122–141 *passim*, 148f., 152
 Hoenen, M.J.F.M. xi, 32, 100
 Hoest, Stephan 34, 37
 Hövelmann, G. 379
 Hoffman, Melchior 140, 351
 Hoffmann, J.B. 351
 Hofmann, H. xi
 Hofmeister, A. 327, 359
 Hofstede de Groot, P. ix
 Hollerbach, H.-R. 256
 Holtmannus, Albertus 269
 Hombergh, F.A. van den 164
 Homer 206, 209, 258, 375
 Hommes, M. 167
 Hoop Scheffer, J.G. de 125, 128
 Horace 199, 203, 205, 208, 258,
 296, 354, 356f., 379, 382
 Horn, Petrus 135f.
 Hugh of St Victor 142, 145, 149ff.,
 172, 199, 296
 Hugwald, Ulrich 12, 14, 16ff.
 Huisman, G.C. 254f., 273, 288f.
 Huizinga, J. 158f.
 Hulshout, Johannes 73, 86ff.
 Humbertus de Romanis 172
 Hungary, Ludwig I, king of 171
 Hungary, Mary, queen of 271

- Hunger, H. 254
 Hus, Johannes 3, 33
 Hutten, U. 5
 Hyma, A. 108

 Ignatius of Loyola 159
 Ignatius, St 110
 IJsewijn, J. 123, 255, 351, 367, 369
 Iken, C. 195
 Iken, J.Fr. 195
 Ikinge, Egbertus 268
 Ilg, K.M. 273
 Illyricus, Matthias Flacius ix, 10,
 15, 203
 Inn- und Knyphausen, Iko von 237
 Inn- und Knyphausen, Wilhelm
 von 225, 227, 236ff., 242
 Ioannis, Wilhelmus 268
 Iosippus 370
 Isaiah 15, 370
 Iserloh, E. 20
 Isidore of Seville 203, 369
 Isocrates 203, 257f.
 Iuencus 363

 Jacobus de Gostynin 71
 Jacobus of Bács 174
 Janus Secundus 123
 Jardine, L. 255, 288
 Jarges, mayoral family 23
 Jechová, H. 173
 Jedin, H. 20
 Jeremias 370
 Jerome, St 9, 138, 172, 199, 202f.,
 208, 296, 370
 Jerome of Prague 33
 Joester, I. 236
 Johann Friedrich der Grossmütige,
 Kurfürst 247
 John Chrysostom, St 114, 149, 199,
 203, 208, 296, 323
 John of Jandun 93
 John of Rochelle 87
 John, St 111, 324
 Johnson, F.R. 256
 Jonghe, Bartholomeus de 268
 Jónsson, F. 189
 Joris, David 314
 Josephus, Flavius 370
 Julius Caesar 258
 Jungmann, J.A. 370
 Justinus 199, 203, 209
 Juvenal 5, 203, 258

 Kajanto, I. 380
 Kal, V. 83
 Kalkoff, P. 136

 Kaluza, Z. 32f., 36, 38, 42, 71, 75,
 80
 Kamp, Gerhard tom 305, 315ff.,
 319
 Kan, J.B. 100, 296, 385
 Karlstadt, A.R. von 148
 Keil, H. 353
 Kemper, J.A.R. xi, 208
 Kennedy, G.A. 254f.
 Keussen, H. 327
 Kingma, J. 298
 Kist, N.C. 133
 Klaniczay, T. 171
 Klapisch-Zuber, C. 137
 Knappert, L. 124
 Knierim, P.H.J. 45
 Knobloch, I. 122
 Koch, J. 80
 Köhler, W. 127f., 140
 Köpf, U. 90
 Köpfel, W. 122
 Kohl, W. 163, 167
 Koning, Karel de 316
 Korolec, J.B. 78, 91
 Kraus, H.-J. 162
 Krautwald, Valentin 135
 Kristeller, P.O. 100
 Kronenberg, M.E. 4f.
 Krüger, F. 139
 Kuksewicz, Z. 71
 Kustas, G.L. 254

 Laan, A.H. van der 300
 Lactantius 208, 370
 Laertius, Diogenes 258
 Laiming, Leonhard 380
 Lalaing, K. von 318
 Landinus, Christ. 361
 Lang, A. 80
 Langen, Herbert von 204
 Langen, Rudolph von x, 325,
 327ff., 349, 353f., 356, 359f., 360,
 362, 365ff., 374, 376, 378f., 381f.
 Lasco, Johannes a 143, 148, 200,
 202, 305, 313ff.
 Latomus, B. 12, 288
 Lausberg, H. 255
 Leclercq, J. 44
 Leij, M. van der 180
 Lem, A. 159
 Lengen, H. van 214
 Lentzen, M. 52
 Leo I, the Great, pope 370
 Lesdorp, Nicolaus 294f., 298
 Leumann, M. 351
 Le Vasseur, L. 186
 Lewis, C.T. 368, 371, 384

- Liber, Antonius 7, 325, 328f., 360ff., 367, 370f., 372ff., 385
 Liber, Antonius Jr 368, 373
 Liber, Barbara 328, 368, 373
 Liber, Bertha 368, 373
 Liber, Johannes 368, 373
 Liessem, H.J. 354, 367
 Lijnden, Anthony van 228f.
 Lindeboom, J. ix, 20, 124, 291, 293
 Linge, Bernard 271
 Listrius, Gerard 4ff., 12
 Livy 272, 280
 Locher, G.W. 118
 Löringa, Otto 223f.
 Lorichius, Reinhard 255
 Lotter, Melchior 11
 Lotter the Younger, Michael 11
 Lourdaux, W. 158, 164, 168
 Lucanus 203, 356, 372, 374, 382
 Lucianus 206
 Lucretius 377
 Ludolf of Saxony 142, 149, 151
 Ludolphus, Gotfridus 268
 Luke, St 50
 Lull, Raymund 41
 Luther, Martin ix, 4f., 8ff., 98, 106f., 113, 118, 123–141 *passim*, 142ff., 203, 210, 212, 293, 296, 311, 317
 Lycoris 375
 Lycosthenes 289
 Lyphardus, Johannes 268

 Mack, P. 274
 Major, Georg 147
 Mályusz, E. 170, 172
 Manninga, Hima 238
 Manschreck, C.L. 145, 147, 150
 Manselli, R. 164
 Manutius, Aldus 203
 Manutius, Paulus 366
 Marcia 277
 Margaretha 123
 Margolin, J.-C. 255
 Markowski, M. 82
 Marnix van St Aldegonde, Philip 141
 Marrone, S.P. 84
 Marshall, P. 94
 Marsilius of Padova 78, 81f.
 Marsilius van Inghen 100
 Martha, St 44ff.
 Martial 203, 208, 272
 Martin, F.X. 165
 Martinus of Székesfehérvár 174
 Martyr, Petrus 316

 Mary Magdalene 142, 149f., 153
 Mary of Bethany 142
 Mary, St 44ff., 148
 Mauburnus, Johannes, see Mombaer, Johannes
 Maximus 150
 McGrath, A.E. 142
 Medmann, P. 204
 Meerhoff, C.G. 273, 289
 Meersseman, G. 32, 72f.
 Meier, G. 195
 Melanchthon, Philippus 5, 13, 19, 114, 119, 142–151 *passim*, 198ff., 203, 206, 210, 268, 271, 288, 296, 300, 316, 324
 Mellink, A.F. 306f., 312, 317, 319
 Memmen, Focco vii, 251f., 257ff.
 Menk, G. 196, 207
 Mepsche, Johan de 317ff.
 Merijering, E.P. 151
 Mertens, D. 166
 Mertz, G. 206
 Mestwerdt, P. 168
 Meuthen, E. 33, 72f., 78
 Meyndertzs, Nicolaas 314
 Meynardus, Regnerus 268, 272
 Mezey, L. 170, 173
 Michael, B. 82
 Mikkers, E. 55
 Miklós, R. 178
 Milis, L. 163
 Miller, E.W. ix, 7, 9, 14, 17, 54, 98
 Milton, John 246
 Minoukianos of Athens 253
 Moeller, B. 195
 Mokrosch, R. 199f.
 Molanus, Johannes 195–209 *passim*
 Moll, W. 164, 180, 189
 Moltmann, J. 195, 197, 199f., 204f., 207f.
 Mombaer, Johannes 45ff., 55f., 114, 159
 Mone, F.J. 358
 Monfasani, J. 254
 Moorman, Fredericus 325–328 *passim*, 329–386 *passim*
 Moorman, Ludolphus 327
 Moorman, Martinus 327
 Mortaigne, Gerard de 316f.
 Morus, Thomas 203
 Mulerius, Nicolaus 244
 Müller, Caspar 225
 Mundt, L. 273
 Munsterman, Coerdts 229
 Murmellius, Johannes 206
 Murphy, J.J. 245

- Musculus, Wolfgang 141
 Nadeau, R. 253
 Nannius, Petrus 255
 Nauta, G.A. 321
 Neuser, W.H. 196ff.
 Niccolo d'Arco 374
 Nicholas of Utrecht 31
 Nichols, F.J. 381
 Nichols, J.G. 262
 Nimmo, D.B. 164
 Nonius Marcellus 373
 Novo Domo, Johannes of 32f.
 Nyberg, T. 165
 Nyhus, P.L. 164

 Oakley, F. 106f.
 Oberman, H.A. 19, 30, 34, 37, 40,
 94, 103, 113, 118, 132, 135, 139,
 153, 157f., 168
 Occam, William 16, 30, 78, 106,
 108
 Occo, Adolphus 23, 279, 326, 350,
 384, 386
 Ochius, Bernardinus 316
 Octavianus Caesar 62
 Oecolampadius, Johannes 10, 13,
 305
 Ogilvie, M.H. 21, 39, 76, 95, 106,
 150
 Oldenbarnevelt, Johannes van 212,
 228ff., 232f., 235
 Omphalius 289
 O'Neil, E.N. 253, 257
 Ong, W.J. 207
 Onsta, Egbert 380
 Orange, Maurice, prince of 206
 Oresmes, Nicholas 94
 Origen 145
 Orleans, duke of 32
 Orosius 203
 Otto, S. 273
 Ovid 198, 206, 258, 272, 282, 296,
 353, 356, 362, 368

 Palmieri, Matteo 52
 Pannonius, M. 173
 Papinius 374
 Pappus à Tratzberg, P. 44, 57ff.,
 101
 Paracelsus 203
 Park, K. 74
 Parmet, A. 327ff., 354, 356, 359ff.,
 365ff., 369, 378, 379, 381f.
 Pathuis, A. 380
 Pattin, A. 73
 Paul of Samosata 144
 Paul, Albrecht 236

 Paul, St 9, 15, 40, 42, 63, 90, 111,
 144f., 148, 149, 302, 304, 317,
 322, 324
 Pecham, John 86
 Pegg, M.A. 12f., 122, 127f.
 Pelantinus, Paulus 368
 Pellicanus, C. 305, 316
 Penelope 11
 Perosa, A. 361, 365f., 372ff., 385
 Persijn, A.J. 114
 Persoons, E. 157, 183
 Peter of Candia 38
 Peter of Spain 275, 323
 Peter, St 9, 301
 Petrarch, Francesco 48, 52f., 120,
 203
 Petri, Adam 12f., 22
 Petri, Suffridus 29, 309
 Petrus de Zalonkemen 175
 Phebens, Eggerik vii, 248ff., 264ff.
 Phebens, Eggo 265f.
 Philip of Macedon 118
 Phrissemius, Johannes M. 288
 Piccolomini, Aeneas Silvius 369f.,
 380
 Pijper, F. 316
 Pindarus 203, 369, 374
 Pixberg, H. 196
 Plato 73, 99, 199, 203, 208, 285f.,
 296, 319
 Plautus 5, 272, 383
 Pliny the Elder 281, 286, 360
 Pliny the Younger 272
 Pluta, O. 81
 Plutarch 17, 199, 203, 261, 296
 Poel, M. van der 255
 Poerten, Aleid ter 184f., 190
 Poerten, Johan ter 182ff.
 Poliziano, Angelo 361, 365, 377,
 380
 Pollet, J.V. 315
 Polycarp, St 110
 Pomerania, Erik, king of 184ff.
 Pontano, Giovanni 361
 Post, R.R. 44ff., 108, 157, 165,
 168, 295, 307
 Postma, F. 295, 318f.
 Praedinius, Regnerus vii, 268, 271,
 290–324 *passim*
 Preger, W. 147
 Proclus 39, 76, 78, 203
 Propertius 362
 Prosper 150
 Prudentius 203, 378
 Prüser, Fr. 196f.
 Ptolemy 203
 Pupper van Goch, J. 5f., 10, 12,
 14ff., 22

- Pythagoras (pseudo-) 209
- Quintilian 254, 279, 282, 284, 286, 320
- Raa, G.M.G. ten 123
- Rabe, H. 253
- Radewijns, Florens 45, 108
- Radt, S.L. xi, 262
- Rahlenbeeck, Ch. 197
- Rainolde, Richard 256
- Ramus, Petrus 197, 207, 288
- Reedijk, C. 369, 373f.
- Reemts, Ubbo 229f.
- Reeves, S. 75f., 101
- Rehm, G. 166f.
- Reiners, Reinholdus 223
- Remets, Ailto 244
- Remets, Diko Metten 214
- Remets, Emmo 237
- Rescius 373
- Reuchlin, Johannes vii, 23, 114, 145ff., 200ff., 283
- Reusch, F.H. 122
- Reussens, E.J. 297
- Reyners, Geertrui = Reyniers, Gertrude 43, 109f., 138
- Rhabanus Maurus 304
- Rhegius, Urbanus 203
- Rhenanus, Beatus 198, 245, 326
- Rhijn, M. van ix, 6ff., 19f., 27ff., 35, 41, 44f., 54, 71, 73, 75f., 88f., 94f., 98f., 108, 114, 129f., 132, 135f., 157, 159, 192, 198, 295f., 329
- Ripperda brothers 270
- Ripperda, Maurits 223
- Ripperda, Onno 268
- Ripperda, Wigbolt 268ff.
- Ritter, G. 196f., 204, 316
- Rizzo, S. 365f.
- Rode, Hinne 8, 10ff., 130f., 152
- Rogge, H.C. 5, 7
- Rogier, L.J. 312
- Roos, A.G. 247, 253, 259, 263, 265, 294
- Rossum, Maarten van 270
- Rotermund, H.W. 205
- Rott, J. 139
- Rottländer, C. 148
- Ruardi, Feito 313, 317f.
- Rudloff, O. 195f.
- Rudolf II, emperor 215
- Rudolfs, Lodewijk 264f.
- Rüthing, H. 160
- Rufinus 203
- Rupert of Deutz 148
- Rusch, Adolph 366
- Russel, D.A. 254
- Ruterus, Nicolaus 272
- Ruusbroec, Jan van 163f.
- Saganus, Georgius 131
- Sagittarius, D. 195
- Salicetus, Nicolaus 177
- Sallust 199, 206, 258, 296
- Salutati, Coluccio 52
- Santing, C.G. 28, 198, 325ff., 331, 349, 352, 368
- Sappho 374
- Sarbak, G. xi, 165, 175
- Sasbout, Joost 123
- Sasscher, Nicolaas 309
- Savoy, Emanuel Philibert of 312, 319
- Saxo, Johann 144
- Scafferssoen, Johan Rengers 25
- Schama, S. 256
- Schanze, H. 245
- Schaub, G. 263
- Schedel, Hartmann 325, 328ff.
- Scheible, H. 15, 143
- Schelven, A.A. van 197, 305, 313, 320
- Schilling, H. 195
- Schillings, A. 297
- Schimmelpfennig, B. 165
- Schindling, A. 312
- Schmaus, M. 89
- Schmidt, H. 210
- Schmidt-mayer, A. 196
- Schneppen, H. 196
- Schnur, H.C. 355, 367, 384
- Schöffner, Peter 365
- Schöffner the Younger, Peter 128
- Schoengen, M. 157
- Scholtens, H.J.J. 180, 185
- Schoonbeeg, P. 329
- Schotanus, Henricus 308f., 320
- Schottenloher, K. 122
- Schröder, R. 197
- Schwarzwälder, H. 190, 195f., 209
- Schwenkendieck, W. 197, 200
- Scotus Eriugena, John 172
- Scudder, J.W. ix, 7, 9, 14, 17, 53, 98
- Sedulius 370
- Seeberg, R. 19
- Seneca 54, 122, 272, 379
- Senger, H.G. 72
- Servetus, M. 144
- Servius 353, 382
- Shakespeare, W. 246
- Short, Ch. 368, 371, 384
- Sibrandus Groniensiis 268f.
- Sigismund, king 185

- Silius 356
 Silvius, Steven 318
 Sinon 277
 Smalley, B. 151
 Smet, J. 165
 Smid, M. 313, 315
 Socrates 209, 262
 Solinus 203
 Solmsen, F. 282
 Solomon, king 65, 115, 369
 Solon 245–266 *passim*
 Someren, Henry 31
 Sonnius, F. 307, 318
 Sophocles 203
 Southern, R.W. 163
 Sparrow, J. 361, 365f., 372ff., 385
 Spiegel, B. 131, 148, 196ff., 326
 Spiegelberg, Maurice, count
 of 378, 385
 Spinola 222
 Spitz, L.W. 168
 Spitzen, O.A. 190
 Spruyt, B.J. 132, 148f.
 Staedtke, J. 135
 Staehelin, E. 13
 Statius 368
 Stauber, R. 325
 Steensma, R. 168
 Stege, Gerhard ter 73
 Steggink, O. 159
 Stobaios 262
 Stoel, J. vii
 Stroux, J. 258
 Stupperich, R. 195ff.
 Sturm, Johannes 259, 263, 288
 Sudbrack, J. 162
 Suetonius 203
 Suso, Henricus 164
 Swoll, Willem van 229
 Szantyr, A. 351
 Szombáthelyi, Tamás 171f., 175

 Tachau, K. 100
 Tacitus 280f.
 Talaeus, Audomarus 207
 Tarnai, A. 170, 172ff., 176f.
 Tauler, Johan ix, 15, 150
 Terence 199, 203, 206, 208, 258,
 272, 280, 296, 383
 Tertullian 138
 Tex, J. den 235
 Theodoretus 203
 Theon, Ailios, of Alexandria 253f.
 Theophrastus 203
 Thomas 351
 Thomas a Kempis ix, 45, 47f., 52,
 108, 112f., 121, 142, 148f., 157f.,
 172, 175ff., 182, 271
 Thomas de Sabaria, see
 Szombáthelyi, Tamás
 Thucydides 199, 296
 Tilmans, C.P.H.M. 123, 158, 325
 Timann, Johann 130, 147
 Tjaden, E.J.H. 213
 Toorn-Piebenga, G.A. van der 185,
 191
 Tossanus, Petrus 122
 Trapman, J. 124ff., 141, 150
 Trigland, Jacobus 302
 Trinkaus, Ch. 30, 52, 100

 Udonis, Ubbo 219
 Ueding, G. 246
 Uiterdijk, J. Nanninga 317
 Ulhart, Ph. 122
 Ullmann, C. 10, 13, 19, 131, 160
 Ullmann, W. 106
 Ulpian 272
 Ulsenius, Theodericus 325, 328f.
 Umken, Hero 229
 Uphoff, B. 214
 Urban III, pope 171
 Utenhove, Johannes 316

 Vadian, Joachim 12, 152
 Valck, Tammo 225
 Valerius Flaccus 356, 365, 362,
 369, 374, 375
 Valerius Maximus 280
 Valla, Lorenzo 203, 206, 366, 371
 Vanderjagt, A.J. x, 289
 Van Engen, J. 108
 Vanhoo, F. 167
 Van Ortrooy, F. 205
 Van Santbergen, R. 141
 Vansteensberghe, E. 74
 Van Uytven, R. 140
 Van Vervou, Fr. 221f., 224
 Vaughn, J.W. 258
 Veeck, O. 195, 197, 204ff.
 Velden, H.E.J.M. van der 325, 329,
 350, 381
 Venantius Fortunatus 370
 Vergil 7, 16, 54, 114, 116, 199,
 203, 205f., 208f., 272, 277, 296,
 352, 354, 362, 368, 374, 386
 Vergilius, Polydorus 365
 Verrutius, Garlacus 308, 311
 Verrutius, Hieronymus 308
 Vickers, B. 263, 283
 Viglius ab Aytta 312, 318f., 366
 Vincentius, prior of the Order of St
 Paul 177
 Vitruvius 261